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of the
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PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE UNITED STATES



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PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE UNITED STATES

John F. Kennedy

*Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and
Statements of the President*

JANUARY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1962

1962



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1963

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FOREWORD

THESE PAGES contain the texts of my speeches, messages, press conferences and major statements of the year 1962. This accumulation of documents suggests the immense variety of problems with which a President of the United States in the 20th century must deal. It also tells the story of a year rich in challenge—and a year in which, I believe, the people of the United States can take legitimate pride.

Future historians, looking back at 1962, may well mark this year as the time when the tide of international politics began at last to flow strongly toward the world of diversity and freedom. Following the launching of Sputnik in 1957, the Soviet Union began to intensify its pressures against the non-communist world—especially in Southeast Asia, in Central Africa, in Latin America and around Berlin. The notable Soviet successes in space were taken as evidence that communism held the key to the scientific and technological future. People in many countries began to accept the notion that communism was mankind's inevitable destiny.

1962 stopped this process—and nothing was more important in deflating the notion of communist invincibility than the American response to Soviet provocations in Cuba. The combination of firmness and restraint in face of the gravest challenge to world peace since 1939 did much to reassure the rest of the world both about the strength of our national will and the prudence of our national judgment. Menacing problems remained at the end of the year: if West Berlin seemed temporarily secure and Congo on the road to national unification, conditions in Laos and Vietnam were still precarious, and the Cuban crisis was not resolved. Yet it was increasingly obvious that the momentum of the post-Sputnik offensive had been halted. At the same time, American scientists, engineers and astronauts helped recapture for the United States the lead in important aspects of the space effort. And, within the communist empire itself, the forces of diversity and pluralism were

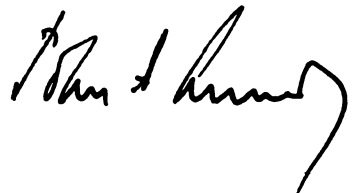
Foreword

straining the supposed monolithic unity of communist ideology and action.

This situation gave the free peoples opportunity to prosecute with new vigor the constructive action necessary to build the strength and responsibility of the non-communist world. To this effort, the United States made indispensable contributions through the passage of the Trade Expansion Act and through staunch and continuing support of the foreign aid program and the United Nations. Our attempts to advance the cause of world disarmament were, unhappily, less successful. Nonetheless, I believe that the year 1962 showed heartening progress toward the goal of a world of independent nations, each developing according to its own needs and aspirations, and all united by common respect for the rights of others, a common loyalty to the world community and a common longing for peace.

The foundation of foreign policy is, of course, the vigor and health of the national community. In 1962 the Congress enacted a number of measures designed to strengthen our economy, develop our resources and confirm the rights of our citizens. On occasion, special circumstances required me to take drastic action—at one time, to protect an American citizen in his right to education at a state university; and, at another time, to prevent an inflationary rise in the price of steel.

1962 was, both abroad and at home, a year of effort and achievement. Our gains were made possible by fruitful collaboration among the branches of government and between the government and the people in pursuit of our national objectives. Certain of these objectives—especially those of peace in the world and of accelerated economic growth, full employment, and full equality of opportunity in the United States—still elude us and therefore will demand even more thoughtful and urgent attention in the years to come.

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to be "John F. Kennedy", written in a cursive style.

PREFACE

IN THIS VOLUME are gathered most of the public messages and statements of the President of the United States that were released by the White House during 1962. Similar volumes covering the administration of President Eisenhower and the first two years of President Truman are also available. Volumes covering the period January 1, 1947-January 20, 1953, and the year 1963 are under preparation.

This series was begun in 1957 in response to a recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission. An extensive compilation of the messages and papers of the Presidents, covering the period 1789 to 1897, was assembled by James D. Richardson and published under congressional authority between 1896 and 1899. Since that time various private compilations were issued, but there was no uniform, systematic publication comparable to the *Congressional Record* or the *United States Supreme Court Reports*. Many Presidential papers could be found only in mimeographed White House releases or as reported in the press. The National Historical Publications Commission therefore recommended the establishment of an official series in which Presidential writings and utterances of a public nature could be made promptly available.

The Commission's recommendation was incorporated in regulations of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register issued under section 6 of the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. 306). The Committee's regulations, establishing the series and providing for the coverage of prior years, are reprinted at page 944 as "Appendix D."

Preface

CONTENT AND ARRANGEMENT

The text of this book is based on Presidential materials issued during 1962 as White House releases and on transcripts of news conferences. Original source materials, where available, have been used to protect against errors in transcription. A list of White House releases from which final selections were made is published at page 917 as "Appendix A."

Addresses and speeches have been printed as actually delivered. In a few instances the White House issued advance releases, based on the prepared text of addresses or remarks, which differ from the text as actually delivered. Such releases have been appropriately noted.

Proclamations, Executive orders, and similar documents required by law to be published in the *Federal Register* and *Code of Federal Regulations* are not repeated. Instead, they are listed by number and subject under the heading "Appendix B" at page 937.

The President is required by statute to transmit numerous reports to Congress. Those transmitted during the period covered by this volume are listed at page 943 as "Appendix C."

The items published in this volume are presented in chronological order, rather than being grouped in classes. Most needs for a classified arrangement are met by the subject index. For example, a reader interested in news conferences will find them listed in the index under the heading "news conferences."

The dates shown at the end of item headings are White House release dates. In instances where the date of the document differs from the release date that fact is shown in brackets immediately following the heading. Other editorial devices, such as text notes, footnotes, and cross references, have been held to a minimum.

Remarks or addresses were delivered in Washington, D.C., unless otherwise indicated. Similarly, statements, messages, and letters were

Preface

issued from the White House in Washington unless otherwise indicated.

The planning and publication of this series is under the direction of David C. Eberhart of the Office of the Federal Register. The editor of the present volume was Warren R. Reid, assisted by Mildred B. Berry. Frederick L. Holborn, Special Assistant in the White House Office, provided aid and counsel in the selection and annotation of the materials. Frank H. Mortimer of the Government Printing Office developed the typography and design.

WAYNE C. GROVER

Archivist of the United States

BERNARD L. BOUTIN

Administrator of General Services

June 24, 1963

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John F. Kennedy

1962

1 Exchange of Messages With President Nazim al-Qudsi of the Syrian Arab Republic on the Occasion of His Inauguration.

January 4, 1962

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the government of the United States of America, I wish to extend my warm congratulations on your inauguration as President of the Syrian Arab Republic. The people of the United States, who have traditionally held the Syrian people in the highest esteem, join with me in wishing you and your administration well. It is my earnest hope that during the exercise of your office we will have close official and personal relations looking toward the strengthening of ties between our two nations.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: President al-Qudsi's reply follows:

Dear Mr. President:

I would like to thank you and the people and government of the USA for your cordial message of congratulations and for the friendly sentiments which you were kind enough to express toward the people of the SAR on the occasion of my election as President of the Republic. I am confident that the kinds of friendship which join our two countries will be reinforced by the official and personal relations to which you referred in your letter.

I take advantage of the advent of the New Year to express to you and to the people and government of the USA best wishes for your own happiness and for the prosperity of the American people.

NAZIM AL-QUDSI

The messages were released at Palm Beach, Fla.

2 Message to Chancellor Adenauer on His 86th Birthday.

January 5, 1962

Dear Mr. Chancellor:

On the occasion of your eighty-sixth birthday, I wish to extend to you both my personal congratulations and the warmest good wishes of the American people.

As we face together the somber challenges and bright opportunities of the New Year which lies before us, I earnestly hope that

throughout 1962 you will enjoy good health and continuing success in all your work.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[His Excellency, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Bonn]

NOTE: The message was released at Palm Beach, Fla.

3 Remarks in Columbus at a Birthday Dinner for Governor DiSalle.

January 6, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Coleman:

There is no city in the United States in which I get a warmer welcome and less votes than Columbus, Ohio!

Mr. Coleman, Mr. Justice, reverend clergy, my colleagues in the House of Representatives, my two distinguished former colleagues in the Senate of the United States, Senator Young and Senator Lausche, who

have served this State and who have also served the United States—ladies and gentlemen:

A hundred years ago, Abraham Lincoln stayed up all one night in a telegraphic office, watching the results of an essential gubernatorial contest in this State, in the darkest days of the Civil War. And at the end of the night when the Unionist candidate who supported Lincoln's policies had finally emerged the victor, Lincoln wired, "Glory

to God in the highest, Ohio has saved the Nation."

Two years ago yesterday, when Governor DiSalle was kind enough to endorse my candidacy, I had somewhat similar sentiments about Ohio.

Last year I felt that maybe Ohio had lost the Union, but I believe now—1962—in the State of Ohio, that this State is going to elect a Democratic Governor, is going to elect in the person of Senator Lausche a Democratic Senator, and will elect Democratic Congressmen who stand for progress in Ohio and the Nation.

I think that this is a most important occasion. The President of the United States, as Harry Truman has pointed out on many occasions, wears many hats, and one of them is the hat of the leader of his party. A political party is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. Woodrow Wilson said, after his great victory in 1912, "What good is the success of a political party unless that party is being used by the Nation for a great purpose?"

And it is my conviction that here in this State and in the United States at large, the Democratic Party has been used by the people for a great state and national purpose.

I come here on the birthday of Governor DiSalle. He has rendered singular service—before he became the Governor of this State—to the people of Ohio, in a number of high positions. He has rendered service to the people of the State of Ohio. He is a distinguished Governor, and to every position which he has held, he has brought integrity, a sense of community with the people, and a recognition that no city, no State, and no country can afford to stand still, but must move forward. So I am delighted to come here tonight.

The work that he has done in one field alone, in mental retardation, is indicative of his concern—which must be the concern of us all.

Two months ago, I had two young girls come into my office, two sisters—both of them had suffered from mental retardation.

One had been discovered—the second one—because of the advance of science, and by changing her diet that young lady will live a normal, healthful, and useful life. And her sister will be sick from now on. That is what?—a change of 2 years in the advance of science.

People who say that all the things that had to be done were done in the administrations of Harry Truman or Franklin Roosevelt or Woodrow Wilson are wrong. We in our time, in this State and country, face problems entirely different, but equally important. How glad all of us would be if in the next 5 years it is possible for the more than 5 million children who suffered at one time or another in their lives from this affliction to be cured, as we have cured so many other diseases.

These are the things which interest our party. They interest the American people. Their responsibilities are upon us. Governor DiSalle has recognized them, and what he has tried to do in the State of Ohio, we are trying to do in the United States of America.

We have not done everything that we thought should be done in the campaign of 1960, but we have done many things. In the last 12 months the economy of the United States moved ahead by 10 percent, over \$40 billion. Agriculture in this country has had the highest income it has had since Korea. The United States, at last, is making a determined effort in the field of space, where our neglect in other years cost us more in prestige than any failure since 1945.

This country is committed to progress. This administration is committed to progress, and I can assure you that in the Congress of the United States—this year—we are going to add programs which will serve our people. You may say, and some do, that everything should be left alone. I read where the Ohio scholarship fund reported last year that more than 41,000 of the 78,000 high school graduates were academically prepared for college, a record which few other States can duplicate, and yet nearly 4,100 of

these young boys and girls were unable to go to college because they could not afford it.

It costs now \$1,650 to put a student in college for a year, and yet half the families of the United States have incomes of less than \$5,000 a year.

In 1970 there will be twice as many boys and girls trying to get into the colleges and universities of this State, and every other State, as in 1960. Is this something that we should turn our backs on?

I believe that it is essential that we recognize in the State and in the National Government our obligation to make it possible for any young man or woman of talent and motivation to secure an education and advance their life and interest. And we propose to help them do it.

American families worry not only about educating their children, they also worry about how they are going to care for their parents, and that is why we are going to send again to the Congress of the United States—and I believe the Congress of the United States will enact this legislation, which will permit older people to pay for their medical bills under a system of social security.

Medical costs are high enough, but their parents have longer illnesses, they spend two or three times as long in the hospital, they see physicians half again as much as people under 65, and the result is a medical bill twice as high, which falls in many cases on a mother and father who at the same time are attempting to educate their children. The parents cannot pay these bills. Three-fourths of our older people have incomes of less than \$2,000 a year. Only one-half of them have any kind of hospital insurance, and I believe that this represents an opportunity to permit them through the Social Security System—which was once opposed in the thirties, but which is now a blessing—to participate in providing for their own security when they are older.

So all those who say that there is nothing left to be done, that we should rest on our oars, that the function of the national admin-

istration and Government is to sit and lie at anchor, are wholly wrong. And we do not propose to follow their advice.

We face a difficult and hazardous future, but one which I believe is bright with opportunity. All of the predictions which the Communists made with such assurance years ago, very few of them have come to fruition. They prophesied that the Western World would break asunder, and yet the Western World sees the greatest impetus towards unity of the Atlantic Community that it has had in its history. They prophesied that the Communist world would be a great bloc, and yet in the last 18 months to 2 years, we have seen the beginning of the fragmentation of the Communist empire—and East Germany and Poland and Hungary are kept in it by force—and Albania and Yugoslavia and China and the others begin to move away. So those who see only hazard and do not recognize that on the other side of the coin is opportunity are wrong.

I believe that the future can be bright for us. I believe that this administration has recognized that to the south, to the east, to the west, and above us, there are many things still left undone. From 1945 to 1960 the United States of America gave more assistance to Yugoslavia than it did to all of Latin America combined. This was the forgotten area. It was difficult for public officials of the United States Government to travel with safety in many parts of our own Hemisphere. I believe a change has come about, and I believe the people of this Hemisphere recognize an identity of interest, that freedom is the handmaiden of abundance, and that through working together in the days to come this Hemisphere can set an example to a watching world.

So I come to Ohio a year later, and I come to express my regard for your distinguished Governor and the Members of Congress who have assisted on many occasions in advancing the interests of this State and country.

And I want to commit myself to you, as I did to them, to the progress of this country.

On the back of your program there is a picture of the Seal of the State of Ohio. You will see that there is a sun low on the horizon. It is my judgment that that is not a setting sun but a rising sun, because as the State of Ohio says in its great Seal, "With God all things are possible."

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Buckeye Building on the Fair Grounds in Columbus, Ohio. In his opening remarks he referred to William L. Coleman, chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of Ohio, Chief Justice Carl V. Weygandt of the Ohio State Supreme Court, the Reverend Reed Hagans, of the Good Samaritan Baptist Church in Columbus, The Most Reverend Clarence G. Issenmann, Bishop of Columbus, and U.S. Senators Stephen M. Young and Frank J. Lausche of Ohio.

4 Statement by the President Following a Meeting With General Clay on the Berlin Situation. *January 7, 1962*

GENERAL CLAY and I have had a most useful and satisfactory review of the current situation in Berlin and Germany. I have been very glad to get his report of the continued staunchness of the free people of West Berlin, and we have talked at length about the ways and means of sustaining and strengthening the life of their great city in the future as in the past.

We have also reviewed the general problem of effective handling of possible crisis

situations, and we have reached full agreement on the policy to be followed during these months.

This meeting is one more way in which Mr. Rusk, General Clay, and I can keep in the closest touch, and we continue to be fortunate in having him as the senior American in Berlin.

NOTE: Gen. Lucius D. Clay was serving as the President's personal representative in Berlin, with the rank of Ambassador.

5 Remarks to the Vienna Choir Boys. *January 9, 1962*

I WANT to express our great pleasure and satisfaction at having this distinguished choir here. I think they sang for us while we were in Vienna—St. Stephen's Church—and we are delighted to have them here, not only because of their own skill but also because it reminds us of a beautiful city and a very warm welcome.

So we want you to know we are glad to have you at the White House. Thank you. Are we going to hear from them?

NOTE: The President welcomed the boys in the Rose Garden. They responded by singing the Gallus "Haec Dies" and Zoltan Kodaly's "Angels and the Shepherds."

6 Statement by the President on Receiving Report on Automation by the Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy. *January 11, 1962*

I APPRECIATE greatly the contribution this report represents.

This automation problem is as important as any we face.

We must take advantage of every opportunity for technological development. But we cannot disregard the human values involved.

Your recommendations properly recognize both sides of this problem. I am grateful for your help.

NOTE: The Committee's first report, dated January 11 and entitled "The Benefits and Problems Incident to Automation and Other Technological Advances" (25 pp., processed), was released with the President's statement. It was presented to the President at the White House by the Chairman, Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, and the Vice Chairman, Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges, accompanied by members of the 19-man Committee. (For establishment see 1961 volume, this series, Item 40.)

The Committee's recommendations cover the following matters:

1. Adoption of policies to promote a high rate of economic growth and fuller utilization of resources.
2. Collection and dissemination of information on job opportunities and requirements.
3. Cooperation between Government and private

organizations to support and improve educational facilities.

4. Acceptance of responsibility by management for measures to reduce the impact on workers of technological change.

5. Public and private support for retraining of displaced workers, for financial help to such workers in periods of unemployment, and for protection of their job equities and security.

6. Improvement of public employment services.

7. Intensified efforts to end discriminatory employment practices.

8. Advance planning for short-term public works projects in possible areas of technological unemployment.

9. Consideration of possible monetary and fiscal measures, including tax reductions, to stimulate business and employment.

10. Consideration of possible reductions in basic work periods.

Incorporated in the report are dissenting statements by two of the Committee members.

7 Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union.

January 11, 1962

[As delivered in person before a joint session]

Mr. Vice President, my old colleague from Massachusetts and your new Speaker, John McCormack, Members of the 87th Congress, ladies and gentlemen:

This week we begin anew our joint and separate efforts to build the American future. But, sadly, we build without a man who linked a long past with the present and looked strongly to the future. "Mister Sam" Rayburn is gone. Neither this House nor the Nation is the same without him.

Members of the Congress, the Constitution makes us not rivals for power but partners for progress. We are all trustees for the American people, custodians of the American heritage. It is my task to report the State of the Union—to improve it is the task of us all.

In the past year, I have travelled not only across our own land but to other lands—to the North and the South, and across the seas. And I have found—as I am sure you have, in your travels—that people everywhere, in spite of occasional disappoint-

ments, look to us—not to our wealth or power, but to the splendor of our ideals. For our Nation is commissioned by history to be either an observer of freedom's failure or the cause of its success. Our overriding obligation in the months ahead is to fulfill the world's hopes by fulfilling our own faith.

I. STRENGTHENING THE ECONOMY

That task must begin at home. For if we cannot fulfill our own ideals here, we cannot expect others to accept them. And when the youngest child alive today has grown to the cares of manhood, our position in the world will be determined first of all by what provisions we make today—for his education, his health, and his opportunities for a good home and a good job and a good life.

At home, we began the year in the valley of recession—we completed it on the high road of recovery and growth. With the help of new congressionally approved or administratively increased stimulants to our econ-

omy, the number of major surplus labor areas has declined from 101 to 60; non-agricultural employment has increased by more than a million jobs; and the average factory work-week has risen to well over 40 hours. At year's end the economy which Mr. Khrushchev once called a "stumbling horse" was racing to new records in consumer spending, labor income, and industrial production.

We are gratified—but we are not satisfied. Too many unemployed are still looking for the blessings of prosperity. As those who leave our schools and farms demand new jobs, automation takes old jobs away. To expand our growth and job opportunities, I urge on the Congress three measures:

(1) First, the Manpower Training and Development Act, to stop the waste of able-bodied men and women who want to work, but whose only skill has been replaced by a machine, or moved with a mill, or shut down with a mine;

(2) Second, the Youth Employment Opportunities Act, to help train and place not only the one million young Americans who are both out of school and out of work, but the twenty-six million young Americans entering the labor market in this decade; and

(3) Third, the 8 percent tax credit for investment in machinery and equipment, which, combined with planned revisions of depreciation allowances, will spur our modernization, our growth, and our ability to compete abroad.

Moreover—pleasant as it may be to bask in the warmth of recovery—let us not forget that we have suffered three recessions in the last 7 years. The time to repair the roof is when the sun is shining—by filling three basic gaps in our anti-recession protection. We need:

(1) First, Presidential standby authority, subject to congressional veto, to adjust personal income tax rates downward within a specified range and time, to slow down an economic decline before it has dragged us all down;

(2) Second, Presidential standby authority,

upon a given rise in the rate of unemployment, to accelerate Federal and federally-aided capital improvement programs; and

(3) Third, a permanent strengthening of our unemployment compensation system—to maintain for our fellow citizens searching for a job who cannot find it, their purchasing power and their living standards without constant resort—as we have seen in recent years by the Congress and the administrations—to temporary supplements.

If we enact this six-part program, we can show the whole world that a free economy need not be an unstable economy—that a free system need not leave men unemployed—and that a free society is not only the most productive but the most stable form of organization yet fashioned by man.

II. FIGHTING INFLATION

But recession is only one enemy of a free economy—inflation is another. Last year, 1961, despite rising production and demand, consumer prices held almost steady—and wholesale prices declined. This is the best record of overall price stability of any comparable period of recovery since the end of World War II.

Inflation too often follows in the shadow of growth—while price stability is made easy by stagnation or controls. But we mean to maintain both stability and growth in a climate of freedom.

Our first line of defense against inflation is the good sense and public spirit of business and labor—keeping their total increases in wages and profits in step with productivity. There is no single statistical test to guide each company and each union. But I strongly urge them—for their country's interest, and for their own—to apply the test of the public interest to these transactions.

Within this same framework of growth and wage-price stability:

—This administration has helped keep our economy competitive by widening the access of small business to credit and Govern-

ment contracts, and by stepping up the drive against monopoly, price-fixing, and racketeering;

—We will submit a Federal Pay Reform bill aimed at giving our classified, postal, and other employees new pay scales more comparable to those of private industry;

—We are holding the fiscal 1962 budget deficit far below the level incurred after the last recession in 1958; and, finally,

—I am submitting for fiscal 1963 a balanced Federal Budget.

This is a joint responsibility, requiring Congressional cooperation on appropriations, and on three sources of income in particular:

(1) First, an increase in postal rates, to end the postal deficit;

(2) Secondly, passage of the tax reforms previously urged, to remove unwarranted tax preferences, and to apply to dividends and to interest the same withholding requirements we have long applied to wages; and

(3) Third, extension of the present excise and corporation tax rates, except for those changes—which will be recommended in a message—affecting transportation.

III. GETTING AMERICA MOVING

But a stronger nation and economy require more than a balanced Budget. They require progress in those programs that spur our growth and fortify our strength.

CITIES

A strong America depends on its cities—America's glory, and sometimes America's shame. To substitute sunlight for congestion and progress for decay, we have stepped up existing urban renewal and housing programs, and launched new ones—redoubled the attack on water pollution—speeded aid to airports, hospitals, highways, and our declining mass transit systems—and secured new weapons to combat organized crime, racketeering, and youth delinquency, assisted by the coordinated and hard-hitting efforts of our investigative services: the FBI,

the Internal Revenue, the Bureau of Narcotics, and many others. We shall need further anti-crime, mass transit, and transportation legislation—and new tools to fight air pollution. And with all this effort under way, both equity and commonsense require that our nation's urban areas—containing three-fourths of our population—sit as equals at the Cabinet table. I urge a new Department of Urban Affairs and Housing.

AGRICULTURE AND RESOURCES

A strong America also depends on its farms and natural resources. American farmers took heart in 1961—from a billion dollar rise in farm income—and from a hopeful start on reducing the farm surpluses. But we are still operating under a patchwork accumulation of old laws, which cost us \$1 billion a year in CCC carrying charges alone, yet fail to halt rural poverty or boost farm earnings.

Our task is to master and turn to fully fruitful ends the magnificent productivity of our farms and farmers. The revolution on our own countryside stands in the sharpest contrast to the repeated farm failures of the Communist nations and is a source of pride to us all. Since 1950 our agricultural output per man-hour has actually doubled! Without new, realistic measures, it will someday swamp our farmers and our taxpayers in a national scandal or a farm depression.

I will, therefore, submit to the Congress a new comprehensive farm program—tailored to fit the use of our land and the supplies of each crop to the long-range needs of the sixties—and designed to prevent chaos in the sixties with a program of commonsense.

We also need for the sixties—if we are to bequeath our full national estate to our heirs—a new long-range conservation and recreation program—expansion of our superb national parks and forests—preservation of our authentic wilderness areas—new starts on water and power projects as our population steadily increases—and ex-

panded REA generation and transmission loans.

CIVIL RIGHTS

But America stands for progress in human rights as well as economic affairs, and a strong America requires the assurance of full and equal rights to all its citizens, of any race or of any color. This administration has shown as never before how much could be done through the full use of Executive powers—through the enforcement of laws already passed by the Congress—through persuasion, negotiation, and litigation, to secure the constitutional rights of all: the right to vote, the right to travel without hindrance across State lines, and the right to free public education.

I issued last March a comprehensive order to guarantee the right to equal employment opportunity in all Federal agencies and contractors. The Vice President's Committee thus created has done much, including the voluntary "Plans for Progress" which, in all sections of the country, are achieving a quiet but striking success in opening up to all races new professional, supervisory, and other job opportunities.

But there is much more to be done—by the Executive, by the courts, and by the Congress. Among the bills now pending before you, on which the executive departments will comment in detail, are appropriate methods of strengthening these basic rights which have our full support. The right to vote, for example, should no longer be denied through such arbitrary devices on a local level, sometimes abused, such as literacy tests and poll taxes. As we approach the 100th anniversary, next January, of the Emancipation Proclamation, let the acts of every branch of the Government—and every citizen—portray that "righteousness does exalt a nation."

HEALTH AND WELFARE

Finally, a strong America cannot neglect the aspirations of its citizens—the welfare of the needy, the health care of the elderly, the education of the young. For we are not

developing the Nation's wealth for its own sake. Wealth is the means—and people are the ends. All our material riches will avail us little if we do not use them to expand the opportunities of our people.

Last year, we improved the diet of needy people—provided more hot lunches and fresh milk to school children—built more college dormitories—and, for the elderly, expanded private housing, nursing homes, health services, and social security. But we have just begun.

To help those least fortunate of all, I am recommending a new public welfare program, stressing services instead of support, rehabilitation instead of relief, and training for useful work instead of prolonged dependency.

To relieve the critical shortage of doctors and dentists—and this is a matter which should concern us all—and expand research, I urge action to aid medical and dental colleges and scholarships and to establish new National Institutes of Health.

To take advantage of modern vaccination achievements, I am proposing a mass immunization program, aimed at the virtual elimination of such ancient enemies of our children as polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tetanus.

To protect our consumers from the careless and the unscrupulous, I shall recommend improvements in the Food and Drug laws—strengthening inspection and standards, halting unsafe and worthless products, preventing misleading labels, and cracking down on the illicit sale of habit-forming drugs.

But in matters of health, no piece of unfinished business is more important or more urgent than the enactment under the social security system of health insurance for the aged.

For our older citizens have longer and more frequent illnesses, higher hospital and medical bills and too little income to pay them. Private health insurance helps very few—for its cost is high and its coverage limited. Public welfare cannot help those too proud to seek relief but hard-pressed to

pay their own bills. Nor can their children or grandchildren always sacrifice their own health budgets to meet this constant drain.

Social security has long helped to meet the hardships of retirement, death, and disability. I now urge that its coverage be extended without further delay to provide health insurance for the elderly.

EDUCATION

Equally important to our strength is the quality of our education. Eight million adult Americans are classified as functionally illiterate. This is a disturbing figure—reflected in Selective Service rejection rates—reflected in welfare rolls and crime rates. And I shall recommend plans for a massive attack to end this adult illiteracy.

I shall also recommend bills to improve educational quality, to stimulate the arts, and, at the college level, to provide Federal loans for the construction of academic facilities and federally financed scholarships.

If this Nation is to grow in wisdom and strength, then every able high school graduate should have the opportunity to develop his talents. Yet nearly half lack either the funds or the facilities to attend college. Enrollments are going to double in our colleges in the short space of 10 years. The annual cost per student is skyrocketing to astronomical levels—now averaging \$1,650 a year, although almost half of our families earn less than \$5,000. They cannot afford such costs—but this Nation cannot afford to maintain its military power and neglect its brainpower.

But excellence in education must begin at the elementary level. I sent to the Congress last year a proposal for Federal aid to public school construction and teachers' salaries. I believe that bill, which passed the Senate and received House Committee approval, offered the minimum amount required by our needs and—in terms of across-the-board aid—the maximum scope permitted by our Constitution. I therefore see no reason to weaken or withdraw that bill: and I urge its passage at this session.

"Civilization," said H. G. Wells, "is a race between education and catastrophe." It is up to you in this Congress to determine the winner of that race.

These are not unrelated measures addressed to specific gaps or grievances in our national life. They are the pattern of our intentions and the foundation of our hopes. "I believe in democracy," said Woodrow Wilson, "because it releases the energy of every human being." The dynamic of democracy is the power and the purpose of the individual, and the policy of this administration is to give to the individual the opportunity to realize his own highest possibilities.

Our program is to open to all the opportunity for steady and productive employment, to remove from all the handicap of arbitrary or irrational exclusion, to offer to all the facilities for education and health and welfare, to make society the servant of the individual and the individual the source of progress, and thus to realize for all the full promise of American life.

IV. OUR GOALS ABROAD

All of these efforts at home give meaning to our efforts abroad. Since the close of the Second World War, a global civil war has divided and tormented mankind. But it is not our military might, or our higher standard of living, that has most distinguished us from our adversaries. It is our belief that the state is the servant of the citizen and not his master.

This basic clash of ideas and wills is but one of the forces reshaping our globe—swept as it is by the tides of hope and fear, by crises in the headlines today that become mere footnotes tomorrow. Both the successes and the setbacks of the past year remain on our agenda of unfinished business. For every apparent blessing contains the seeds of danger—every area of trouble gives out a ray of hope—and the one unchangeable certainty is that nothing is certain or unchangeable.

Yet our basic goal remains the same: a peaceful world community of free and independent states—free to choose their own future and their own system, so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others.

Some may choose forms and ways that we would not choose for ourselves—but it is not for us that they are choosing. We can welcome diversity—the Communists cannot. For we offer a world of choice—they offer the world of coercion. And the way of the past shows clearly that freedom, not coercion, is the wave of the future. At times our goal has been obscured by crisis or endangered by conflict—but it draws sustenance from five basic sources of strength:

- the moral and physical strength of the United States;
- the united strength of the Atlantic Community;
- the regional strength of our Hemispheric relations;
- the creative strength of our efforts in the new and developing nations; and
- the peace-keeping strength of the United Nations.

V. OUR MILITARY STRENGTH

Our moral and physical strength begins at home as already discussed. But it includes our military strength as well. So long as fanaticism and fear brood over the affairs of men, we must arm to deter others from aggression.

In the past 12 months our military posture has steadily improved. We increased the previous defense budget by 15 percent—not in the expectation of war but for the preservation of peace. We more than doubled our acquisition rate of Polaris submarines—we doubled the production capacity for Minuteman missiles—and increased by 50 percent the number of manned bombers standing ready on a 15 minute alert. This year the combined force levels planned under our new Defense budget—including nearly three hundred additional Polaris and Minuteman missiles—have been precisely calculated to

insure the continuing strength of our nuclear deterrent.

But our strength may be tested at many levels. We intend to have at all times the capacity to resist non-nuclear or limited attacks—as a complement to our nuclear capacity, not as a substitute. We have rejected any all-or-nothing posture which would leave no choice but inglorious retreat or unlimited retaliation.

Thus we have doubled the number of ready combat divisions in the Army's strategic reserve—increased our troops in Europe—built up the Marines—added new sealift and airlift capacity—modernized our weapons and ammunition—expanded our anti-guerrilla forces—and increased the active fleet by more than 70 vessels and our tactical air forces by nearly a dozen wings.

Because we needed to reach this higher long-term level of readiness more quickly, 155,000 members of the Reserve and National Guard were activated under the Act of this Congress. Some disruptions and distress were inevitable. But the overwhelming majority bear their burdens—and their Nation's burdens—with admirable and traditional devotion.

In the coming year, our reserve programs will be revised—two Army Divisions will, I hope, replace those Guard Divisions on duty—and substantial other increases will boost our Air Force fighter units, the procurement of equipment, and our continental defense and warning efforts. The Nation's first serious civil defense shelter program is under way, identifying, marking, and stocking 50 million spaces; and I urge your approval of Federal incentives for the construction of public fall-out shelters in schools and hospitals and similar centers.

VI. THE UNITED NATIONS

But arms alone are not enough to keep the peace—it must be kept by men. Our instrument and our hope is the United Nations—and I see little merit in the impatience of those who would abandon this imperfect world instrument because they dislike our

imperfect world. For the troubles of a world organization merely reflect the troubles of the world itself. And if the organization is weakened, these troubles can only increase. We may not always agree with every detailed action taken by every officer of the United Nations, or with every voting majority. But as an institution, it should have in the future, as it has had in the past since its inception, no stronger or more faithful member than the United States of America.

In 1961 the peace-keeping strength of the United Nations was reinforced. And those who preferred or predicted its demise, envisioning a troika in the seat of Hammar-skjold—or Red China inside the Assembly—have seen instead a new vigor, under a new Secretary General and a fully independent Secretariat. In making plans for a new forum and principles on disarmament—for peace-keeping in outer space—for a decade of development effort—the UN fulfilled its Charter's lofty aim.

Eighteen months ago the tangled and turbulent Congo presented the UN with its gravest challenge. The prospect was one of chaos—or certain big-power confrontation, with all of its hazards and all of its risks, to us and to others. Today the hopes have improved for peaceful conciliation within a united Congo. This is the objective of our policy in this important area.

No policeman is universally popular—particularly when he uses his stick to restore law and order on his beat. Those members who are willing to contribute their votes and their views—but very little else—have created a serious deficit by refusing to pay their share of special UN assessments. Yet they do pay their annual assessments to retain their votes—and a new UN Bond issue, financing special operations for the next 18 months, is to be repaid with interest from these regular assessments. This is clearly in our interest. It will not only keep the UN solvent, but require all voting members to pay their fair share of its activities. Our share of special operations has long been

much higher than our share of the annual assessment—and the bond issue will in effect reduce our disproportionate obligation, and for these reasons, I am urging Congress to approve our participation.

With the approval of this Congress, we have undertaken in the past year a great new effort in outer space. Our aim is not simply to be first on the moon, any more than Charles Lindbergh's real aim was to be the first to Paris. His aim was to develop the techniques of our own country and other countries in the field of air and the atmosphere, and our objective in making this effort, which we hope will place one of our citizens on the moon, is to develop in a new frontier of science, commerce and cooperation, the position of the United States and the Free World.

This Nation belongs among the first to explore it, and among the first—if not the first—we shall be. We are offering our know-how and our cooperation to the United Nations. Our satellites will soon be providing other nations with improved weather observations. And I shall soon send to the Congress a measure to govern the financing and operation of an International Communications Satellite system, in a manner consistent with the public interest and our foreign policy.

But peace in space will help us naught once peace on earth is gone. World order will be secured only when the whole world has laid down these weapons which seem to offer us present security but threaten the future survival of the human race. That armistice day seems very far away. The vast resources of this planet are being devoted more and more to the means of destroying, instead of enriching, human life.

But the world was not meant to be a prison in which man awaits his execution. Nor has mankind survived the tests and trials of thousands of years to surrender everything—including its existence—now. This Nation has the will and the faith to make a supreme effort to break the log jam on disarmament and nuclear tests—and we will persist until

we prevail, until the rule of law has replaced the ever dangerous use of force.

VII. LATIN AMERICA

I turn now to a prospect of great promise: our Hemispheric relations. The Alliance for Progress is being rapidly transformed from proposal to program. Last month in Latin America I saw for myself the quickening of hope, the revival of confidence, the new trust in our country—among workers and farmers as well as diplomats. We have pledged our help in speeding their economic, educational, and social progress. The Latin American Republics have in turn pledged a new and strenuous effort of self-help and self-reform.

To support this historic undertaking, I am proposing—under the authority contained in the bills of the last session of the Congress—a special long-term Alliance for Progress fund of \$3 billion. Combined with our Food for Peace, Export-Import Bank, and other resources, this will provide more than \$1 billion a year in new support for the Alliance. In addition, we have increased twelvefold our Spanish and Portuguese-language broadcasting in Latin America, and improved Hemispheric trade and defense. And while the blight of communism has been increasingly exposed and isolated in the Americas, liberty has scored a gain. The people of the Dominican Republic, with our firm encouragement and help, and those of our sister Republics of this Hemisphere are safely passing through the treacherous course from dictatorship through disorder towards democracy.

VIII. THE NEW AND DEVELOPING NATIONS

Our efforts to help other new or developing nations, and to strengthen their stand for freedom, have also made progress. A newly unified Agency for International Development is reorienting our foreign assistance to emphasize long-term development loans instead of grants, more economic

aid instead of military, individual plans to meet the individual needs of the nations, and new standards on what they must do to marshal their own resources.

A newly conceived Peace Corps is winning friends and helping people in fourteen countries—supplying trained and dedicated young men and women, to give these new nations a hand in building a society, and a glimpse of the best that is in our country. If there is a problem here, it is that we cannot supply the spontaneous and mounting demand.

A newly-expanded Food for Peace Program is feeding the hungry of many lands with the abundance of our productive farms—providing lunches for children in school, wages for economic development, relief for the victims of flood and famine, and a better diet for millions whose daily bread is their chief concern.

These programs help people; and, by helping people, they help freedom. The views of their governments may sometimes be very different from ours—but events in Africa, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe teach us never to write off any nation as lost to the Communists. That is the lesson of our time. We support the independence of those newer or weaker states whose history, geography, economy or lack of power impels them to remain outside “entangling alliances”—as we did for more than a century. For the independence of nations is a bar to the Communists’ “grand design”—it is the basis of our own.

In the past year, for example, we have urged a neutral and independent Laos—regained there a common policy with our major allies—and insisted that a cease-fire precede negotiations. While a workable formula for supervising its independence is still to be achieved, both the spread of war—which might have involved this country also—and a Communist occupation have thus far been prevented.

A satisfactory settlement in Laos would also help to achieve and safeguard the peace in Viet-Nam—where the foe is increasing

his tactics of terror—where our own efforts have been stepped up—and where the local government has initiated new programs and reforms to broaden the base of resistance. The systematic aggression now bleeding that country is not a “war of liberation”—for Viet-Nam is already free. It is a war of attempted subjugation—and it will be resisted.

IX. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Finally, the united strength of the Atlantic Community has flourished in the last year under severe tests. NATO has increased both the number and the readiness of its air, ground, and naval units—both its nuclear and non-nuclear capabilities. Even greater efforts by all its members are still required. Nevertheless our unity of purpose and will has been, I believe, immeasurably strengthened.

The threat to the brave city of Berlin remains. In these last 6 months the Allies have made it unmistakably clear that our presence in Berlin, our free access thereto, and the freedom of two million West Berliners would not be surrendered either to force or through appeasement—and to maintain those rights and obligations, we are prepared to talk, when appropriate, and to fight, if necessary. Every member of NATO stands with us in a common commitment to preserve this symbol of free man's will to remain free.

I cannot now predict the course of future negotiations over Berlin. I can only say that we are sparing no honorable effort to find a peaceful and mutually acceptable resolution of this problem. I believe such a resolution can be found, and with it an improvement in our relations with the Soviet Union, if only the leaders in the Kremlin will recognize the basic rights and interests involved, and the interest of all mankind in peace.

But the Atlantic Community is no longer concerned with purely military aims. As its common undertakings grow at an ever-

increasing pace, we are, and increasingly will be, partners in aid, trade, defense, diplomacy, and monetary affairs.

The emergence of the new Europe is being matched by the emergence of new ties across the Atlantic. It is a matter of undramatic daily cooperation in hundreds of workaday tasks: of currencies kept in effective relation, of development loans meshed together, of standardized weapons, and concerted diplomatic positions. The Atlantic Community grows, not like a volcanic mountain, by one mighty explosion, but like a coral reef, from the accumulating activity of all.

Thus, we in the free world are moving steadily toward unity and cooperation, in the teeth of that old Bolshevik prophecy, and at the very time when extraordinary rumbles of discord can be heard across the Iron Curtain. It is not free societies which bear within them the seeds of inevitable disunity.

X. OUR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

On one special problem, of great concern to our friends, and to us, I am proud to give the Congress an encouraging report. Our efforts to safeguard the dollar are progressing. In the 11 months preceding last February 1, we suffered a net loss of nearly \$2 billion in gold. In the 11 months that followed, the loss was just over half a billion dollars. And our deficit in our basic transactions with the rest of the world—trade, defense, foreign aid, and capital, excluding volatile short-term flows—has been reduced from \$2 billion for 1960 to about one-third that amount for 1961. Speculative fever against the dollar is ending—and confidence in the dollar has been restored.

We did not—and could not—achieve these gains through import restrictions, troop withdrawals, exchange controls, dollar devaluation or choking off domestic recovery. We acted not in panic but in perspective. But the problem is not yet solved. Persistently large deficits would endanger our economic growth and our military and defense commitments abroad. Our goal must be a

reasonable equilibrium in our balance of payments. With the cooperation of the Congress, business, labor, and our major allies, that goal can be reached.

We shall continue to attract foreign tourists and investments to our shores, to seek increased military purchases here by our allies, to maximize foreign aid procurement from American firms, to urge increased aid from other fortunate nations to the less fortunate, to seek tax laws which do not favor investment in other industrialized nations or tax havens, and to urge coordination of allied fiscal and monetary policies so as to discourage large and disturbing capital movements.

TRADE

Above all, if we are to pay for our commitments abroad, we must expand our exports. Our businessmen must be export-conscious and export competitive. Our tax policies must spur modernization of our plants—our wage and price gains must be consistent with productivity to hold the line on prices—our export credit and promotion campaigns for American industries must continue to expand.

But the greatest challenge of all is posed by the growth of the European Common Market. Assuming the accession of the United Kingdom, there will arise across the Atlantic a trading partner behind a single external tariff similar to ours with an economy which nearly equals our own. Will we in this country adapt our thinking to these new prospects and patterns—or will we wait until events have passed us by?

This is the year to decide. The Reciprocal Trade Act is expiring. We need a new law—a wholly new approach—a bold new instrument of American trade policy. Our decision could well affect the unity of the West, the course of the Cold War, and the economic growth of our Nation for a generation to come.

If we move decisively, our factories and farms can increase their sales to their richest, fastest-growing market. Our exports will

increase. Our balance of payments position will improve. And we will have forged across the Atlantic a trading partnership with vast resources for freedom.

If, on the other hand, we hang back in deference to local economic pressures, we will find ourselves cut off from our major allies. Industries—and I believe this is most vital—industries will move their plants and jobs and capital inside the walls of the Common Market, and jobs, therefore, will be lost here in the United States if they cannot otherwise compete for its consumers. Our farm surpluses—our balance of trade, as you all know, to Europe, the Common Market, in farm products, is nearly three or four to one in our favor, amounting to one of the best earners of dollars in our balance of payments structure, and without entrance to this Market, without the ability to enter it, our farm surpluses will pile up in the Middle West, tobacco in the South, and other commodities, which have gone through Western Europe for 15 years. Our balance of payments position will worsen. Our consumers will lack a wider choice of goods at lower prices. And millions of American workers—whose jobs depend on the sale or the transportation or the distribution of exports or imports, or whose jobs will be endangered by the movement of our capital to Europe, or whose jobs can be maintained only in an expanding economy—these millions of workers in your home States and mine will see their real interests sacrificed.

Members of the Congress: The United States did not rise to greatness by waiting for others to lead. This Nation is the world's foremost manufacturer, farmer, banker, consumer, and exporter. The Common Market is moving ahead at an economic growth rate twice ours. The Communist economic offensive is under way. The opportunity is ours—the initiative is up to us—and I believe that 1962 is the time.

To seize that initiative, I shall shortly send to the Congress a new five-year Trade Expansion Action, far-reaching in scope but designed with great care to make certain

that its benefits to our people far outweigh any risks. The bill will permit the gradual elimination of tariffs here in the United States and in the Common Market on those items in which we together supply 80 percent of the world's trade—mostly items in which our own ability to compete is demonstrated by the fact that we sell abroad, in these items, substantially more than we import. This step will make it possible for our major industries to compete with their counterparts in Western Europe for access to European consumers.

On other goods the bill will permit a gradual reduction of duties up to 50 percent—permitting bargaining by major categories—and provide for appropriate and tested forms of assistance to firms and employees adjusting to import competition. We are not neglecting the safeguards provided by peril points, an escape clause, or the National Security Amendment. Nor are we abandoning our non-European friends or our traditional “most-favored nation” principle. On the contrary, the bill will provide new encouragement for their sale of tropical agricultural products, so important to our friends in Latin America, who have long depended upon the European market, who now find themselves faced with new challenges which we must join with them in overcoming.

Concessions, in this bargaining, must of course be reciprocal, not unilateral. The Common Market will not fulfill its own high promise unless its outside tariff walls are low. The dangers of restriction or timidity in our own policy have counterparts for our friends in Europe. For together we face a common challenge: to enlarge the prosperity of free men everywhere—to

build in partnership a new trading community in which all free nations may gain from the productive energy of free competitive effort.

These various elements in our foreign policy lead, as I have said, to a single goal—the goal of a peaceful world of free and independent states. This is our guide for the present and our vision for the future—a free community of nations, independent but interdependent, uniting north and south, east and west, in one great family of man, outgrowing and transcending the hates and fears that rend our age.

We will not reach that goal today, or tomorrow. We may not reach it in our own lifetime. But the quest is the greatest adventure of our century. We sometimes chafe at the burden of our obligations, the complexity of our decisions, the agony of our choices. But there is no comfort or security for us in evasion, no solution in abdication, no relief in irresponsibility.

A year ago, in assuming the tasks of the Presidency, I said that few generations, in all history, had been granted the role of being the great defender of freedom in its hour of maximum danger. This is our good fortune; and I welcome it now as I did a year ago. For it is the fate of this generation—of you in the Congress and of me as President—to live with a struggle we did not start, in a world we did not make. But the pressures of life are not always distributed by choice. And while no nation has ever faced such a challenge, no nation has ever been so ready to seize the burden and the glory of freedom.

And in this high endeavor, may God watch over the United States of America.

8 The President's News Conference of *January 15, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. [I.] I have just one announcement. I am sure you are all familiar with the story in this morning's paper of the

documentation on the study of comparisons of those in our schools and universities and the kind of subjects which they study which

was published by the National Science Foundation. This has been a matter of some concern to me for some time because one of the most critical problems facing this Nation is the inadequacy of the supply of scientific and technical manpower, to satisfy the expanding requirements of this country's research and development efforts in the near future. In 1951 our universities graduated 19,600 students in the physical sciences. In 1960 in spite of the substantial increase in our population, during the last 10 years, and in spite of the fact that the demand for people of skill in this field has tremendously increased with our efforts in defense and space, industrial research, and all of the rest, in 1960 the number had fallen from 19,600 to 17,100. In 1951 there were 22,500 studying in the biological sciences; in 1960 there were only 16,700. In the field of engineering, enrollment rose from 232,000 to 269,000 in the period 1951 to 1957. Since 1957 there has been a continual decline in enrollment. Last year the figure was down to 240,000.

This is a matter of growing concern. It is more than a matching of numerical supply to anticipate a demand, though this alone would be difficult. Because of the seriousness of this problem for the long-range future of the United States, I have asked my Science Advisory Committee, in cooperation with the Federal Council for Science and Technology, to review available studies and other pertinent information, and to report to me as quickly as possible on the specific measures that can be taken within and without the Government to develop the necessary and well qualified scientists and engineers and technicians to meet our society's complex needs—governmental, educational, and industrial.

In undertaking this task, the committee will draw on the advice and assistance of individuals and agencies, including the National Academy of Sciences, which will shortly begin at my request a new study of scientific and technical manpower utilization.

To all those who may be within the sound

of my voice or who may follow your stories in the papers, I want to emphasize the great new and exciting field of the sciences and while we wish to emphasize always the liberal arts, I do believe that these figures indicate a need on the national level and also a great opportunity for talented young men and women. And I hope that their teachers, their school boards, and they themselves and their families will give this matter consideration in developing their careers.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, as you are aware, there has been nothing official on this, but there have been some unofficial reports stemming from Ambassador Thompson's first two exploratory conferences in Moscow. These reports are to the effect that the situation with Russia has not changed.

Could you tell us, sir, whether as a result of Mr. Thompson's two meetings in Moscow that you detect any evidence, new evidence, of a possible solution of our differences with Russia over Berlin?

THE PRESIDENT. I think—it's my hope that these talks will continue, so that this matter will be subjected to the most thorough scrutiny and examination, to see whether such an arrangement is possible. Ambassador Thompson, I am hopeful, therefore, will meet with the Foreign Minister again and after these meetings have gone on for a reasonable period, we can make a much more concise judgment in answer to your question. But I think it would be premature today.

Q. Mr. President, in that connection, could you give us any idea of the length of a reasonable period of time?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think it would really depend upon what was happening during the negotiations. In other words, if progress were being made, or if there were evidence that progress could be made, of course, then the time would be different than it would be if there was no evidence of any meeting of minds. So I think the important thing now is to continue and I'm—Ambassador Thompson will.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, the United States

has made informal but strenuous efforts to reach a peaceful solution of the Indonesian-Dutch dispute. Could you say, sir, if your hopes are in any way possible of fulfillment now, and if our efforts should fail, would we then turn to the United Nations?

THE PRESIDENT. We do not have any more precise information than the news story with which you are familiar in regard to the statement of the Dutch. We have been extremely anxious that a peaceful accommodation be reached in this matter and have used our influence to bring that about. I am particularly glad that the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. U Thant, has been occupying himself with a good deal of energy to try to see if there is a possibility for a peaceful settlement.

I am hopeful that both parties will respond to his efforts, and that we can prevent an outbreak of hostilities between Indonesia and the Dutch. Great responsibility rests on both of these countries, and I am hopeful that they will give Mr. U Thant every cooperation because the alternative would not be happy for the world, nor, really, I think, in the long run, for the parties involved. A peaceful solution, of course, would be the best thing and that's what we're working for.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, this is a question about your trade liberalization program. Some members of Congress from industrial areas are reporting privately that they are worried about the problems of their support of the program because some of their manufacturing constituents say that unless they are able to get things, for example, like wool and cotton, at world market prices instead of artificial prices, that they can't afford to go along with the idea of reducing trade barriers. Can you give us your assessment of how serious you think this problem is and do you see any possible encouragement to them on it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, of course, there are two different—one is cotton, which is in surplus here in the United States, and the other is wool, which we import. In the case of cotton, as you know, we send out, export,

about 6 million bales of cotton a year, and we import about 600,000 manufactured bales, textiles. In fact, we export almost as much cotton, manufactured textiles, as we import. So the export of cotton is a very important ingredient in our balance of payments.

I think the Japanese alone buy, I think, almost \$240 or \$250 million of cotton. I believe, as I said before, that while some industries may not get the same benefit out of this proposal as others will, that generally, it will be very helpful to industry and very helpful to agriculture and most helpful to the United States.

And I think that if the members of Congress begin to examine the figures in their districts and in their States, and these figures are being prepared which show where the balance of trade runs, then I think that we can get a majority support for the legislation. A good deal of concern is expressed about Japan, but we ran a half billion dollar balance of trade in our favor. We sold Japan last year a half billion dollars more than they bought from us. So that I believe the United States can compete.

As I said the other day, the fact is that the Common Market countries have had an extraordinary economic growth, full employment and all the rest, and it is to increase our employment and our opportunities that we are recommending this. So in answer to your question, I believe that when the members of the House and Senate have examined our proposal, examined its safeguards, examined what it can do for employment, I am hopeful, in fact, I feel it very possible, that we can secure a majority, even though it's a sophisticated matter and it is difficult to explain quickly. But I think that when the educational job is done, I think the country will understand that it is in our best interest.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, are American troops now in combat in Viet-Nam?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, Secretary Freeman has said that it's impossible to expand the food-for-peace program and Mr. Mc-

Govern says it should be expanded. Have you been able to resolve this difference?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it should be expanded as we can. I think that Mr. Freeman's concern is with, first, the regular markets of trade, that the food for peace should complement it and not cut across it, the obligations we have to others who are also exporters of agricultural commodities, the question of funds and finances, of how much—if we're talking about the \$2 billion a year, which we are now. I am hopeful that we can use our productive power well in this field, but I think that the question of the balance, and I think that Mr. McGovern and Mr. Freeman in my judgment will be in balance by the time they go before the Congress, because I think they both have the same basic interests in using our food well and not having it wasted—in storage.

[7.] Q. What can you tell us about the administration's efforts to speed up the bargaining timetable in the steel industry, and what do you hope to accomplish by this?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I was hopeful, of course, from the beginning that an agreement would be reached in the steel industry, which would be, as I said in my letter to Mr. McDonald, which would be within the range of productivity and price stability, and which would come at a time, though I have not said this before, would come at a time which would prevent a repetition of what we saw in 1958 where there was a tremendous increase in inventory, in the first 6 months of the year which adversely affected the economy in the last half of the year, and also adversely affected employment in the steel mills themselves. So while they worked at high capacity for the first 6 months, there were a good many layoffs after the strike.

Now, if an agreement can be reached between the steel companies and the steel union, of course it would be well to have it come early, so that the country and the consumers of steel would be able to make their plans for the future without stockpiling.

Now this is a judgment for them. This

is a free economy, and the Federal Government has no power unless there was a strike which affects the national emergency, but Secretary Goldberg is available for whatever good offices he may perform.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, after 1 year in the office of the Presidency, would you care to give us any of your comments about the first year and perhaps in particular the most rewarding and disappointing events that have come across your desk?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would say the most disappointing event was our failure to get an agreement on the cessation of nuclear testing, because I think that that might have been a very important step in easing the tension and preventing a proliferation of the weapons, and also in making it more possible for us to have progress on disarmament and some of the other matters that divide us. The thing that I think is the most heartening is the fact that first I think there's a greater surge for unity in the Western nations, and in our relations with Latin America, and also I think it has become more obvious that people do desire to be free and independent. And while they may organize their societies in different ways, they do want to maintain a national sovereignty, which I would regard as a great source of strength to us. I've had other disappointments but those are important.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, in the past it would seem that coalition governments lean toward Communist control. Are we then taking a chance in supporting a coalition type government in southeast Asia?

THE PRESIDENT. We are taking a chance in all of southeast Asia, and we're taking a chance in other areas. Nobody can make any predictions for the future, really, on any matter in which there are powerful interests at stake. I think, however, that we have to consider what our alternatives are, and what the prospects for war are in that area if we fail in our present efforts and the geographic problems which have to be surmounted in such a military engagement, where there is no easy entrance by

sea and where the geographic location is extremely a long way from us and very close to those who might become involved. So that there's no easy, sure answer for Laos, but it is my judgment that it is in the best interests of our country to work for a neutral and independent Laos. We are attempting to do that. And I can assure you that I recognize the risks that are involved. But I also think that we should consider the risks if we fail, and particularly of the possibility of escalation of a military struggle in a place of danger. So we're going to attempt to work out this matter in a way which permits us to try.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, the Inter-American foreign ministers are due to meet at Punta del Este next Monday. In advance of that meeting, could you tell us what kind of action you hope the meeting will take to check Castroism?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it is the consensus of the hemisphere that communism is a threat; that it's sustained and supported by alien forces; that it has no place in the Inter-American system; and that we are against dictatorships of the right and left. And now that the Dominican Republic is moving from a dictatorship of the right, we are hopeful that there will be—the voice of the hemisphere will speak against dictatorships of the left which are sustained and supported from outside the hemisphere. I think that we will get that consensus.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, the agricultural proposals now under preparation appear to involve a good deal of control of production and marketing by the Government. Following your long conference with Secretary Freeman, do you now hold the view that if the Government is to continue farm price support programs, there must be control or management of production?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, management—I think what we are attempting to do is to prevent the surpluses which we are able to produce because of the extraordinary productivity of our farms. I said the other day in the State of the Union Address that our

per capita production has increased nearly 100 percent in the last 10 years, which is faster than our consumption is increasing, and as we have somewhat more difficulty maintaining some of our markets abroad, in my judgment we should attempt to provide with the support of the farmers and the Congress a reasonable balance which will protect their income. Otherwise, these surpluses will break the farmers' income, or they will be piled up so high in the sheds of the United States in storage that the whole program of trying to assist farmers will fall into discredit, and the farmer himself will be damaged. So what we are attempting to do—and this is extremely difficult because of the variety of opinions that are involved—is to try to work with the farmer and the Congress to try to bring about a balance between production for our domestic use, for our world use, for food for peace, and at the same time insure that the farmer's income will not be broken by surpluses, as it was to a substantial extent in the twenties. And that's our effort, and I think it's essential that we succeed if the public interest and the farmers are going to be protected.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, this has to do with the conduct of our judicial system. In the last several years at least two Federal judges have resigned from the bench to go back to practice law. Since Federal judges are appointed for life, would you care to comment on the possible impact of this type of resignation on the judicial system, and its effect upon the ethical standards of the community?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that the reason that they are appointed for life is so that there cannot only be no actual improprieties, but no appearance of improprieties. And while I would not make any judgment in the two cases you mentioned, I don't think that anyone should accept a Federal judgeship unless they're prepared to fill it for life, because I think the maintenance of the integrity of the judiciary is so important. So I hope that all judges will stay to the end of their terms.

[13.] Q. Sir, last April, during the generals' revolt in Algeria, you made an offer, but it was not clear from here whether it was of support or offer of aid to General de Gaulle. If a similar instance should occur in the near future, would you make a similar offer to President de Gaulle of either support or aid?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think that you've described completely, precisely, the kind of message which I sent to General de Gaulle. And I think that probably proffer of assistance would not be a precise description of it. If we felt that—I would think it would be unwise to speculate about the future. But this was a matter which was handled by the French, and no request was made for assistance, and none was offered.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, in the case of Kashmir, India has failed to keep its promise to hold free elections and has resorted with impunity in attacking Goa on December 17th. Could you tell us what the United States could do to assure that a double standard of action does not arise in the United Nations?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, there are several different questions. We are against a double standard of action in the United Nations, and I think we have attempted to make that clear, and that double standard goes to a whole variety of different things, not just the matters that you mentioned in your question.

Now, on the matter of Kashmir, we have been and are concerned that an accommodation or a solution be reached because both countries have numerous external and internal problems. And we have been assisting both countries to build a more viable economy and quite obviously everything that is put to arms as a result of their frictions, of course, takes it from the general effort, and we're going to continue our efforts.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, there are two appeals pending in the Office of Emergency Planning that relate to foreign trade. One seeks protection for the textile industry and the other seeks a reduction in import re-

strictions on residual oil. Could you tell us what progress is being made on these appeals and, in particular, if any recommendation has come to you?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we did make a recommendation about a month ago on residual oil which provided for some increase in the amount that could be imported in, I think most of it from Venezuela. In the matter of textiles, that is one of the subjects which was part of our seven-point proposal to the textile industry, that we would consider.

We have made some progress with the textile industry—the voluntary agreement, which was made by the Under Secretary, Mr. Ball, which is trying to bring about a happier distribution of textile production in a way that doesn't cause dumping. I think that that's been a help to the textile industry—the change we made in depreciation allowances. There are other matters we're now looking into, and this is one of them. But it is a fact that the importation of textiles this year, which had gone from about 4 to 7 percent from '58 to '60, was down for various reasons to 6 percent, so that the import situation was somewhat eased for the textile industry. But to answer your question, both of these matters are before us.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, criticism that we did not tear down the Berlin wall seems to be increasing rather than declining. Just about a week ago the Chairman of the Republican National Committee criticized your administration very strenuously. I don't recall that you've ever publicly discussed this particular phase of the question. Do you think it would be helpful for you to do so now?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have discussed it. I stated that no one at that time in any position of responsibility—and I would use that term—either in the West Berlin-American contingent, in West Germany, France, or Great Britain, suggested that the United States or the other countries go in and tear down the wall.

The Soviet Union had had a *de facto* control for many years, really stretching back

to the late forties in East Berlin. It had been turned over as a capital for East Germany a long time ago. And the United States has a very limited force surrounded by a great many divisions. We are going to find ourselves severely challenged to maintain what we have considered to be our basic rights—which is our presence in West Berlin and the right of access to West Berlin, and the freedom of the people of West Berlin.

But in my judgment, I think that you could have had a very violent reaction which might have taken us down a very rocky road, and I think it was for that reason and because it was recognized by those people in positions of responsibility that no recommendation was made along the lines you've suggested at that time. Hindsight is—

[17.] Q. It's been more than 4 months since the Soviets began their series of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, and I think you'd agree it would only be imprudent not to assume—to assume that they're not preparing further tests. Can you discuss what the overriding considerations are to cause us to give this potential enemy a gift of that length of time, and can you also tell us when we may expect a decision on your part in this matter of testing in the atmosphere?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, we have tested underground, so that in talking about the gift of time, that matter should be taken into consideration. Secondly, of course, we were negotiating at the table in Geneva when the Soviet Union, after many months of preparation, began its tests.

I have announced that we are making our preparations to conduct atmospheric testing if it's considered to be in the public interest when those preparations are completed. So that it's wholly impossible for a free country like the United States, with a free press, to prepare in secret the extensive—make extensive preparations which would be necessary, at the same time we are conducting a very important and vital negotiation. So that the Soviet Union has that advantage. They have advantages as a dictatorship in

this cold war struggle. But they have very serious disadvantages, and I think that we have to balance them one against the other.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, during the election campaign you pledged that if elected you would issue an executive order prohibiting racial segregation in federally assisted housing. It's recently been reported that you have decided to postpone the issuance of such an order for some time. I wondered if you could give us your thinking on this timing question—why you want to put it off?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think—I have stated that I would issue that order when I considered it to be in the public interest, and when I considered it to make an important contribution to advancing the rights of our citizens. I will point out that this administration in the last 12 months made more progress in the field of civil rights on a whole variety of fronts than were made in the last 8 years. We have, for example, carried out a great many more suits in voting rights, the appointment of Federal employees, and judges, and their employees, and ending segregation in interstate travel and terminal facilities, the ICC's work, and the work being done in railroad and airports, and we have had—at least the communities involved made important progress in integrating in this field.

So we are proceeding ahead in a way which will maintain a consensus, and which will advance this cause. And I think a proper judgment can be made on this and all other matters relating to equality of rights at the end of this year, and at the end of our term. In my judgment we are going to make significant progress and I am fully conscious of the wording of the statement to which you refer, and plan to meet my responsibilities in regard to this matter.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, would you care to comment on how the bond issue of the United Nations can tip the scale in favor of the United States?

THE PRESIDENT. Can do what?

Q. Can tip the scale in favor of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT. I think it can help us strengthen the United Nations, which I think is in the interest of the United States, and I think that if we do not have a bond issue, or a satisfactory substitute, and I have not heard of one, in my judgment the U.N. will go, sail, into very difficult weather in regard to its financing, and could be on the verge of bankruptcy. And I think this is a way, along with the decision which will be rendered by the Court in regard to the payment of their obligations—this is a way to spread the burden more equitably and insure the United Nations has adequate funds. Now, I look at what is happening in the Congo, where progress is being made towards the establishment of an independent Congo, and if Mr. Tshombe and the Prime Minister, based on their agreement at Kitona, can continue to make progress, we may have a real hope there.

So in my opinion, the United Nations justifies the effort we put into it substantially. We rely very heavily, as I said earlier today, on the Secretary General in regard to what is happening now in western New Guinea and Indonesia. So that I believe in it strongly, and I think that this is a way to strengthen it which tips the scale, I think, in the interest of peace, and those nations that wish to be free.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, this afternoon 2,000 American women, many of them from distant places, demonstrated in a downpour in front of the White House in behalf of disarmament and peace. Do you consider this sort of demonstration useful and does it have an influence on you and other world leaders who are responsible for peace?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think these women are extremely earnest and that they are as concerned as we all are at the possibility of a nuclear war. They talked this morning to Mr. Fisher, who is the Deputy Director of our disarmament agency. We stressed the effort we were going to put into the disarmament conference coming up in March. I saw the ladies myself. I recognized why they

were there. There were a great number of them. It was in the rain. I understood what they were attempting to say, and therefore I considered that their message was received.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, almost precisely a year ago, President Eisenhower in his farewell address discussed the influence of the military-industrial alliance in the defense spending program. I wonder, sir, if, in your first year in office, you have developed similar concern for this problem.

THE PRESIDENT. I think that President Eisenhower commented on a matter which deserves continuing attention by the President and also by the Secretary of Defense. There gets to be a great vested interest in expenditures because of the employment that is involved, and all the rest, and that's one of the struggles which he had and which we have, and I think his warning or his words were well taken.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment on the recent negotiations in the Common Market moving into the second phase, their negotiations with us on agricultural products?

THE PRESIDENT. We have had a long negotiation, stretching back over 18 months, on the matter with the Common Market. We sent over Mr. Petersen and the Under Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Murphy, in December. We sent them back again this week. The arrangement which has been developed in the last few days has improved our position. We always will have—and I believe that this is one of the arguments for the powers which I requested from the Congress—a difficult struggle with agricultural productivity rising in Europe, with the balance of agricultural trade. We are sending to the Common Market about a billion one hundred million and taking back about two hundred million from them—it's quite obvious that it's impossible for us to trade evenly with them on agriculture.

So, therefore, we have to trade across the board. Given the difficulties which the Common Market is now running into with

agriculture, and which we will see more of when the British negotiations get advanced, I would think that this looks like, from all the information I have, this looks like the best arrangement that we could make and seems to be in the public interest and is, I think, on the whole, satisfactory.

[23.] Q. Sir, there has been much to-do in the papers recently about memberships in various clubs affecting the members of your administration, having to do with the Cosmos Club and the Metropolitan Club, with which you are familiar.

Sir, do you have any particular standards of your own which you apply in your own case as to memberships in various clubs, as to whether they should be coeducational or biracial?

THE PRESIDENT. I have said from the beginning that I thought this was a personal matter which involved not only the members of this Government, but involves everyone in the city and everyone in the country, and every individual must make his judgment in the way that he believes to be right. And I've stated that my application for the Cos-

mos Club was not being renewed.

[24.] Q. Mr. President, you did not specifically mention doctors in your opening statement. If you get medicare legislation, where would you get the doctors, nurses, and hospitals to furnish the old people's needs?

THE PRESIDENT. I was talking about scientists on this occasion, but as you know we have asked in the State of the Union Address for some assistance to medical schools and nursing schools. The fact of the matter is that our doctors are falling far behind the rate of increase in our population, and we are going to find it increasingly difficult to serve our people well. I don't think the solution should be to deny medical care to people, however. I think we can do much better than that, and I would suggest that the best remedy would be to assist us in the program we recommended to strengthen our medical schools so we can get the doctors we need.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's twentieth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Monday afternoon, January 15, 1962.

9 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on Reorganization of the Department of the Army. *January 16, 1962*

Dear Mr. ———:

I have approved a plan for the reorganization of the Department of the Army. This plan was recommended by the Secretary of the Army after detailed study and approved by the Secretary of Defense. A copy of the reorganization plan is enclosed herewith.

I am also enclosing for transmission to the Chairman of the Armed Services Committee a communication from the Secretary of Defense reporting, pursuant to section 202(c) (1) of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, the action to be taken with reference to abolition of certain statutory officers and the transfer of their functions to the Secretary of the Army.

Sincerely, JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

As outlined in the committee print "Reorganization of the Department of the Army" (Hearing 43, House Committee on Armed Services, Feb. 5, 1962) the key features of the plan are as follows:

1. Creation of a Materiel Development and Logistic Command.
2. Establishment of an Army Combat Developments Command.
3. Assignment to the U.S. Continental Army Command of responsibility for all individual and unit training throughout the Army, except certain highly specialized training such as the Military Academy and Army War College.
4. Transfer of certain operating functions of the Army General Staff to the new commands and agencies to be created.

5. Establishment of an Office of Personnel Operations.

6. Realignment of the Army Special Staff and Operating Agencies.

The proposal also calls for the elimination of the following officers created by statute and for the

transfer of their functions to the Secretary of the Army: Chief Signal Officer, Chief of Finance, Adjutant General, Quartermaster General, Chief of Ordnance, Chief Chemical Officer, Chief of Transportation. The reorganization became effective on February 16, 1962.

10 Statement by the President at a Meeting of the Business Ethics Advisory Council. *January 16, 1962*

I HAVE REVIEWED with Secretary Hodges the report and progress you have made in the development of a program to stimulate and assist business leaders and trade association groups in attaining high ethical standards, and I am delighted.

But your statement of principles can only be a beginning. In the last analysis, high ethical standards can be achieved only through voluntary effort. The principles you have outlined will establish guideposts, give direction and help whole industries and companies to initiate codes and standards.

I am confident that American business will respond, but in addition to helping businessmen, your work should assist the general public to achieve a broader understanding of these problems—for ethics is a matter of concern to us all.

The free world watches us closely for leadership in this field, the uncommitted nations seek examples of the free enterprise system in operation, and the Communist nations are looking for vulnerable points of attack. I know that you will bear all this in mind.

It is good to know that this group of distinguished business leaders, educators and clergymen has undertaken this important task. I am looking forward to seeing continued reports of progress by this Council.

NOTE: The Business Ethics Advisory Council, announced by the Secretary of Commerce on May 16, 1961, was established for the purpose of exploring approaches to the development of ethical guidelines that might be useful to the business community. The Council's first report, entitled "A Statement on Business Ethics and a Call for Action With Some Questions for Businessmen," is printed as a Department of Commerce pamphlet (10 pp.).

11 Statement by the President in Response to Report of the Committee on Traffic Safety. *January 17, 1962*

MY EARNEST HOPE is that the President's Committee for Traffic Safety may take the lead in bringing about broader and more intensive traffic safety activity during 1962.

We must exert every effort to improve traffic conditions which today are resulting every year in some 38,000 deaths, 1½ million serious injuries and billions of dollars of property loss.

I am heartened to learn that the states are moving ahead to utilize Public Law 85-684—the Beamer Resolution—which grants congressional consent in advance to interstate compacts whose purpose is to promote

safety on the highways. In adopting this law, the Congress, in effect, reaffirmed the principle that primary responsibility for traffic safety meets with the state.

I believe strongly in keeping responsibility for traffic safety with state and local officials. But, only by interstate cooperation can we deal effectively with motor vehicle travel that becomes increasingly interstate in nature. So I hope that the states will take full advantage of compact agreements to move forward in the interests of uniformity and safety.

I have also been glad to note the increasing participation by the states in the Federal Driver License Register, which serves as a

clearing house for identifying drivers whose licenses have been revoked or suspended for certain serious traffic offenses.

And, I am encouraged by the increasing safety research activities of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and by the creation of the Office of Highway Safety in the Bureau of Public Roads. These de-

velopments indicate a growing awareness of how the Federal Government can help states and citizens do a better job in traffic accident prevention.

NOTE: A summary report in the form of a letter to the President from William R. Hearst, Jr., Chairman of the Committee, was released by the White House on the same day.

12 Remarks Upon Signing Orders Relating to Personnel Management in the Federal Service. *January 17, 1962*

YESTERDAY was the 79th anniversary of the enactment of the Civil Service Act, and I am hopeful that the things that we are doing today will also be a source of strength to the entire Federal civil service.

The task force recommendations are being put into effect by these executive orders and I think they have steered a proper course. The public interest remains the dominant consideration, administering Federal employee-management relations, and proper management responsibilities have been retained and strengthened and will be by this executive order.

Within that framework, these orders define and provide a legal base for the rights of Federal employees and employee organizations to participate in improving personnel policies and working conditions not specifically fixed by the Congress.

I want to thank all those who helped in the development of this program, and I am delighted that there are Members of the Congress here who have been concerned about this matter for many years, and also representatives of the employee organizations within the Federal Government. And I want to assure you that it is our aim, as

President—and I think it is the aim of all those in positions of responsibility in the Federal Government, as an employer of two million, three hundred thousand civilian employees, to achieve maximum efficiency.

The temporary committee created by the order to implement the program, will indicate the necessary steps to launch this project, and I am confident that the program will result in improved relations between management and employees in the Federal service.

I am also glad to have our visitors from Vienna, Austria, here—the President of the Austrian Trade Union Federation—glad you are taking part in this ceremony.

NOTE: The President's remarks followed the signing of Executive Order 10987, "Agency Systems for Appeals from Adverse Actions," and Executive Order 10988, "Employee-Management Cooperation in the Federal Service" (27 F.R. 550, 551).

The task force referred to in the second paragraph was established by the President on June 22, 1961, to review and advise on employee-management relations in the Federal service. Its recommendations were submitted on December 5, 1961 (see 1961 volume, this series, p. 769).

In closing, the President referred to Franz Olah, President of the Austrian Trade Union Federation.

13 Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1963. *January 18, 1962*

To the Congress of the United States:

I present with this message my budget recommendations for the fiscal year 1963, beginning next July 1.

This is the first complete budget of this administration. It has been prepared with two main objectives in mind:

First, to carry forward efficiently the

activities—ranging from defense to postal services, from oceanographic research to space exploration—which by national consensus have been assigned to the Federal Government to execute;

Second, to achieve a financial plan—a relationship between receipts and expenditures—which will contribute to economic growth, high employment, and price stability in our national economy.

Budget expenditures for fiscal 1963 will total \$92.5 billion under my recommendations—an increase of \$3.4 billion over the amount estimated for the present fiscal year. More than three-quarters of the increase is accounted for by national security and space activities, and the bulk of the remainder by fixed interest charges.

Because of the increasing requirements for national security, I have applied strict standards of urgency in reviewing proposed expenditures in this budget. Many desirable new projects and activities are being deferred. I am, moreover, recommending legislation which will reduce certain budgetary outlays, such as the postal deficit and the cost of farm price and production adjustments.

It would not, of course, be sensible to defer expenditures which are of great significance to the growth and strength of the Nation. This budget therefore includes a number of increases in existing programs and some new proposals of high priority—such as improvements in education and scientific research, retraining the unemployed and providing young people with greater employment opportunities, and aid to urban mass transportation.

Budget receipts in fiscal year 1963 are estimated to total \$93 billion, an increase of \$10.9 billion over the recession-affected level of the present fiscal year. These receipts estimates are based on the expectation that the brisk recovery from last year's recession will continue through the coming year and beyond, carrying the gross national product during calendar 1962 to a record \$570 billion.

The administrative budget for 1963 thus shows a modest surplus of about \$500 million. Federal accounts on the basis of the consolidated cash statement—combining the administrative budget with other Federal activities, mainly the social security, high-

SUMMARY OF FEDERAL FINANCES

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Description	1959 actual	1960 actual	1961 actual	1962 estimate	1963 estimate
Administrative budget:					
Budget receipts.....	\$67.9	\$77.8	\$77.7	\$82.1	\$93.0
Budget expenditures.....	80.3	76.5	81.5	89.1	92.5
Budget surplus (+) or deficit (—).....	—12.4	+1.2	—3.9	—7.0	+0.5
Consolidated cash statement:					
Receipts from the public.....	81.7	95.1	97.2	102.6	116.6
Payments to the public.....	94.8	94.3	99.5	111.1	114.8
Excess of receipts (+) or payments (—).....	—13.1	+0.8	—2.3	—8.5	+1.8
National income accounts—Federal sector:					
Receipts.....	85.4	94.1	94.8	105.6	116.3
Expenditures.....	90.2	91.9	97.0	106.1	111.9
Surplus (+) or deficit (—).....	—4.8	+2.2	—2.2	—0.5	+4.4
New obligational authority (administrative budget).....	81.4	79.6	86.7	95.7	99.3
Public debt, end of year.....	284.7	286.3	289.0	295.4	294.9

way, and other trust funds—show an estimated excess of receipts from the public of \$1.8 billion over payments to the public. And in the terms in which our national income accounts are calculated—using accrued rather than cash receipts and expenditures, and including only transactions directly affecting production and income—the Federal surplus is estimated at \$4.4 billion.

By all three measures in current use, therefore, the Federal Government is expected to operate in 1963 with some surplus. This is the policy which seems appropriate at the present time. The economy is moving strongly forward, with employment and incomes rising. The prospects are favorable for further rises in the coming year in private expenditures, both consumption and investment. To plan a deficit under such circumstances would increase the risk of inflationary pressures, damaging alike to our domestic economy and to our international balance of payments. On the other hand,

we are still far short of full capacity use of plant and manpower. To plan a larger surplus would risk choking off economic recovery and contributing to a premature downturn.

Under present economic circumstances, therefore, a moderate surplus of the magnitude projected above is the best national policy, considering all of our needs and objectives.

BUDGET EXPENDITURES

The total of budget expenditures—estimated at \$92.5 billion in fiscal 1963—is determined in large measure by the necessary but costly programs designed to achieve our national security and international objectives in the current world situation. Expenditures for national defense, international, and space programs account for more than three-fifths of total 1963 budget outlays, and for more than three-fourths of the estimated increase in expenditures in 1963 as compared

BUDGET EXPENDITURES

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Function	1961 actual	1962 estimate	1963 estimate
National defense.....	\$47.5	\$51.2	\$52.7
International affairs and finance.....	2.5	2.9	3.0
Space research and technology.....	.7	1.3	2.4
Subtotal	50.7	55.4	58.1
Interest	9.0	9.0	9.4
Domestic civil functions:			
Agriculture and agricultural resources.....	5.2	6.3	5.8
Natural resources.....	2.0	2.1	2.3
Commerce and transportation.....	2.6	2.9	2.5
Housing and community development.....	.3	.5	.8
Health, labor, and welfare.....	4.2	4.7	5.1
Education .....	.9	1.1	1.5
Veterans benefits and services.....	5.4	5.6	5.3
General government.....	1.7	1.9	2.0
Subtotal, domestic civil functions.....	22.4	25.3	25.4
Civilian pay reform.....	.....	.....	.2
Allowance for contingencies.....	.....	.1	.2
Deduct interfund transactions.....	.7	.7	.7
Total budget expenditures.....	81.5	89.1	92.5

to 1962. Indeed, apart from the expected increase in interest payments, expenditures for the so-called "domestic civil" functions of government have been held virtually stable between 1962 and 1963.

Within this total there are important shifts in direction and emphasis. Expenditures for agricultural programs, for the postal deficit, and for temporary extended unemployment compensation are expected to drop. The fact that funds for these purposes can be reduced permits us to make increases in other important areas—notably education, health, housing, and natural resource development—without raising significantly total expenditures for domestic civil functions.

NATIONAL DEFENSE.—This budget carries forward the policies instituted within the past 12 months to strengthen our military forces and to increase the flexibility with which they can be controlled and applied. The key elements in our defense program include: a strategic offensive force which would survive and respond overwhelmingly after a massive nuclear attack; a command and control system which would survive and direct the response; an improved anti-bomber defense system; a civil defense program which would help to protect an important proportion of our population from the perils of nuclear fallout; combat-ready limited war forces and the air and sealift needed to move them quickly to wherever they might have to be deployed; and special forces to help our allies cope with the threat of Communist-sponsored insurrection and subversion.

Increases in expenditures for the Nation's defense are largely responsible for the rise in the budget of this administration compared to that of its predecessor. For fiscal years 1962 and 1963, expenditures for the military functions of the Department of Defense are estimated at about \$9 billion higher, and new obligational authority at \$12 to \$15 billion more, than would have been required to carry forward the program as it stood a year ago.

For the coming year, the budget provides for further significant increases in the capa-

bilities of our strategic forces, including additional Minuteman missiles and Polaris submarines. These forces are large and versatile enough to survive any attack which could be launched against us today and strike back decisively. The programs proposed in this budget are designed to assure that we will continue to have this capability in the future. This assurance is based on an exhaustive analysis of all the available data on Soviet military forces and the strengths and vulnerabilities of our own forces under a wide range of possible contingencies.

To strengthen the defenses of the North American Continent, this budget proposes additional measures to increase the effectiveness of our anti-bomber defense system, continued efforts to improve our warning of ballistic missile attack, and further research and development at a maximum rate on anti-missile defense possibilities.

The budget for the current year provides for identifying and marking available civilian shelter space for approximately 50 million people. This phase of the civil defense program is proceeding ahead of schedule. For 1963, I am requesting nearly \$700 million for civil defense activities of the Department of Defense, including \$460 million for a new cost-sharing program with State and local governments and private organizations to provide shelters in selected community buildings, such as schools and hospitals.

Although a global nuclear war poses the gravest threat to our survival, it is not the most probable form of conflict as long as we maintain the forces needed to make a nuclear war disastrous to any foe. Military aggression on a lesser scale is far more likely. If we are to retain for ourselves a choice other than a nuclear holocaust or retreat, we must increase considerably our conventional forces. This is a task we share with our free world allies.

The budget recommendations for 1963 are designed to strengthen our conventional forces substantially. I am proposing:

An increase in the number of regular

Army divisions from 14 to 16. The two new divisions would replace the two National Guard divisions now on active duty and scheduled to return to reserve status prior to October 1962.

A substantial increase in the number of regular tactical fighter units of the Air Force and in the procurement of new fighter and reconnaissance aircraft. These steps will provide more effective air support for our ground forces.

Revision of the programs for organization and training of the reserve components so they will be better adapted and better prepared to serve in any emergency which requires mobilization.

Significant increases in procurement for all of our conventional forces. These forces must be equipped and provisioned so they are ready to fight a limited war for a protracted period of time anywhere in the world.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND FINANCE.—A significant change has taken place in our international assistance programs in recent years. Military assistance expenditures are declining to an estimated \$1.4 billion in 1963 compared with \$2.2 billion 5 years earlier. The more industrialized European countries have almost completely taken over the cost of their own armament. In less developed countries, the military assistance program continues to provide essential maintenance, training, and selective modernization of equipment, with increased emphasis on internal security, including anti-guerrilla warfare.

On the other hand, expenditures for economic and financial assistance to the developing nations of the world have been increasing and are estimated at \$2.5 billion in 1963. These expenditures, largely in the form of loans, will rise further in later years as development loan commitments being made currently are drawn upon. A corresponding increase is taking place in the contributions of other industrialized countries.

The new Agency for International Development has been providing needed leader-

ship in coordinating the various elements of our foreign aid programs throughout the world. A consistent effort is being made to relate military and economic assistance to the overall capabilities and needs of recipient countries to achieve economic growth and sustain adequate military strength. To make our assistance more effective, increasing emphasis is being placed on self-help measures and necessary reforms in these countries. The authority provided last year to make long-term loan commitments to developing countries will be of invaluable assistance to orderly long-range planning. Efforts will also be made to foster more effectively the contribution of private enterprise to development, through such means as investment guarantees and assistance for surveys of investment opportunities.

In August 1961, the United States formally joined with its neighbors to the south in the establishment of the Alliance for Progress, an historic cooperative effort to speed the economic and social development of the American Republics. For their part, the Latin American countries agreed to undertake a strenuous program of social and economic reform and development through this decade. As this program of reform and development proceeds, the United States is pledged to help. To this end, I am proposing a special long-term authorization for \$3 billion of aid to the Alliance for Progress within the next 4 years. In addition, substantial continued development loans are expected from the Export-Import Bank and from U.S. funds being administered by the Inter-American Development Bank. These, together with the continued flow of agricultural commodities under the Food for Peace program, will mean support for the Alliance for Progress in 1963 substantially exceeding \$1 billion.

SPACE RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY.—Last year I proposed and the Congress agreed that this Nation should embark on a greater effort to explore and make use of the space environment. This greater effort will result in increased expenditures in 1962 and

1963, combined, of about \$1.1 billion above what they would have been under the policies of the preceding administration; measured in terms of new obligational authority, the increase is \$2.4 billion for the 2 years. With this increase in funds there has been a major stepup in the programs of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in such fields as communications and meteorology and in the most dramatic effort of all—mastery of space symbolized by an attempt to send a man to the moon and back safely to earth.

Action is being taken to develop the complex Apollo spacecraft in which the manned lunar flights will be made, and to develop the large rockets required to boost the spacecraft to the moon. The techniques of manned space flight, particularly those of long-term flight and of rendezvous between two spacecraft in earth orbit, are being studied both in ground research and in new flight programs.

Our space program has far broader significance, however, than the achievement of manned space flight. The research effort connected with the space program—and particularly the tremendous technological advances necessary to permit space flight—will have great impact in increasing the rate of technical progress throughout the economy.

DOMESTIC CIVIL FUNCTIONS.—Despite the necessary heavy emphasis we are giving to defense, international, and space activities, the budget reflects many important proposals to strengthen our national economy and society. It has been possible to include these proposals without any substantial increase in the total cost of domestic civil functions mainly because of proposed reductions in postal and agricultural expenditures. Some of the more important proposals in domestic civil programs are mentioned below.

Agriculture and agricultural resources.—In the development of farm programs we are striving to make effective use of American agricultural abundance, to adjust farm production to bring it in line with domestic

and export requirements, and to maintain and increase income for those who are engaged in farming. The steps taken thus far, including the temporary wheat and feed grain legislation enacted in the last session of the Congress, contributed significantly to the rise in farm income last year and to some reduction—the first in 9 years—in surplus stocks. However, new long-range legislation is needed to permit further adaptation of our farm programs to the rapidly increasing productive efficiency in agriculture and to avoid continuing high budgetary costs. The reduction in agricultural expenditures in this budget (from \$6.3 billion in 1962 to \$5.8 billion in 1963) reflects the proposals to this end which I shall be presenting to the Congress in a special message.

The 1963 budget also provides for expansion of the food stamp plan into additional pilot areas, and for a substantial increase in Rural Electrification Administration loan funds—to permit financing of additional generation and transmission facilities where that is necessary. The adequacy of the funds recommended will depend on the willingness of other power suppliers to meet the requirements of the rural electric cooperatives on a reasonable basis.

Natural resources.—Estimated expenditures of \$2.3 billion in this budget for the conservation and development of our natural resources are higher than in any previous year.

The 1963 budget makes provision for the Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the Tennessee Valley Authority to start construction on 43 new water resources projects with an estimated total Federal cost of \$600 million. The long-range programs for the national parks and forests are also being strengthened.

One of our most pressing problems is the adequate provision of outdoor recreational facilities to meet the needs of our expanding population. The Federal Government, State and local agencies, and private groups must all share in the solution. By the end of this month the comprehensive report of the

Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission is expected to be available. The Secretary of the Interior, at my request, is preparing a plan for the Federal Government to meet its share of the responsibility for providing outdoor recreational opportunities, including those related to fish and wildlife.

Commerce and transportation.—Budget expenditures for commerce and transportation programs are estimated to decline from \$2.9 billion in 1962 to \$2.5 billion in 1963. This decline reflects mainly a drop of \$592 million for the postal service, based on my legislative proposal to increase postal rates to a level that will cover the costs of postal operations, except for those services properly charged to the general taxpayer.

Outlays for the Federal-aid highway program are financed almost entirely through the highway trust fund and are not included in the budget total. Combined, Federal budget and trust fund expenditures for commerce and transportation programs in 1963 will amount to almost \$6 billion.

Substantially increased expenditures are provided in the 1963 budget for the new program to assist the redevelopment of areas with persistent unemployment and underemployment and for the expanding development and operation of the Federal airways system.

Housing and community development.—The long strides forward in housing and community development programs authorized by the Housing Act of 1961 are making it possible to accelerate progress in renewing our cities, in financing needed public facilities, in preserving open space, and in supplying housing accommodations, both public and private, within the means of low- and middle-income families and elderly people. The major new proposal I expect to make in this field will extend the authority for Federal aids to urban mass transportation.

Health, labor, and welfare.—Budget expenditures for health, labor, and welfare programs are estimated at \$5.1 billion and

trust fund expenditures at \$21.6 billion in 1963. The budget includes increased funds for health research and for a major strengthening of the programs of the Public Health Service, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, and the Food and Drug Administration. The budget and trust accounts also reflect the legislative recommendations which are pending in the Congress to provide a substantial increase in aid for medical education and to enact health insurance for the aged through social security.

I have given particular attention in this budget to strengthening the labor and manpower functions of the Department of Labor and related agencies. In addition to increased funds for the United States Employment Service and for other existing Federal programs, the budget includes funds for the urgently needed legislation providing for Federal aid for training or retraining unemployed workers, and for the training of our young people through an experimental youth employment opportunities program.

Many American families rely for help and for a new start in life upon the public assistance programs. Yet these programs frequently lack both the services and the means to discharge their purpose constructively. This budget includes substantial increases for public assistance. I am also proposing a significant modernization and strengthening of the welfare programs to emphasize those services which can help restore families to self-sufficiency.

Education.—Expenditures for existing and proposed education programs are estimated to be \$1.5 billion in 1963, an increase of \$327 million over 1962. A strong educational system providing ready access for all to high quality free public elementary and secondary schools is indispensable in our democratic society. Moreover, able students should not be denied a higher education because they cannot pay expenses or because their community or State cannot afford to provide good college facilities. This budget therefore includes funds for the legislative recommendations pending before

the Congress to provide loans for the construction of college academic facilities and funds for college scholarships, and assistance to public elementary and secondary education through grants for the construction of classrooms and for teachers' salaries. The budget also includes funds for a new program of financial aid to improve the quality of education by such means as teacher training institutes. Continuing our policy of building the research effort of the Nation, funds are recommended for the National Science Foundation to expand support for basic research and the construction of research facilities, particularly at colleges and universities, and to strengthen programs in science education.

Veterans benefits and services.—Our first concern in veterans programs is that adequate benefits be provided for those disabled in the service of their country. The last increase in compensation rates for service-disabled veterans was enacted in 1957. To offset increases in the cost of living since that time, I again recommend that the Congress enact legislation to establish higher rates, particularly for the severely disabled. The 1963 budget provides \$64 million for this proposal.

NEW OBLIGATIONAL AUTHORITY

Before Federal funds can be spent, the Congress must enact authority for each agency to incur financial obligations. For the current year, it now appears that \$3.8 billion of new obligational authority over the amount already enacted will be required. Of this amount, \$2 billion represents standby authority for lending in case of need to the International Monetary Fund—in accordance with the recently concluded agreement under which other countries will make available twice this amount of standby authority. This will make a total of \$95.7 billion of new obligational authority for fiscal 1962.

For 1963, my recommendations for new obligational authority total \$99.3 billion. This includes substantial sums needed for

forward funding of programs—such as those of the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration—under which commitments are made in one year and expenditures often occur in later years.

BUDGET RECEIPTS

The estimate of budget receipts for fiscal year 1963 rests on projections of economic recovery and growth which will be discussed in the Economic Report. In brief, the revenue estimates are based on the assumption that the gross national product will rise from \$521 billion in the calendar year 1961 to \$570 billion in calendar 1962. At this level of output, corporate profits in calendar 1962 would be about \$56.5 billion and personal income about \$448 billion. These figures do not reflect the additional stimulus which would be given to investment and incomes in the economy by the investment tax credit now pending before the Congress.

Since the spring of calendar year 1961, the average gain in gross national product has been about 2½% per quarter. The economic assumptions underlying the budget estimates will be realized with a somewhat more modest rate of gain of approximately 2% per quarter. This pace of advance would reduce the rate of unemployment to approximately 4% of the civilian labor force by the end of fiscal 1963.

There are, of course, uncertainties in any estimates of economic developments so far ahead. If private demand gains greater strength than we now foresee and the current expansion accelerates, there would be a larger Federal surplus, which would be a valuable means of restraining potential inflationary pressures. If, on the other hand, the economic recovery unexpectedly halts or is reversed, revenues would fall below the current estimates and a deficit would inevitably result, moderating the economic slowdown.

Aside from revenue gains based on economic expansion, there will be larger revenue collections as a result of strengthening

BUDGET RECEIPTS

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Source	1961 actual	1962 estimate	1963 estimate
Individual income taxes.....	\$41.3	\$45.0	\$49.3
Corporation income taxes.....	21.0	21.3	26.6
Excise taxes.....	9.1	9.6	10.0
Estate and gift taxes.....	1.9	2.1	2.3
Customs.....	1.0	1.2	1.3
Miscellaneous receipts.....	4.1	3.5	4.2
Total.....	78.3	82.8	93.7
Deduct interfund transactions.....	.7	.7	.7
Total budget receipts.....	77.7	82.1	93.0

the Internal Revenue Service with additional enforcement personnel. Collections are estimated to be increased \$300 million during 1963 because of this effort.

Tax reform proposals.—Extensive and careful consideration has already been given to the proposals enumerated in my special tax message to the Congress last April. These tax reform proposals, as I noted last year, represent a first step in improving our tax system. The House Committee on Ways and Means has made action on a similar set of recommendations its first order of business this year. I hope they will be enacted early in this session.

I particularly urge enactment of the tax credit for investment in depreciable equipment. The 8% credit as formulated by the Committee on Ways and Means, together with administrative revision of guidelines for depreciation now underway, will encourage modernization of productive equipment in private industry desirable alike to improve the Nation's potential for economic growth and the ability of our producers to compete with those abroad.

Any net reduction in fiscal 1963 revenues resulting from adoption of the investment credit is expected to be offset by additional revenues resulting from the enactment of measures to remove defects and inequities in the tax structure, including:

Corrective legislation with respect to the tax treatment of gains on depreciable property, including both real and personal prop-

erty, which would prevent abuses that now occur and permit greater flexibility in the rules for salvage value in determining depreciation.

A system of tax withholding on dividend and interest income, needed to overcome the serious loss of revenue and the unfairness resulting from the failure of some individuals to report these types of income on their tax returns.

Repeal of the exclusion from an individual's taxable income of the first \$50 of dividends and the credit against tax of 4% of additional dividends.

Statutory provisions to cope with the problem of business deductions for entertainment and gifts and other expense account items.

Legislation to eliminate unwarranted tax preferences now received by several special types of institutions. Earnings of cooperatives reflecting business activities should be currently taxed either to the cooperatives or to the patrons; special provisions now applicable to mutual fire and casualty insurance companies should be repealed; and the tax deductible reserve provisions applicable to mutual savings banks and savings and loan associations should be amended to assure nondiscriminatory taxation among competing financial institutions.

Revision of the tax treatment of foreign income to serve the overall objective of tax neutrality between domestic and foreign operations. This requires eliminating tax

deferral privileges except in less-developed countries, and tightening up on other preferences given to foreign income under existing law. These involve (a) tax haven operations, (b) taxation of foreign investment companies, (c) taxation of American citizens who are resident abroad, (d) estate tax on real property abroad, (e) computation of allowances for foreign tax credits on dividends, and (f) taxation of foreign trusts.

Extension of present tax rates.—The budget outlook for 1963 requires that the present tax rates on corporation income and certain excises be extended for another year beyond their scheduled expiration date of June 30, 1962. Existing law calls for changes which would lower the general corporation income tax rate from 52% to 47%; reduce the excise rates on distilled spirits, beers, wines, cigarettes, passenger automobiles, and automobile parts and accessories; and allow the tax on general telephone services to expire. I recommend postponement of these changes for another year to prevent a revenue loss of \$2.8 billion in 1963.

Transportation tax and user charges.—Under existing law, the 10% tax on transportation of persons is scheduled for reduction to 5% on July 1, 1962. This tax poses special problems for common carriers which must compete with private automobiles not subject to the tax. At the same time it is clearly appropriate that passengers and shippers who benefit from special Government programs should bear a fair share of the costs of these programs.

Accordingly, I recommend that the present 10% tax as it applies to passenger transportation other than by air be repealed effective July 1, 1962. I also recommend enactment of new systems of user charges for commercial and general aviation and for transportation on inland waterways.

More specifically, I recommend that the following user charges be enacted, effective January 1, 1963, with the receipts to be retained in the general fund: (a) a 5% tax

on airline tickets and on airfreight waybills; (b) a 2-cents-per-gallon tax on all fuels used in commercial air transportation, including jet fuels; and (c) a 3-cents-per-gallon tax on all fuels used in general aviation. The January 1, 1963, effective date will allow time for review by the Civil Aeronautics Board of fare adjustments that might be required by these user charges. Pending the proposed tax changes, the present 10% tax on air transportation and the 2-cents-per-gallon aviation gasoline tax should be continued until December 31, 1962.

To extend the principle of user charges to inland waterways, a tax of 2 cents per gallon should be applied to all fuels used in transportation on these waterways, effective January 1, 1963.

PUBLIC DEBT

Changes in the public debt from year to year reflect mainly the amount of the budget surplus or deficit. With a budget surplus of \$500 million proposed for 1963, the public debt on June 30, 1963, is expected to be \$294.9 billion compared with \$295.4 billion at the end of the current year.

The limit on the public debt now stands at \$298 billion until June 30, 1962, after which the permanent ceiling of \$285 billion again becomes effective. The present temporary limit was established last June before the Berlin situation required additional defense expenditures which used up the margin of flexibility included in the \$298 billion limit.

The current limit would impose serious operating difficulties on the Treasury during the remainder of fiscal 1962. The critical stage in functioning under the present limit is upon us and the Treasury is without any margin to meet unexpected contingencies. Although the total debt will decline to \$295.4 billion after the receipt of taxes in June, customary seasonal patterns of expenditures in excess of receipts can be expected to raise the total debt above the present \$298

PUBLIC DEBT

[Fiscal years. In billions]

Description	1961 actual	1962 estimate	1963 estimate
Public debt at start of year.....	\$286.3	\$289.0	\$295.4
Change due to budget deficit (+) or surplus (—).....	+3.9	+7.0	— .5
Change due to other factors.....	—1.2	— .6	.....
Public debt at close of year.....	289.0	295.4	294.9

billion temporary limit at times during the intervening months.

Despite the expectation of budget balance for fiscal 1963 as a whole, with the debt expected to return to the \$295 billion level on June 30, 1963, seasonal requirements will temporarily raise the outstanding debt during the course of the year to nearly \$305 billion. To make the usual allowance for a margin of flexibility in fiscal 1963, and to restore immediately needed flexibility for operations over the remainder of fiscal 1962, I urge prompt enactment of a temporary increase of the debt limit to \$308 billion, to be available for the remainder of this year and throughout fiscal 1963.

BUDGET AND FISCAL POLICY

Beyond the specific elements of budget expenditures and receipts, it is necessary to consider the relationship of the budget as a whole to the national economy. Three aspects of this relationship have been given particular attention in the preparation of this budget.

THE BUDGET AND ECONOMIC GROWTH AND STABILITY.—Our national economic policy is to achieve rapid economic progress for the Nation, with the benefits widely distributed among all parts of the population, to achieve and maintain levels of employment and output commensurate with our growing labor force and productive capacity, and at the same time to maintain reasonable price stability.

The Federal budget has a major role to play in achieving these objectives. Basic investments and services of large importance to the Nation are provided through the Gov-

ernment. Striking evidence of this contribution is that the Federal budget today supports about two-thirds of all the scientific research and development going forward in the Nation. The budget also supports education, transportation, and other developmental activities contributing to national growth.

Federal budget policy also has a major role to play in economic stabilization. This role was evident in fiscal years 1961 and 1962, when deficits were incurred in turning the business cycle from recession to recovery, as had been true in 1958–59 and in earlier recessions.

We do not expect another economic recession during the period covered by this budget. However, experience has taught us that periodic fluctuations in the economy cannot be completely avoided, and that Federal fiscal policy should work flexibly and promptly in such situations. For this, we need standby plans, the merits and mechanics of which have been explored ahead of time by the Congress and the administration.

Three proposals particularly merit congressional consideration at this time:

First, the President should be given standby discretionary authority, subject to congressional veto, to reduce personal income tax rates on clear evidence of economic need, for periods and by percentages set in the legislation.

Second, he should have standby power to initiate, when unemployment rises sharply, a temporary expansion in Federal and federally aided public works programs including authority for new Federal grants and loans for State and local capital improvements. The legislation providing for such

an anti-recession program should ensure that projects to be financed will meet high-priority needs, will be started promptly and completed rapidly, and will result in a net addition to Federal, State, or local expenditures.

Third, legislation should be enacted to strengthen considerably the Federal-State unemployment insurance system, including a permanent system of extended unemployment benefits for workers whose regular benefits expire—in good times or bad for workers with long work experience and in recession periods for all workers. These recommendations will be discussed in the Economic Report.

THE BUDGET AND THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS.—In formulating this budget, careful consideration has been given to the impact on our international balance of payments of Federal expenditures abroad for defense, foreign assistance, and the conduct of foreign affairs. During the coming year, U.S. Government expenditures abroad are estimated to be \$4.4 billion, compared with \$4.6 billion in the current year, mainly for construction and procurement of goods and services for U.S. military and civilian operations abroad; military and civilian salaries; and the fraction of foreign assistance which does not directly finance U.S. exports. The 1963 estimate reflects many actions which have been taken to reduce the level of Government expenditures abroad. We are managing to strengthen our military defenses overseas without increasing our foreign exchange outlays, and with respect to economic aid we are stressing even further the procurement of American goods and services.

This budget also reflects other measures we are taking to improve the balance of payments, including tax measures to encourage the modernization of productive equipment and consequent increases in our competitive ability in world markets, stepped up export promotion activities, greater encouragement to foreign travel in the United States, and reduced tax inducements to invest in de-

veloped areas abroad rather than at home. To improve further our balance of payments position, we are continuing negotiations with other industrialized countries with the objective of increasing their purchases of defense materiel in the United States and their contributions to the economic advance of the developing countries.

Basic improvement in our balance of payments will depend primarily upon our ability to continue a high degree of overall price stability and to improve the competitive position of U.S. goods in world markets. The dynamic development and prospective expansion of the European Economic Community are resulting in fundamental changes in world commerce. This pattern of growth presents us with unparalleled export opportunity as well as a continuing challenge. We must meet these changes boldly, confident in our continuing ability to compete on the world markets and to participate in the enormous benefits to all concerned which accrue from the worldwide division of labor and expansion of trade. These are the objectives of the legislative recommendations concerning trade expansion which I shall be sending to the Congress shortly in a special message.

THE BUDGET AND FEDERAL CAPITAL OUTLAYS.—In contrast with the practice of many businesses, State and local governments, and foreign governments, the budget of the U.S. Government lumps together expenditures for capital investment and for current operations. Nevertheless it is clearly of importance, in analyzing the significance of the Federal budget to the Nation, to recognize that the budget includes substantial expenditures for loans, public works, and other durable assets and capital items which will yield benefits in future years.

Furthermore, increasing attention has been given in recent years to the significance of “developmental” expenditures—outlays for education and training, and for research, which have the effect of adding to the Na-

tion's level of knowledge and of skill, and thereby increase the capacity to produce a larger national output in future years.

In the 1963 budget, expenditures for Federal civil public works are estimated to be \$2.5 billion, and another \$1.5 billion is estimated for additions to State, local, and private physical assets. About \$7 billion of loan disbursements, to be repaid later, will be made in 1963 (including mortgage purchases); repayments in 1963 of loans previously made are expected to total \$5 billion, resulting in net budget expenditures of \$2 billion for civil loans. An estimated \$4.8 billion will be spent for civil developmental purposes such as education, training, health, and research and development.

Certain trust fund transactions add to the Nation's assets, as well. For example, in 1963, \$3.2 billion will be spent for grants to States for highways through the highway trust fund.

EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

The effort to increase the degree of efficiency with which the public business is conducted requires constant and unremitting effort on many fronts. This budget reflects continuing improvement in many agencies in productivity per employee, brought about through better training, better supervision, more effective organization, and more efficient equipment.

The first requirement for efficiency and economy in Government is highly competent personnel. In this regard we face one very important problem on which I am placing a new recommendation before the Congress.

This is the urgent need to achieve a reform of white-collar salary systems to enable the Government to obtain and keep the high quality personnel essential for its complex and varied programs. Such a reform should bring career employee salaries at all except the very top career levels into reasonable

comparability with private enterprise salaries for the same level of work, and provide salary structures with pay distinctions more adequately reflecting differences in degree of responsibility. These two fundamental standards have been widely supported in the past as proper objectives in determining Government salary structures and I now urge that they be given practical effect.

The legislation I am proposing provides for some adjustment in nearly all salary grades, but it is clear that the higher grades have fallen farthest below the level of reasonable comparability and must therefore be given the greatest percentage increases to make the Government competitive.

There is also a need for more equitable recognition than is presently provided for postal employees, most of whom spend their entire careers in a single pay level. The proposed reform meets this need directly by increasing the number and size of in-grade steps and by replacing the present longevity increases with additional step increases. The proposal takes into account the career character of the large postal carrier and clerk employee group, recruited at grade PFS-4, by linking their pay with employees paid under the Classification Act at GS-5.

To ease the budget impact, and to provide ample time for the Congress to study the matter in the light of additional information which will become available annually, I am suggesting that the new pay scales take effect in three annual stages, beginning January 1, 1963.

Important steps to improve the military pay structure, particularly for higher ranking officers, have been taken in recent years, first in 1955 and, more significantly, in 1958. However, the adjustments now being recommended in civilian compensation require study of the possible need for further changes in military compensation. Consequently, I am directing that a thorough review be made which will permit an up-to-date appraisal of the many elements of mili-

tary compensation and their relationship to the new proposed levels of civilian compensation. There is one area, however, which has already been adequately reviewed. To reflect an acknowledged rise in housing costs, I am proposing legislation to provide selective increases in the basic allowance for quarters payable to military personnel. As in the case of the civilian pay adjustments, these increases should take effect January 1, 1963.

Pay adjustments alone will not assure high standards of employee competence. There must be scrupulous fairness in recruiting and assigning personnel—and we have given renewed emphasis to equality of opportunity in the Federal service. There must be absolute integrity in all dealings with the public and with policy questions—and we have established clearer and stronger guides on ethical standards and recommended improvement in the conflict of interest statutes. There must be careful attention to the views of employees and their organizations—and we are placing into effect the recommendations of the task force on employee-management relations in the Federal service.

Efficiency and economy require also steady improvement in the organization of the Executive Branch. Notable advances were made this past year, with the cooperation of the Congress: new and stronger organizations for foreign aid, for disarmament, for civil defense, and for maritime activities were established; a number of regulatory commissions were substantially strengthened; and new centralized agencies were established in the Department of Defense for intelligence and for supply activities. A number of further recommendations are pending in the Congress, notably the proposal to establish a new Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, on which I urge early action.

Finally, increased efficiency requires systematic study of ways and means to accomplish the public business more effectively and at less cost. This work goes forward continually in all fields. I cite by way of

illustration a few current examples:

The study, now well along toward completion, of the use of contracts with educational institutions, nonprofit corporations, and private business concerns for the management of Government research and development activities. This study of “contracting-out” is being made by the Bureau of the Budget with the cooperation of the principal agencies concerned, and is expected to provide much more information on these matters than has been available heretofore.

Studies, recently completed or in progress, of the operations and management of the Export-Import Bank and the Federal Communications Commission. These studies are made by management consulting firms, and are similar to those completed in recent years for the Federal Trade Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, and the Interstate Commerce Commission, all of which produced recommendations of considerable value.

The study, organized at the request of the Department of State by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, of personnel requirements—and ways of meeting those requirements—for U.S. activities overseas in the light of present-day conditions in the world.

Studies of this kind normally do not produce headlines, but they are typical of the effort continually underway to raise the efficiency and reduce the cost of conducting the public business.

CONCLUSION

This budget represents a blending of many considerations which affect our national welfare. Choices among the conflicting claims on our resources have necessarily been heavily influenced by international developments that continue to threaten world peace. At the same time, the budget supports those activities that have great significance to the Nation’s social and economic growth—the mainsprings of our national strength and

leadership. In my judgment, this budget meets our national needs within a responsible fiscal framework—which is the test of the budget as an effective instrument of national policy. I recommend it to the Congress for action, in full confidence that it provides for

the prudent use of our resources to serve the national interest.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: As printed above, illustrative diagrams and references to the budget document have been deleted.

14 Remarks at the Conference Opening the 1962 Savings Bond Campaign. *January 19, 1962*

Mr. Dillon, Mr. Fowler, Secretary, ladies and gentlemen:

I came here this morning to express my thanks to all of you for coming to Washington, for participating in these meetings, and also for the effort that you are making to advance the economic interests of the United States by the work you are doing in promoting our savings bond campaign.

This is an effort that has been going on for a number of years, but I am sure you realize that it is our task to emphasize to the American people how important a contribution they can make to their country and also to their own personal welfare.

In order to make these bonds attractive, we must also make our contribution here in the National Government, in the financial and business community, in the labor community, in the agricultural community, in maintaining the vitality and integrity of these bonds and therefore of the American economy. And it is my opinion that if we each meet our responsibilities in our respective areas, that this can be done.

As one of the contributions to maintaining the stability of the dollar and therefore the value of these bonds, we have presented, as you know, yesterday a budget which is in balance, which will help us maintain here in this country a balance between outflow and inflow. I am hopeful that this effort, which I feel can be reflected beneficially in our international balance of payments, will also be reflected in restraint by labor and management in the coming year.

I said in my State of the Union Address that it was our hope that wage increases

would be tied strongly to productivity increases and the stability of the price level. It is my hope that business profits will be substantial and that it will be possible for the business communities to maintain a price level consistent with our national needs.

This is not merely an exhortation, it is a necessity for all of us. We face difficult problems and we carry heavy burdens. It is necessary for this country to be competitive. It is necessary for us to increase our exports overseas. If we can increase our exports overseas by 5 percent, it would mean a billion dollars in addition in our balance of payments problem, and could perhaps almost end it. A 10 percent increase in our exports, if our import level was maintained at its present level, could mean that our balance of payments problem had been defeated. And I do not think this is beyond any of us. If we can maintain, as we have been able to maintain, really, for the last 3 years, a general stability in our price levels—in the last 12 months, as you know, the wholesale price index dropped, consumer prices went up less than 1 percent—it is our belief that if management and labor attack their problems from the public interest, and their own long-range interest, that it will be possible for us to maintain price stability for the coming year; and that if all those in the field of management and government can take every action that it is possible, to stimulate our exports, we can begin to get control of a serious problem that we face in the international flow and ebb of payments.

We spend a large sum of money, three billion dollars a year, in maintaining our

defense forces abroad. We have to earn that money through a balance of trade in our favor, and therefore this goes to the heart of our survival.

The British, who have been affected, as you know, by a balance of payments problem, have had to consider withdrawing their troops from vital areas in order to make ends meet.

We do not wish to do that. We wish to maintain our commitments everywhere, so that the matter which we are now discussing, the stability of our price level, restraint by labor and management and the other elements of our community—prudent judgment by our National Government—a vigorous drive in the field of exports—a determination to make ourselves more than competitive—to increase our balance of payments, all represent a contribution which the citizen of this country who is active in these fields can make to the maintenance of freedom around the world.

So this is all related to the work that you are now doing. The savings bonds which you sell help make the very complicated task of the Secretary of the Treasury easier. It provides a method of steering savings by our

fellow citizens into these bonds; it eases some of the pressures on the inflationary scale; it represents an investment in the United States—and if we meet our responsibilities in the areas I have described, it will make our investments have increasing value in the years to come.

I want to express my thanks to all of you for the effort that you have made in this regard. A year ago, in taking over the responsibilities of this Office, I emphasized the desirability of contributions which all of us could make to our country. The task of savings bonds has lost the newness of novelty, but nevertheless it is more important, perhaps, than it ever was. And therefore, though it may not be spectacular, it represents the kind of day-to-day work and contribution by you which I think makes a measurable difference to our country.

So on behalf of all of our citizens, I express my thanks to you.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington at 10:15 a.m. In his opening remarks he referred to Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury, Henry H. Fowler, Under Secretary of the Treasury, and Dean Rusk, Secretary of State.

15 Address at the Inaugural Anniversary Dinner.

January 20, 1962

Mr. Rosenbloom and Mrs. Freeman, Mr. Bailey and Mr. McCloskey, Mr. Speaker:

I first of all want to express, I know, on behalf of all of us, our great appreciation to Miss Clooney, Miss Remick and Danny Thomas for coming from a far distance to help us tonight. I wish we could all just applaud them.

I want to also express my appreciation to President Truman. I must say it is nice to have a former President who speaks well of you, and we are glad to have him here tonight. His only request has been, since I have been President, to get his piano up from the cellar, and we have done that—and we are going to run on it.

And I also want to express my appreciation, and the appreciation of us all, to the Vice President for his tribute to Speaker Rayburn. I must say that the merger of Boston and Austin, as he said today, was really the last merger that the Attorney General has allowed, but it has been one of the most successful. And as a loyal and faithful friend, I think we have worked together better than any President and Vice Presidential team in history, at least since Roosevelt and Truman.

I spoke a year ago today, to take the Inaugural, and I would like to paraphrase a couple of statements I made that day by saying that we observe tonight not a celebra-

tion of freedom but a victory of party, for we have sworn to pay off the same party debt our forebears ran up nearly a year and three months ago.

Our deficit will not be paid off in the next hundred days, nor will it be paid off in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this administration. Nor, perhaps even in our lifetime on this planet, but let us begin—remembering that generosity is not a sign of weakness and that Ambassadors are always subject to Senate confirmation, for if the Democratic Party cannot be helped by the many who are poor, it cannot be saved by the few who are rich. So let us begin.

I want to express our thanks to all of you for helping. What we are attempting to do tonight is to lay the groundwork for the Congressional campaigns of 1962, and we realize, I think, all the Members of the House and Senate, that history is not with us, that in this century only in 1934, during the periods of the great pre-eminence of the Democratic Party did the party in power ever win seats, let alone hold its own. But we believe in 1962 that the Democratic Party, both at home and abroad, is best fitted to lead this country—and therefore we start tonight on the campaigns of 1962.

This is—though we like to think of ourselves as a young country—this is the oldest republic in the world. When the United States was founded there was a King in France, and a Czar in Russia, and an Emperor in Peking. They have all been wiped away, but the United States has still survived. We are also members of the oldest political party on earth, and it is a source of satisfaction to me that when we attempt, in this administration, to rebuild our ties with Latin America, to strengthen our Alliance for Progress, we trod in the same steps that Franklin Roosevelt trod in, nearly 25 or 30 years ago.

And when we attempt this year to build more closely the Atlantic Community, we trod in the same steps that President Truman trod in, nearly 14 years ago, when he developed the Marshall plan and NATO.

And when we stand with the United Nations against the desires of those who make themselves our adversaries, and even our friends, we stand where Woodrow Wilson stood nearly 50 years ago.

And when we make a great national effort, to make sure that free men are not second in space, we move in the same direction that Thomas Jefferson moved in when he sent Lewis and Clark to the far reaches of this country during his term of office.

I am proud to be a Democrat, and in my opinion, in November of 1962, any Member of the House, the Senate, the State legislature and the Governor can stand with pride on the record of the Democratic Party.

To govern is to choose, and the people of the United States, I believe in this vital year, when we are faced with the greatest hazards that we have faced in our long history, should be faced with a choice. I do not believe there is room in the United States for two parties who believe in lying at anchor.

The role of the Democratic Party, the reason it has outlived the Federal Party, the Whig Party, and now holds responsibility in the executive branch and the House and the Senate, after this long history, has been because it has believed in moving out, in moving ahead, in starting on new areas, and bringing new programs here and abroad.

That is the function of our party. We have no other function. And I believe in 1962 the Democratic Party should run as it has run in the past, as a progressive party, ready to defend its record, ready to recognize in a changing and vital world that our party must move with it.

So we come tonight in the beginning of a long campaign, and we ask your help, because what we start tonight, we believe can be finished in November, and I believe that the interests of this country will be served by our party as it has on so many vital occasions in the past—and the fire from our effort can light the world.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at the National Guard Armory in Washington. In his opening remarks he

referred to Carroll Rosenbloom of Baltimore, Md., who acted as chairman of the dinner; Mrs. Orville L. Freeman, wife of the Secretary of Agriculture; John M. Bailey, chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Matthew H. McCloskey, former treasurer

of the Democratic National Committee; and John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives. He also referred to Miss Rosemary Clooney, Miss Lee Remick, and Mr. Danny Thomas who entertained at the dinner.

16 Message to the Congress Presenting the President's First Economic Report. *January 22, 1962*

[Released January 22, 1962. Dated January 20, 1962]

To the Congress of the United States:

I report to you under the provisions of the Employment Act of 1946 at a time when

—the economy has regained its momentum;

—the economy is responding to the Federal Government's efforts, under the Act, "to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power;"

—the economy is again moving toward the central objective of the Act—to afford "useful employment opportunities, including self-employment, for those able, willing, and seeking to work."

My first Economic Report is an appropriate occasion to re-emphasize my dedication to the principles of the Employment Act. As a declaration of national purpose and as a recognition of Federal responsibility, the Act has few parallels in the Nation's history. In passing the Act by heavy bipartisan majorities, the Congress registered the consensus of the American people that this Nation will not countenance the suffering, frustration, and injustice of unemployment, or let the vast potential of the world's leading economy run to waste in idle manpower, silent machinery, and empty plants.

The framers of the Employment Act were wise to choose the promotion of "maximum employment, production, and purchasing power" as the keystone of national economic policy. They were confident that these objectives can be effectively promoted "in a manner calculated to foster and promote free competitive enterprise and the general welfare." They knew that our pursuit of maximum employment and production would be tempered with compassion, with

justice, and with a concern for the future. But they knew also that the other standards we set for our economy are easier to meet when it is operating at capacity. A full employment economy provides opportunities for useful and satisfying work. It rewards enterprise with profit. It generates saving for the future and transforms it into productive investment. It opens doors for the unskilled and underprivileged and closes them against want and frustration. The conquest of unemployment is not the sole end of economic policy, but it is surely an indispensable beginning.

The record of the economy since 1946 is a vast improvement over the prolonged mass unemployment of the 1930's. The Employment Act itself deserves no small part of the credit. Under the mandate and procedures of the Act, both Congress and the Executive have kept the health of the national economy and the economic policies of the Government under constant review. And the national commitment to high employment has enabled business firms and consumers to act and to plan without fear of another great depression.

Though the postwar record is free of major depression, it is marred by four recessions. In the past fifteen years, the economy has spent a total of seven years regaining previous peaks of industrial production. In two months out of three, 4 percent or more of those able, willing, and seeking to work have been unable to find jobs. We must do better in the 1960's.

To combat future recessions—to keep them short and shallow if they occur—I urge adoption of a three-part program for

sustained prosperity, which will (1) provide stand-by power, subject to congressional veto, for temporary income tax reductions, (2) set up a stand-by program of public capital improvements, and (3) strengthen the unemployment insurance system.

These three measures will enable the Government to counter swings in business activity more promptly and more powerfully than ever before. They will give new and concrete meaning to the declaration of policy made in the Employment Act. They will constitute the greatest step forward in public policy for economic stability since the Act itself.

As the Employment Act prescribes, I shall in this Report review "economic conditions" in the United States in 1961 and "current and foreseeable economic trends in the levels of employment, production, and purchasing power;" set forth "the levels of employment, production, and purchasing power obtaining in the United States and such levels needed to carry out the policy" of the Act; and present my economic program and legislative recommendations for 1962.

PROGRESS IN 1961

Last January the economy was in the grip of recession. Nearly 7 percent of the labor force was unemployed. Almost one-fifth of manufacturing capacity lay idle. Actual output was running \$50 billion (annual rate) short of the economy's great potential. These figures reflected not only the setback of 1960-61 but the incomplete recovery from the recession of 1957-58. The task before us was to recover not from one but from two recessions.

At the same time, gold was leaving the country at a rate of more than \$300 million a month. In the three previous years, the Nation had run a total deficit of \$10 billion in its basic international accounts. These large and persistent deficits had weakened confidence in the dollar.

In my message to the Congress on February 2, I stated that this Administration's

"realistic aims for 1961 are to reverse the downtrend in our economy, to narrow the gap of unused potential, to abate the waste and misery of unemployment, and at the same time to maintain reasonable stability of the price level." In a message on the balance of payments on February 6, I added a fifth aim, to restore confidence in the dollar and to reduce the deficit in international payments.

These five aims for 1961 have been achieved:

(1) The downtrend was reversed. Gross national product (GNP) grew from \$501 billion (annual rate) in the first quarter to a record rate of \$542 billion in the last quarter. In July, industrial production regained its previous peak, and by the end of the year it showed a total rise of 13 percent.

(2) These gains brought into productive use nearly half the plant capacity which was idle at the beginning of the year. The growth of GNP narrowed the over-all gap of unused potential from an estimated 10 percent to 5 percent.

(3) Unemployment dropped from 6.8 to 6.1 percent of the labor force. The number of areas of substantial labor surplus declined from 101 in March to 60 in December.

(4) Price stability has been maintained during the recovery. Since February, wholesale prices have fallen slightly, and consumer prices have risen only one-half of 1 percent.

(5) Confidence in the dollar has been restored. Our gold losses were cut from \$1.7 billion in 1960 to less than \$0.9 billion in 1961. The deficit in 1961 in our basic international transactions was about one-third as large as in 1960.

The "Program To Restore Momentum to the American Economy" which I proposed to the Congress on February 2 resulted in prompt legislation to

—extend unemployment insurance benefits on a temporary basis;

—make Federal aid available, through the States, to dependent children of the unemployed;

- liberalize social security benefits;
- promote homebuilding under the Housing Act of 1961;
- raise the minimum wage and extend it to more workers;
- provide Federal aid under the Area Redevelopment Act, to revitalize the economies of areas with large and persistent unemployment.

Prompt executive action was taken to accelerate Federal purchases and procurement, highway fund distributions, tax refunds, and veterans' life insurance dividends. The Administration raised farm price supports, expanded the food distribution program, and established eight pilot food stamp programs.

Monetary and credit policies responded to the dual demands of economic recovery and the balance of payments. On the one hand, the Federal Reserve System maintained general monetary ease; Federal Reserve open market operations, complemented by Treasury management of the public debt and of government investment accounts, assured an ample supply of credit which served to counter upward pressures on long-term interest rates; reduction of FHA ceiling rates, supported by FNMA mortgage purchases, eased mortgage credit and stimulated homebuilding; and the Small Business Administration made its credit more widely available at lower cost. On the other hand, both monetary and debt management policies countered downward pressures on short-term rates, with a view to checking the outflow of funds to money markets abroad.

The Federal Budget played its proper role as a powerful instrument for promoting economic recovery. The measures to relieve distress and restore economic momentum expanded purchasing power early in the year. Subsequently, major increases in expenditure for national security and space programs became necessary. In a fully employed economy, these increases would have required new tax revenues to match. But I did not recommend tax increases at this point because they would have cut into

private purchasing power and retarded recovery.

The increase of GNP—\$41 billion (annual rate) from the first to the fourth quarter—reflected increased purchases of goods and services by consumers, business, and governments:

- Consumers accounted for nearly half. As household incomes rose, consumer expenditure expanded by \$18 billion.

- Residential construction and business expenditures for fixed investment responded promptly to the recovery and to favorable credit conditions. By the end of the year, they had risen by \$8 billion.

- Business stopped liquidating inventories and started rebuilding them. This shift, which occurred early in the year and helped get recovery off to a flying start, added \$8 billion to the demand for goods and services by the fourth quarter.

- Federal, State, and local government purchases rose by \$8 billion.

- Although exports were somewhat higher in the fourth quarter than in the first, the rise in imports in response to recovery lowered net exports by \$1 billion.

Labor, business, and farm incomes rose as the economy recovered. Wages and salaries increased by \$19 billion (annual rate) from the first quarter to the fourth. Corporate profits after taxes recovered sharply, receiving about 15 percent of the gains in GNP. With the help of new programs, farm operators' net income from farming increased from \$12 billion in 1960 to \$13 billion in 1961, and net income per farm rose by \$350. The after-tax incomes of American consumers increased by \$21 billion, or \$92 per capita, during the year. Since consumer prices rose by only one-half of 1 percent, these gains in income were almost entirely gains in real purchasing power.

One million jobs were added by nonagricultural establishments during the expansion. But employment did not keep pace with production and income. Productivity rose rapidly as capacity was more fully and efficiently utilized. And more work-

ers on part-time jobs were able to work full time.

The record of 1961 demonstrated again the resiliency of the U.S. economy with well-timed support from government policy. Business responded to the expansion of purchasing power by producing more goods and services, not by raising prices. Indeed, the record of price stability in three quarters of expansion was better than in the three preceding quarters of recession. The rates of advance of production and income compared favorably with the two preceding periods of expansion. Production grew rapidly without straining capacity or encountering bottlenecks.

As 1961 ended, actual output was still \$25 to \$30 billion short of potential, and unemployment was far too high. But much of the industrial manpower, machinery, and plant that lay idle a year ago had been drawn back into productive use. And the momentum of the 1961 recovery should carry the economy further toward full employment and full production in 1962.

GOALS OF ECONOMIC POLICY

Though we may take satisfaction with our progress to date, we dare not rest content. The unfinished business of economic policy includes (1) the achievement of full employment and sustained prosperity without inflation, (2) the acceleration of economic growth, (3) the extension of equality of opportunity, and (4) the restoration of balance of payments equilibrium. Economic policy thus confronts a demanding assignment, but one which can and will be met within the framework of a free economy.

Our Goal of Full and Sustained Prosperity Without Inflation

Recovery has carried the economy only part of the way to the goal of "maximum production, employment, and purchasing power." The standing challenge of the Employment Act is not merely to do better, but

to do our best—the "maximum." Attainment of that maximum in 1963 would mean a GNP of approximately \$600 billion, wages and salaries of over \$320 billion, and corporate profits of as much as \$60 billion, all in 1961 prices. The material gains are themselves staggering, but they are less important than the new sense of purpose and the new opportunities for improvement of American life that could be realized by "maximum" use of the productive capacity now lying idle and the capacity yet to be created.

Involuntary unemployment is the most dramatic sign and disheartening consequence of underutilization of productive capacity. It translates into human terms what may otherwise seem merely an abstract statistic. We cannot afford to settle for any prescribed level of unemployment. But for working purposes we view a 4 percent unemployment rate as a temporary target. It can be achieved in 1963, if appropriate fiscal, monetary, and other policies are used. The achievable rate can be lowered still further by effective policies to help the labor force acquire the skills and mobility appropriate to a changing economy. We must also continue the cooperative effort, begun with the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961, to bring industry to depressed areas and jobs to displaced workers. Ultimately, we must reduce unemployment to the minimum compatible with the functioning of a free economy.

We must seek full recovery without endangering the price stability of the last 4 years. The experience of the past year has shown that expansion without inflation is possible. With cooperation from labor and management, I am confident that we can go on to write a record of full employment without inflation.

The task of economic stabilization does not end with the achievement of full recovery. There remains the problem of keeping the economy from straying too far above or below the path of steady high employment. One way lies inflation, and the other way lies recession. Flexible and vigilant

fiscal and monetary policies will allow us to hold the narrow middle course.

Our Goal of Economic Growth

While we move toward full and sustained use of today's productive capacity, we must expand our potential for tomorrow. Our postwar economic growth—though a step ahead of our record for the last half-century—has been slowing down. We have not in recent years maintained the 4 to 4½ percent growth rate which characterized the early postwar period. We should not settle for less than the achievement of a long-term growth rate matching the early postwar record. Increasing our growth rate to 4½ percent a year lies within the range of our capabilities during the 1960's. It will lay the groundwork for meeting both our domestic needs and our world responsibilities.

In November of last year we joined with our 19 fellow members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in setting a common target for economic growth. Together we pledged ourselves to adopt national and international policies aimed at increasing the combined output of the Atlantic Community by 50 percent between 1960 and 1970. The nations of the West are encouraged and enlivened by America's determination to make its full contribution to this joint effort.

We can do our share. In the mid-1960's, the children born in 1943 and after will be arriving at working age. The resulting rapid growth in our labor force offers us an opportunity, not a burden—provided that we deliver not only the jobs but also the research, the training, and the capital investment to endow our new workers with high and rising productivity as they enter economic life.

Our Goal of Equal Opportunity

Increasingly in our lifetime, American prosperity has been widely shared and it must continue so. The spread of primary, secondary, and higher education, the wider availability of medical services, and the im-

proved postwar performance of our economy have bettered the economic status of the poorest families and individuals.

But prosperity has not wiped out poverty. In 1960, 7 million families and individuals had personal incomes lower than \$2,000. In part, our failure to overcome poverty is a consequence of our failure to operate the economy at potential. The incidence of unemployment is always uneven, and increases in unemployment tend to inflict the greatest income loss on those least able to afford it. But there is a claim on our conscience from others, whose poverty is barely touched by cyclical improvements in general economic activity. To an increasing extent, the poorest families in America are those headed by women, the elderly, nonwhites, migratory workers, and the physically or mentally handicapped—people who are shortchanged even in time of prosperity.

Last year's increase in the minimum wage is evidence of our concern for the welfare of our low-income fellow citizens. Other legislative proposals now pending will be particularly effective in improving the lot of the least fortunate. These include (1) health insurance for the aged, financed through the social security system, (2) Federal aid for training and retraining our unemployed and underemployed workers, (3) the permanent strengthening of our unemployment compensation system, and (4) substantial revision in our public welfare and assistance program, stressing rehabilitation services which help to restore families to independence.

Public education has been the great bulwark of equality of opportunity in our democracy for more than a century. Our schools have been a major means of preventing early handicaps from hardening into permanent ignorance and poverty. There can be no better investment in equity and democracy—and no better instrument for economic growth. For this reason, I urge action by the Congress to provide Federal aid for more adequate public school facilities, higher teachers' salaries, and bet-

ter quality in education. I urge early completion of congressional action on the bill to authorize loans for construction of college academic facilities and to provide scholarships for able students who need help. The talent of our youth is a resource which must not be wasted.

Finally, I shall soon propose to the Congress an intensive program to reduce adult illiteracy, a handicap which too many of our fellow citizens suffer because of inadequate educational opportunities in the past.

Our Goal of Basic Balance in International Payments

Persistent international payments deficits and gold outflows have made the balance of payments a critical problem of economic policy. We must attain a balance in our international transactions which permits us to meet heavy obligations abroad for the security and development of the free world, without continued depletion of our gold reserves or excessive accumulation of short-term dollar liabilities to foreigners. Simultaneously, we must continue to reduce barriers to international trade and to increase the flow of resources from developed to developing countries. To increase our exports is a task of highest priority, and one which gives heightened significance to the maintenance of price stability and the rapid increase of productivity at home.

POLICIES FOR 1962

Prospects for 1962

The Nation will make further economic progress in 1962. Broad advances are in prospect for the private economy. The gains already achieved have set the stage for further new records in output, employment, personal income, and profits. Rising household incomes brighten the outlook for further increases in consumer buying, particularly of durable goods. Business firms will need larger inventories to support higher sales, and improved profits and expanded markets will lead to rising capital outlays. The out-

lays of Federal, State, and local governments will continue to increase as we work for peace and progress.

In the first half of 1962, we may therefore expect vigorous expansion in production and incomes, with GNP increasing to a range of \$565-570 billion in the second quarter, employment continuing to rise, and the unemployment rate falling further.

In the second half of 1962, business investment in plant and equipment should pick up speed and help maintain the momentum of progress toward full employment—and toward future economic growth. Rising output should push factory operating rates closer to capacity and raise profits still further above previous records. To these incentives for capital expenditures will be added Treasury liberalization of depreciation guidelines and, if the Congress acts favorably, the 8 percent tax credit for machinery and equipment outlays.

For 1962 as a whole, GNP is expected to rise approximately \$50 billion above the \$521 billion level of 1961. This would be another giant stride toward a fully employed economy. The record of past recoveries and of the U.S. economy's enormous and growing potential indicates that this is a gain we can achieve. In the perspective of our commitments both to our own expanding population and to the world, it is a gain we need to achieve.

Budgetary Policy

Prosperity shrinks budgetary deficits, as recessions create them. Budget revenues are expected to rise 13 percent between the fiscal years 1962 and 1963; revenues rose 14½ percent between 1959 and 1960 in the previous upswing. Such sensitivity of budget revenues to business activity is desirable because it moderates swings in private purchasing power.

I have submitted to the Congress a Budget which will balance in fiscal 1963 as prosperity generates sharply rising tax revenues. The Budget is appropriately paced to the expected rate of economic expansion. It will

give less stimulus to business activity as private demand for goods and services grows stronger and shoulders more of the responsibility for continued gains. But the shift will be moderate and gradual. We have learned from the disappointing 1959-60 experience that an abrupt and excessively large swing in the Budget can drain the vigor from the private economy and halt its progress, especially if a restrictive monetary policy is followed simultaneously. This will not be repeated. Budget outlays will rise by \$3½ billion from fiscal 1962 to fiscal 1963, whereas they fell by more than that amount from fiscal 1959 to fiscal 1960. The 1963 Budget starts from a much smaller deficit and will move to a moderate surplus as the recovery strengthens.

With support from increased government expenditures and other government policies, the momentum of the recovery is expected to raise GNP to \$570 billion for 1962 as a whole. Prompt enactment of the proposed tax credit for investment would give the economy further strength. Economic expansion at the expected pace will yield \$93.0 billion in Budget revenues in fiscal 1963 to cover \$92.5 billion in Budget expenditures. If private demands for goods and services should prove to be weaker in 1962 than now anticipated, less private purchasing power will flow into taxes, and Budget revenues will fall short of the \$93.0 billion figure. If private demands are stronger, tax receipts will rise further and Budget revenues will exceed expectations.

A surplus of \$4.4 billion in fiscal 1963 is expected in the national income accounts budget—a budget constructed to measure the direct impact of Federal expenditures and receipts on the flow of total spending. The surplus would be several billion dollars higher if the economy were operating steadily at a level high enough to hold unemployment to 4 percent.

Either surplus—prospective or potential—is both a challenge and an opportunity. A government surplus is a form of saving—an

excess of income over expenditure. Like any other form of saving, it releases labor and other productive resources which can be used to create new investment goods—plant, equipment, or houses. If investment demand is not strong enough to use the resources and labor, they will be wasted in unemployment and idle capacity, and the surplus itself will not be realized. But if the necessary investment demand is present, the surplus will make possible the acceleration of economic growth by enlarging the future productive power of the economy. The Government is seeking to help American industry to meet this challenge and seize this opportunity, through such measures as the 8 percent investment tax credit and revisions of depreciation guidelines.

We face 1962 with optimism but not complacency. If private demand shows unexpected strength, public policy must and will act to avert the dangers of rising prices. If demand falls short of current expectations, more expansionary policies will be pursued. In 1962, vigilance and flexibility must be the guardians of economic optimism.

Monetary and Credit Policies

Monetary, credit, and debt management policies can also help to assure that productive outlets exist for the funds that the American people save from prosperity incomes. The balance foreseen in the Budget for fiscal year 1963, and the surplus which would arise at full employment, both indicate that fiscal policy is assuming a large share of the burden of forestalling inflationary excesses of demand. With monetary and related policies relieved of a substantial part of this burden, they can more effectively be used to assure a flow of investment funds which will transform the economy's present capacity to save into future capacity to produce.

At the same time, monetary and debt management policies must continue to protect the balance of international payments against outflows of short-term capital. As

in 1961, domestic expansion and the balance of payments confront these policies with a dual task, requiring continued ingenuity in technique and flexibility in emphasis.

Balance of Payments

The program launched last year to reduce our payments deficit and maintain confidence in the dollar will, I am sure, show further results in 1962. I am hopeful that the target of reasonable equilibrium in our international payments can be achieved within the next two years; but this will require a determined effort on the part of all of us—government, business and labor. This effort must proceed on a number of fronts.

Export expansion. An increase in the U.S. trade surplus is of the first importance. If we are to meet our international responsibilities, we must increase exports more rapidly than the increase in imports which accompanies our economic growth.

Our efforts to raise exports urgently require that we negotiate a reduction in the tariff of the European Common Market. I shall shortly transmit to the Congress a special message elaborating the details of the proposed Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and explaining why I believe that a new trade policy initiative is imperative this year.

To encourage American businessmen to become more export-minded, we have inaugurated a new export insurance program under the leadership of the Export-Import Bank, and we have stepped up our export promotion drive by improving the commercial services abroad of the U.S. Government, establishing trade centers abroad, planning trade fairs, improving the trade mission program, and working with business firms on export opportunities through field offices of the Department of Commerce and the Small Business Administration. Foreign travel to the United States, which returns dollars to our shores, is now being promoted through the first Federal agency ever created for this purpose.

Prices and productivity. Our export drive will founder if we cannot keep our prices competitive in world markets. Though our recent price performance has been excellent, the improving economic climate of 1962 will test anew the statesmanship of our business and labor leaders. I believe that they will pass the test; our Nation today possesses a new understanding of the vital link between our level of prices and our balance of payments.

In the long run, the competitive position of U.S. industry depends on a sustained and rapid advance in productivity. In this, the interests of economic recovery, long-run growth, and the strength of the dollar coincide. Modernization and expansion of our industrial plant will accelerate the advance of productivity.

Foreign investment. To place controls over the flow of private American capital abroad would be contrary to our traditions and our economic interests. But neither is there justification for special tax incentives which stimulate the flow of U.S. investment to countries now strong and economically developed, and I again urge the elimination of these special incentives.

The new foreign trade program which I am proposing to the Congress will help to reduce another artificial incentive to U.S. firms to invest abroad. The European Common Market has attracted American capital, partly because American businessmen fear that they will be unable to compete in the growing European market unless they build plants behind the common tariff wall. We must negotiate down the barriers to trade between the two great continental markets, so that the exports of our industry and agriculture can have full opportunity to compete in Europe.

Governmental expenditures abroad. Military expenditures form by far the greater part of our governmental outlays abroad. We are discussing with certain of our European allies the extent to which they can increase their own military procurement from

the United States to offset our dollar expenditures there. As a result, the net cost to our balance of payments is expected to be reduced during the coming year, in spite of increased deployment of forces abroad because of the Berlin situation.

To curtail our foreign aid programs in order to strengthen our balance of payments would be to sacrifice more than we gain. But we can cut back on the foreign currency costs of our aid programs, and thus reduce the burden on our balance of payments. A large percentage of our foreign aid is already spent for procurement in the United States; this proportion will rise as our tightened procurement procedures become increasingly effective.

We have sought to induce other advanced countries to undertake a larger share of the foreign aid effort. We will continue our efforts through the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to obtain a higher level of economic assistance by other industrial nations to the less developed countries.

Short-term capital movements. Outflows of volatile short-term funds added to the pressures on the dollar in 1960. Our policies in 1961 have diminished the dangers of disruptive movements of short-term capital. For the first time in a generation, the Treasury is helping to stabilize the dollar by operations in the international exchange markets. The Federal Reserve and the Treasury, in administering their monetary policy and debt management responsibilities, have sought to meet the needs of domestic recovery in ways which would not lead to outflows of short-term capital.

During the past year, we have consulted periodically with our principal financial partners, both bilaterally and within the framework of the OECD. These consultations have led to close cooperation among fiscal and monetary authorities in a common effort to prevent disruptive currency movements.

Strengthening the international monetary system. The International Monetary Fund is playing an increasingly important role in preserving international monetary stability. The reserve strength behind the dollar includes our drawing rights on the Fund, of which \$1.7 billion is automatically available under current practices of the Fund. An additional \$4.1 billion could become available under Fund policies, insofar as the Fund has available resources in gold and usable foreign currencies. Recently, the Fund has diversified its use of currencies in meeting drawings by member countries, relying less heavily on dollars and more heavily on the currencies of countries with payments surpluses. However, the Fund's regular holdings of the currencies of some important industrial countries are not adequate to meet potential demands for them.

In a message to the Congress last February, I said: "We must now, in cooperation with other lending countries, begin to consider ways in which international monetary institutions—especially the International Monetary Fund—can be strengthened and more effectively utilized, both in furnishing needed increases in reserves, and in providing the flexibility required to support a healthy and growing world economy."

We have now taken an important step in this direction. Agreement has been reached among ten of the major industrial countries to lend to the Fund specified amounts of their currencies when necessary to cope with or forestall pressures which may impair the international monetary system. These stand-by facilities of \$6 billion will be a major defense against international monetary speculation and will powerfully reinforce the effectiveness of the Fund. They will provide resources to make our drawing rights in the Fund effective, should we need to use them. Moreover, the U.S. stand-by commitment of \$2 billion will augment the resources potentially available through the Fund to other participants in the agreement, when our balance of payments and reserve

positions are strong. I shall shortly submit a request to Congress for appropriate enabling legislation.

Prices and Wages

Prices and production need not travel together. A number of foreign countries have experienced both rapid growth and stable prices in recent years. We ourselves, in 1961, enjoyed a stable price level during a brisk economic recovery.

While rising prices will not necessarily accompany the expansion we expect in 1962, neither can we rely on chance to keep our price level stable. Creeping inflation in the years 1955-57 weakened our international competitive position. We cannot afford to allow a repetition of that experience.

We do not foresee in 1962 a level of demand for goods and services which will strain the economy's capacity to produce. Neither is it likely that many industries will find themselves pressing against their capacity ceilings. Inflationary pressures from these sources should not be a problem.

But in those sectors where both companies and unions possess substantial market power, the interplay of price and wage decisions could set off a movement toward a higher price level. If this were to occur, the whole Nation would be the victim.

I do not believe that American business or labor will allow this to happen. All of us have learned a great deal from the economic events of the past 15 years. Among both businessmen and workers, there is growing recognition that the road to higher real profits and higher real wages is the road of increased productivity. When better plant and equipment enable the labor force to produce more in the same number of hours, there is more to share among all the contributors to the productive process—and this can happen with no increase in prices. Gains achieved in this manner endure, while gains achieved in one turn of the price-wage spiral vanish on the next.

The Nation must rely on the good sense

and public spirit of our business and labor leaders to hold the line on the price level in 1962. If labor leaders in our major industries will accept the productivity benchmark as a guide to wage objectives, and if management in these industries will practice equivalent restraint in their price decisions, the year ahead will be a brilliant chapter in the record of the responsible exercise of freedom.

MEASURES FOR A STRONGER ECONOMY

The final section of my Report is a summary of my recommendations for legislative action (1) to strengthen our defenses against recession, (2) to strengthen our financial system, (3) to strengthen our manpower base, and (4) to strengthen our tax system.

A Program for Sustained Prosperity

Recurrent recessions have thrown the post-war American economy off stride at a time when the economies of other major industrial countries have moved steadily ahead. To improve our future performance I urge the Congress to join with me in erecting a defense-in-depth against future recessions. The basic elements of this defense are (1) Presidential stand-by authority for prompt, temporary income tax reductions, (2) Presidential stand-by authority for capital improvements expenditures, and (3) a permanent strengthening of the unemployment compensation system. These three measures parallel important proposals of the Commission on Money and Credit, whose further recommendations are treated under the next heading.

In our free enterprise economy, fluctuations in business and consumer spending will, of course, always occur. But this need not doom us to an alternation of lean years and fat. The business cycle does not have the inevitability of the calendar. The Government can time its fiscal transactions to

offset and to dampen fluctuations in the private economy. Our fiscal system and budget policy already contribute to economic stability, to a much greater degree than before the war. But the time is ripe, and the need apparent, to equip the Government to act more promptly, more flexibly, and more forcefully to stabilize the economy—to carry out more effectively its charge under the Employment Act.

Stand-by tax reduction authority. First, I recommend the enactment of stand-by authority under which the President, subject to veto by the Congress, could make prompt temporary reductions in the rates of the individual income tax to combat recessions, as follows:

(1) Before proposing a temporary tax reduction, the President must make a finding that such action is required to meet the objectives of the Employment Act.

(2) Upon such finding, the President would submit to Congress a proposed temporary uniform reduction in all individual income tax rates. The proposed temporary rates may not be more than 5 percentage points lower than the rates permanently established by the Congress.

(3) This change would take effect 30 days after submission, unless rejected by a joint resolution of the Congress.

(4) It would remain in effect for 6 months, subject to revision or renewal by the same process or extension by a joint resolution of the Congress.

(5) If the Congress were not in session, a Presidentially proposed tax adjustment would automatically take effect but would terminate 30 days after the Congress reconvened. Extension would require a new proposal by the President, which would be subject to congressional veto.

A temporary reduction of individual income tax rates across the board can be a powerful safeguard against recession. It would reduce the annual rate of tax collections by \$2 billion per percentage point, or a maximum of \$10 billion—\$1 billion per

point, or a \$5-billion maximum, for six months—at present levels of income. These figures should be measured against the costs they are designed to forestall:

—the tens of billions of potential output that run to waste in recession;

—the pain and frustration of the millions whom recessions throw out of work;

—the Budget deficits of \$12.4 billion in fiscal 1959 or \$7.0 billion this year.

The proposed partial tax suspension would launch a prompt counterattack on the cumulative forces of recession. It would be reflected immediately in lower withholding deductions and higher take-home pay for millions of Americans. Markets for consumer goods and services would promptly feel the stimulative influence of the tax suspension.

It would offer strong support to the economy for a timely interval, while preserving the revenue-raising powers of our tax system in prosperity and the wise traditional procedures of the Congress for making permanent revisions and reforms in the system. I am not asking the Congress to delegate its power to levy taxes, but to authorize a temporary and emergency suspension of taxes by the President—subject to the checkrein of Congressional veto—in situations where time is of the essence.

Stand-by capital improvements authority. Second, I recommend that the Congress provide stand-by authority to the President to accelerate and initiate up to \$2 billion of appropriately timed capital improvements when unemployment is rising, as follows:

(1) The President would be authorized to initiate the program within two months after the seasonally adjusted unemployment rate

(a) had risen in at least three out of four months (or in four out of six months) and

(b) had risen to a level at least one percentage point higher than its level four months (or six months) earlier.

(2) Before invoking this authority, the President must make a finding that current and prospective economic developments re-

quire such action to achieve the objectives of the Employment Act.

(3) Upon such finding, the President would be authorized to commit

(a) up to \$750 million in the acceleration of direct Federal expenditures previously authorized by the Congress,

(b) up to \$750 million for grants-in-aid to State and local governments,

(c) up to \$250 million in loans to States and localities which would otherwise be unable to meet their share of project costs, and

(d) up to \$250 million additional to be distributed among the above three categories as he might deem appropriate.

(4) The authority to initiate new projects under the capital improvements program would terminate automatically within 12 months unless extended by the Congress—but the program could be terminated at any time by the President.

(5) Grants-in-aid would be made under rules prescribed by the President to assure that assisted projects (a) were of high priority, (b) represented a net addition to existing State and local expenditures, and (c) could be started and completed quickly.

(6) Expenditures on Federal projects previously authorized by the Congress would include resource conservation and various Federal public works, including construction, repair, and modernization of public buildings.

(7) After the program had terminated, the authority would not again be available to the President for six months.

The above criteria would have permitted Presidential authority to be invoked in the early stages of each of the four postwar recessions—within four months after the decline had begun. Furthermore, no false signals would have been given. Were a false signal to occur—for example, because of a strike—the authority, which is discretionary, need not be invoked.

The first impact of the accelerated orders, contracts, and outlays under the program would be felt within one to two months

after the authority was invoked. The major force of the program would be spent well before private demand again pressed hard on the economy's capacity to produce. With the indicated safeguards, this program would make a major contribution to business activity, consumer purchasing power, and employment in a recession by utilizing for sound public investment resources that would otherwise have gone to waste.

Unemployment compensation. Third, I again urge the Congress to strengthen permanently our Federal-State system of unemployment insurance. My specific recommendations include

(1) Extension of the benefit period by as much as 13 weeks for workers with at least three years of experience in covered employment;

(2) Similar extension of the benefit period when unemployment is widespread for workers with less than three years of experience in covered employment. This provision could be put into effect by Presidential proclamation when insured unemployment reaches 5 percent, and the number of benefit exhaustions over a three-month period reaches 1 percent of covered employment;

(3) Incentives for the States to provide increased benefits, so that the great majority of covered workers will be eligible for weekly benefits equal to at least half of their average weekly wage;

(4) Extension of coverage to more than three million additional workers;

(5) Improved financing of the program by an increase in the wage base for the payroll tax from \$3,000 to \$4,800;

(6) Reinsurance grants to States experiencing high unemployment insurance costs;

(7) Provisions which permit claimants to attend approved training or retraining courses without adverse effect on eligibility for benefits.

Wider coverage, extended benefit periods, and increased benefit amounts will help society discharge its obligation to individual unemployed workers. And by maintaining

more adequately their incomes and purchasing power, these measures will also buttress the economy's built-in defenses against recession. Temporary extensions of unemployment compensation benefits have been voted by the Congress during the last two recessions. It is time now for permanent legislation to bring this well-tested stabilizer more smoothly into operation when economic activity declines.

In combination, these three measures will enable Federal fiscal policy to respond firmly, flexibly, and swiftly to oncoming recessions. Working together on this bold program, the Congress and the Executive can make an unprecedented contribution to economic stability, one that will richly reward us in fuller employment and more sustained growth, and thus, in greater human well-being and greater national strength.

Strengthening the Financial System

Proposals of the Commission on Money and Credit. The Report of the Commission on Money and Credit, published last year, raises important issues of public policy relating to (1) the objectives and machinery of Government for economic stabilization and growth, (2) Federal direct lending and credit guarantee programs, and (3) the structure and regulation of private financial institutions and markets. The Commission's Report represents the results of thorough analysis and deliberation by a private group of leading citizens representative of business, labor, finance, agriculture, and the professions. The Commission's findings and recommendations deserve careful consideration by the Congress, the Executive, and the public—consideration which should result in legislative and executive actions to strengthen government policy under the Employment Act and to improve the financial system of the United States. The subjects covered by the Commission can—for the purposes of discussion and action in the Government—usefully be divided into four categories.

(1) To strengthen the instruments of policy for economic stabilization, the Commission recommends permanent improvement of unemployment compensation, flexibility in government capital expenditures, and flexibility in adjusting the basic Federal individual income tax rate. These key proposals are reflected in the three-part anti-recession program just described.

(2) In its comprehensive new look at existing financial legislation, the Commission concludes that the following financial restrictions no longer serve the purposes originally intended and unnecessarily complicate or obstruct other government policies: the ceiling on the public debt, the ceiling on permissible interest rates on U.S. Treasury bonds, and the required gold reserve against Federal Reserve notes and deposits. I am sure that the Congress will wish to examine carefully the Commission's recommendations on these points.

(3) The Commission re-examines the structure of the Federal Reserve System and its relationship to other arms of the Federal Government. The desirability of proposed changes in the structure which has evolved over the years can be determined only after extensive consideration by the Congress and by the public.

There are two reforms of clear merit on which there appears to be sufficiently general agreement to proceed at once, and which are of direct concern to the President in the exercise of his responsibility to appoint the members and officers of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

The first is to give adequate recognition in the simple matter of salaries to the important responsibilities of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. The United States is behind other countries in the status accorded, by this concrete symbol, to the leadership of its "central bank," and I urge that the Congress take corrective action.

The second is to revise the terms of the officers and members of the Board so that a

new President will be able to nominate a Chairman of his choice for a term of four years coterminous with his own. This change has the concurrence of the present Chairman of the Board of Governors. The current situation—under which the four-year term of the Chairman is not synchronized with the Presidential term—appears to be accidental and inadvertent.

Provision should be made now for smooth transition to new arrangements to take effect in 1965. I suggest that, on the expiration of the present term of the Chairman in April 1963, the next term expire on January 31, 1965. In order that, starting in 1965, the President may have a free choice when he begins his own term, it is also necessary to provide that the terms of members of the Board—which now begin and end on January 31 of even years—begin and end in odd years. This change can be accomplished very easily by extending the terms of present members by one year.

(4) Several of the Commission's recommendations require careful appraisal by the affected agencies in the Executive Branch as a basis for future legislative recommendations:

(a) *Banks and other private financial institutions*: The Commission proposes significant changes in the scope and nature of government regulations concerning reserves, portfolios, interest rates, and competition. I shall ask an interagency working group in the Executive Branch to examine the complex issues raised by these proposals. This interagency group will keep in close touch with the relevant committees of the Congress, which will no doubt wish to study these issues simultaneously.

(b) *Federal lending and loan guarantee programs*: It is clearly time for a thorough review of both their general impact on the economy and their effectiveness for the special purposes for which they were established. Again the Commission's Report has performed a valuable service in illuminating basic problems. One important question is

the appropriate role—with account taken of both effectiveness and budgetary cost—of direct Federal lending, loan guarantees, and interest sharing. I shall ask a second interagency group in the Executive Branch to examine these programs.

(c) *Corporate pension funds and other private retirement programs*: It is time for a reappraisal of legislation governing these programs. They have become, in recent years, a major custodian of individual savings and an important source of funds for capital markets. The amendment to the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act which I recommend below will be an important step toward insuring fidelity in the administration of these Plans. But there is also need for a review of rules governing the investment policies of these funds and the effects on equity and efficiency of the tax privileges accorded them. I shall ask a third working group of relevant Departments and agencies to recommend needed actions in this field, taking into account the findings of the Commission as well as other studies and proposals.

A revision of silver policy. Silver—a sick metal in the 1930's—is today an important raw material for which industrial demand is expanding steadily. It is uneconomic for the U.S. Government to lock up large quantities of useful silver in the sterile form of currency reserves. Neither is any constructive purpose served by requiring that the Treasury maintain a floor under the price of silver. Silver should eventually be demonetized, except for its use in coins.

(1) As a first step in freeing silver from government control, the Secretary of the Treasury at my direction suspended sales of silver on November 29. This order amounted to the withdrawal of a price ceiling on silver which had been maintained by Treasury sales at a fixed price.

(2) The next step should be the withdrawal of the Treasury's price floor under domestically produced silver. Accordingly, I recommend repeal of the Acts relating to

silver of June 19, 1934, July 6, 1939, and July 31, 1946; this step will free the Treasury from any future obligation to support the price of silver.

(3) I also recommend the repeal of the special 50 percent tax on transfers of interest in silver; this step will foster orderly price movements by encouraging the development of a futures market in silver.

(4) Finally, I recommend that the Federal Reserve System be authorized to issue Federal Reserve notes in denominations of \$1; this will make possible the gradual withdrawal from circulation of \$1 and \$2 silver certificates, and the use of the silver thus released for coinage purposes.

Strengthening Our Manpower Base

The labor force of the United States is its most valuable productive resource. Measures which enhance the skills and adaptability of the working population contribute to the over-all productivity of the economy. Several legislative proposals to serve these ends have already been put before the Congress.

(1) I urge speedy passage of the proposed Manpower Development and Training Act. A growing and changing economy demands a labor force whose skills adapt readily to the requirements of new technology. When adaptation is slow and occupational lines rigid, individuals and society alike are the losers. Individuals take their loss in the form of prolonged unemployment or sharply reduced earning power. Society's loss is measured in foregone output. These are losses we need not suffer. A few hundred dollars invested in training or retraining an unemployed or underemployed worker can increase his productivity to society by a multiple of that investment—quite apart from the immeasurable return to the worker in regaining a sense of purpose and hope. Both compassion and dollars-and-cents reasoning speak for this legislation.

(2) For the same reasons, I urge enactment of the Youth Employment Opportuni-

ties Act. This bill provides three types of pilot programs to give young people employment opportunities which would enable them to acquire much-needed skills. These programs include training, employment in public service jobs with public and private nonprofit agencies, and the establishment of Youth Corps Conservation Camps. In the current decade, young men and women will be entering the labor force in rapidly growing numbers. They will expect, and they deserve, opportunities to acquire skills and to do useful work. The price of failure is frustration and disillusion among our youth. This price we are resolved not to pay.

(3) I have already made my recommendations for improvement of the Federal-State unemployment compensation system.

(4) I am asking the Congress for more funds to increase the effectiveness of the U.S. Employment Service. This important agency has already strengthened its operations, improving its staff and placement services particularly in the largest urban centers, and concentrating on labor market problems of nationwide significance—especially those connected with technological displacement of adult workers and the employment of youth. But the matching of jobs and workers is especially difficult and especially important in a rapidly changing economy, and more can be done. When unfilled jobs and qualified unemployed workers co-exist—but do not make contact because the flow of job information is not sufficiently free—the employer, the worker, and the country lose. I urge the Congress to reduce that loss in the most effective way—by revitalizing further the agency charged with disseminating information about job opportunities and willing workers.

(5) I ask for enactment of the pending proposal to amend the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act so as (a) to provide adequate penalties for embezzlement and (b) to vest authority in a responsible Federal agency to enforce the statute by issuing binding regulations, prescribing uniform re-

porting forms, and investigating violations. Almost 90 million people rely on some welfare and pension plan for part or all of present or future income. These plans are a major support of the economic security of the American people. We are derelict if we do not provide adequate administrative and enforcement provisions to protect the tremendous financial interest of participants in these funds.

Strengthening Our Tax System

The tax system of the United States has consequences far beyond the simple raising of revenue. The tax laws are a vital part of the economic environment; their effects may be equitable or inequitable; they create incentives which may help or handicap the national interest. We cannot safely ignore these important effects in the comforting illusion that what already exists is perfect. We must scrutinize our tax system carefully to insure that its provisions contribute to the broad goals of full employment, growth, and equity.

My legislative proposals in the tax field are directly related to these goals and the corollary need for improvement in the balance of payments. In particular, I urge the earliest possible enactment of the tax proposals now before the House Committee on Ways and Means. The centerpiece of these proposals is the 8 percent tax credit against tax for gross investment in depreciable machinery and equipment. The credit should be retroactive to January 1, 1962. The tax credit increases the profitability of productive investment by reducing the net cost of acquiring new equipment. It will stimulate investment in capacity expansion and modernization, contribute to the growth of our productivity and output, and increase the competitiveness of American exports in world markets.

The tax credit for investment is in part self-financing. The stimulus it provides to new investment will have favorable effects on the level of economic activity during the

year, and this will in turn add to Federal revenues. My other proposals for tax reform are designed to improve the equity and efficiency of the tax system and will offset the remaining net revenue loss:

(1) Extension of the withholding principle to dividend and interest income;

(2) Repeal of the \$50 dividend exclusion and the 4 percent dividend credit;

(3) Revision of the tax treatment of business deductions for entertainment, gifts, and other expenses, to stop abuses of "expense-account living";

(4) Elimination of the special tax preference for capital gains from the sale of depreciable property, real and personal;

(5) Removal of unwarranted preferences (a) to cooperatives, (b) to mutual fire and casualty insurance companies, and (c) to mutual savings banks and savings and loan associations; and

(6) Revision of the tax treatment of foreign income, to remove defects and inequities in the law. Removal of the unwarranted incentive to the export of capital will be consistent with the efficient distribution of capital resources in the world and will aid our balance of payments position. Tax deferral privileges should be limited to profits earned in less developed countries, and opportunities for "tax haven" operations should be eliminated.

In addition, I recommend that the corporate income tax and certain excise taxes again be extended at present levels for another year beyond June 30, 1962, except that the structure of taxes and user charges in the transportation field be altered as proposed in my Budget Message.

In considering tax revision in the United States, we must not limit ourselves simply to Federal taxation. Our States, counties, and municipalities collect nearly half as much tax revenue as the Federal Government. There is great potential for equity or inequity, for incentive or disincentive, in their highly diverse tax systems. In addition, the effectiveness of Federal tax policies

can be enhanced by harmonious coordination with State and local fiscal systems. There is wide latitude for improvements in the coordination of tax systems and in operations with intergovernmental implications. In this effort, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is performing a valuable service. I urge careful study of its recommendations at all levels of government.

Later this year, I shall present to the Congress a major program of tax reform. This broad program will re-examine tax rates and the definition of the income tax base. It will be aimed at the simplification of our tax structure, the equal treatment of equally situated persons, and the strengthening of

incentives for individual effort and for productive investment.

The momentum of our economy has been restored. This momentum must be maintained, if the full potential of our free economy is to be released in the service of the Nation and the world. In this Report I have proposed a program to sustain our prosperity and accelerate our growth—in short, to realize our economic potential. In this undertaking, I ask the support of the Congress and the American people.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The message and the complete report (300 pp.) are published in "Economic Report of the President, 1962" (Government Printing Office, 1962).

17 Statement by the President Concerning the Dominican Republic.

January 22, 1962

THE GOVERNMENT of the United States is encouraged by the present trend in the Dominican Republic, and the steps taken toward the restoration of orderly democratic processes in that country. The Dominican Republic people have gone through a difficult period which has had unfavorable, though temporary, economic repercussions. I have reviewed these problems with the United

States Coordinator for the Alliance for Progress, Mr. Teodoro Moscoso, who, along with other experts, recently visited the Dominican Republic at my request.

As a result of this review and in view of the urgent nature of the Dominican Republic's balance of payment situation, the United States is willing to make available up to \$25 million as emergency credit.

18 Exchange of Letters With Ronald Ngala Following U.S. Disaster Assistance to Kenya. *January 22, 1962*

[Released January 22, 1962. Dated January 20, 1962]

Dear Mr. Ngala:

Thank you for your very kind letter regarding American famine relief for Kenya.

The American people were deeply moved by the reports of the suffering caused by the prolonged drought and the recent disastrous floods.

We are most happy to know that our food and assistance were timely and did much to alleviate the intense hardship caused by these disasters. I very much appreciate your

thoughtfulness in writing to me on this matter.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[The Honorable Ronald Ngala, Leader of the House, Nairobi, Kenya]

NOTE: Mr. Ngala's letter, dated November 30, 1961, follows:

Dear Mr. President,

On behalf of the Government of Kenya, I would like to offer our most heartfelt thanks for all that

your Government has done to assist us in famine relief. The misery and suffering that has been caused by this terrible disaster has been greatly alleviated by the generosity of the United States of America.

Three-hundred thousand bags of Maize which we have received, together with proportionate

amounts of Milk Powder and Edible Oil, to say nothing of the free use of Hercules aircraft of the United States Air Force, amounts to an incredibly generous contribution.

I would like to convey our deepest gratitude.

Yours sincerely,

R. G. NGALA

19 Remarks to the National Conference on Milk and Nutrition.

January 23, 1962

Mr. Secretary, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my appreciation to all of you for participating in this Conference, which I think is most important to our farmers and to our country.

And I want to say a few words this morning about a very important subject to us all, and that is milk. Almost every State produces milk. It provides twice the cash income for our farmers as any other basic crop. It is our most nourishing food, and last year we consumed either in the form of milk or in the form of butter, cheese, or ice cream, 125 billion pounds of dairy products, but in the year before, we consumed between two and three billion pounds more. At the same time our population increased 1.7 percent, and milk production, in an effort to keep pace with population production, increased 1½ percent. And in that same time milk consumption declined 2½ percent.

This is a serious matter for us all. It is serious for the dairy industry, for all of our farmers, and for the United States. First, it is a matter of concern because it implies poor nutrition and a less balanced diet. Secondly, it presents problems in the area of the management of our milk production that will require adjustment.

We cannot continue to accumulate dairy products in still larger inventories, nor can we embark upon a policy that will jeopardize the economic interests of so large a segment of our farm population. For there is a close relationship between prosperity on the farm and prosperity in the city—between the economic health of our farm community and the economic health of our Nation.

Third, the drop in milk consumption has serious implications for the best use of those soil, water, and animal resources that are now involved in dairy production.

I doubt that anyone can be sure of the reasons for this sudden drop in consumption. We only know that the slow decline in consumption over a period of time became immediate and precipitous last year.

I have long been convinced that milk is an important aid to good health. This has led me to direct that milk be served at every White House meal from now on—and I expect that all of us will benefit from it.

If we are to be a vigorous and vital nation, as we all desire, then of course we must depend upon the consumption of a balanced diet, and milk must be a part of it.

I am aware that there has been a good deal of public discussion about the effect of radioactive fallout upon our food supply. Most of the discussion has unfortunately used milk as an example of food products that might be contaminated. This recognizes the importance of milk in our daily diet, but it has the unfortunate effect of causing an identification in the minds of some between fallout and milk.

I should like to correct any misunderstandings that may exist about this. The Public Health Service and other agencies have been instructed to keep the problems of fallout in food under constant surveillance. Detailed guidelines to protect the health of the people against radiation have been developed by the Federal Radiation Council. It is abundantly clear that for the foreseeable future there is no danger from the present amount of exposure. The milk supply offers

no hazards. On the contrary, it remains one of the best sources of nutrition for our children and for adults—and I hope that the American people will appreciate this more and more as time goes on.

In addition, the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council has concluded, after intensive research, that the association of milk consumption and coronary disease due to an increase in cholesterol level has not been sufficiently established to justify the abandonment of this nutritious element, except where doctors have individually prescribed special diets for those found to be susceptible to special cholesterol or coronary problems.

In the past 50 years our children have grown more vigorous and sturdy because of better diet and better health. Our young adults are now about 2 inches taller than they were half a century ago. I should like—and I am sure all of us would like—to see this trend continue. A large proportion of our people now attain a physical condition once attained by a very few, but nutritionists tell us that 10 percent of our people still have an inadequate diet. The most serious deficiencies, I am told, are in the very minerals and vitamins, such as calcium and Vitamin A, most prevalent in milk. I am sure all of us would like to see this nutritional gap narrowed.

Those who are familiar with the needs and the problems of our older citizens, also

tell us that older people need more calcium than they now get. Again, milk offers the best and most economical source of this vital mineral.

There are many children today who do not participate in the school milk and the school lunch programs, because their schools do not and often cannot make them available. Last year we expanded these programs. I hope more and more children will be able to receive school milk and lunches in the days ahead.

These programs find, I think, increasing support among the people of other nations. We have encouraged this development and will continue to do so.

These are some of the areas which I hope this Conference will cover. I do not say that it is an easy matter that we are now faced with, but we do want to emphasize that this is a great productive resource of our country. We are rich in a very basic food. We are anxious to have the consumption of it increased as our population mounts, and I believe that this Conference will help bring attention of the public to what a valuable asset we have, and to make sure that we develop it more fully.

And therefore I want to express my thanks to all of you for being here today.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. in the Departmental Auditorium in Washington. His opening words "Mr. Secretary" referred to Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture.

20 The President's News Conference of *January 24, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon.

[I.] Q. Mr. President, the House Rules Committee, I understand, has just voted down your urban affairs bill. I wonder if in that view you plan to submit it again.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I will say this: It is my understanding that the House Rules Committee rejected by a vote of 9 to 6 the proposal which had come out, which we had sent up, and which had come out of

the House Committee on Government Operations.

I am somewhat astonished at the Republican leadership, which opposed this bill. It is my understanding that all of the Republican members of the Rules Committee opposed the bill, I had gotten the impression 2 weeks ago, after reading the reports from the meeting in Oklahoma, that they shared our concern for more effective management

and responsibility of the problems of two-thirds of our population who live in the cities. These cities are expanding. They face many problems—housing, transportation, and all the rest—which vitally affect our people.

This is a most valuable and important proposal, and for that reason, therefore, I am going to send it to the Congress as a reorganization plan, and give every member of the House and Senate an opportunity to give their views and work their will on this. And we are going to send it up right away.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, could you discuss for us your general feelings about the limits which you feel should or should not be imposed on the public statements of military figures? Do you think that—what degree of review should be exercised over their public utterances?

THE PRESIDENT. I must say I don't think that we could do better than to read the remarks of three distinguished military officers: General White's article in this week's *Newsweek*, Admiral Burke, a distinguished officer who is now retired, and General Lemnitzer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—all men of long experience, all men who understand the importance of the proper relationship between the military and the civilian. And I must say that after reading those three statements, I am strengthened in my conviction of the good judgment of Mr. Lovetts's words when he said that this flag looks redder to the bulls outside than it does inside. I think that—I commend those three statements to the military and to the civilians, and I think they set a very proper guidance.

I'm glad this matter is being looked into by—particularly by a committee headed by Senator Stennis, who is an outstanding Senator. I am sure that it will be useful. But I do think that the relationship which has existed for so many years, which provides for civilian control and responsibility, and the coordination of speeches which interpret Government policy, so that the United States speaks with force and strength—I believe

that we should continue this very valuable policy which has been carried out in my predecessor's administration, and the predecessor before, of giving guidance on speeches, so that particularly when they are given by high governmental officials—I understand 1200 speeches were submitted and given by the Defense Department, I think over 600 of them involved foreign policy matters, and were submitted to the Department of State. When I gave my State of the Union Address, I submitted that part dealing with foreign policy to the State Department for any comments, the part dealing with the Defense Department and national defense, to the Secretary of Defense for his comments. This is the way a government like ours, which is large and which deals with problems which are extremely important and sensitive, and which involve our relations around the world—this is the way we can coordinate and make effective expressions of our views. So that I am confident this hearing will be useful and it got off to a very good start with those three statements. In fact, the military seemed to me to appreciate the problem better than some civilians. [*Laughter*]

[3.] Q. Mr. President, there are persistent reports that you have proposed that Eugene Black of the World Bank lend his good offices to India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute. Could you say if this is correct, sir, and what your hopes for success might be, if so?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I asked Mr. Black if he would undertake to see if a solution was possible in this most difficult and delicate problem. It creates international tensions, of course, since we are assisting both of the countries. We want our assistance to be used in a way which is most effective for the people.

Obviously, peaceful relations between Pakistan and India are in the interests of world peace and the interests that we seek to promote. Mr. Black is widely regarded. He had a very successful period as negotiator on the Indus River matter and, therefore, he

has generously consented, if it was decided by the parties involved that he could be helpful, to use his good offices, and I suggested that they consider this matter.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you could tell us what considerations, other than a tight schedule went into your brother's decision not to visit Moscow on his trip.

THE PRESIDENT. I thought his statement was as he described it.

Q. Was there any feeling, Mr. President, that high level talks would be useful until they had made some more conciliatory move on Berlin?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think the statement he gave was the reason.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, there seems to be a feeling that you are in for a fight on your trade program. Could you say how you think this will develop, mostly along the economic lines, or sectional lines or political lines, or perhaps all three?

THE PRESIDENT. It may be all three. I am hopeful that it will be certainly a bipartisan fight. I believe it will be. This matter received its first impetus from the report of Secretary Herter and Mr. Clayton. It—the general principles have been supported by people like Henry Cabot Lodge in his work with NATO and the Atlantic Council. It has been given a general support by President Eisenhower. So that I am hopeful that it will be a matter of bipartisan concern.

There will, of course, be sectional interests involved and there will be industrial interests involved, but I am hopeful about this because I think the facts, the necessities and our interests are so much on the side of our program that I believe that the Congress will respond.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, are you and your military advisers completely satisfied with the makeup and strength of NATO at the present time?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think we can improve NATO. I think that it's important that we add to the conventional strength of NATO. We've been emphasizing that. We, ourselves, have increased our contribu-

tion. I am hopeful that we can meet the targets which General Norstad stated as minimal if Western Europe is to be successfully defended and also if we are to have, as I have said, an alternative between nuclear holocaust and retreat. So I think it could be strengthened.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with the House Rules Committee vote, I wanted to ask you about an article that appeared this morning, and it was described as being based on an authorized interview with you. It included this sentence: "The President sees at the end of a year how nearly impossible it is to govern under the system of divided powers." Would you care to expand on that view?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. I haven't given any authorized interview—[laughter]—but if you want to know my views, of course there is a difficulty between a Congress and a President, an executive. We are coordinate branches. There are different views, different interests. Perspectives are different from one end of Pennsylvania Avenue to the other. I was 14—I've been 14 times longer at one end of it than I have been at the other, so I appreciate the Congress' responsibilities.

I believe that on the particular issue that the Congress should speak its will because I believe it vitally important, particularly as these cities expand, they cross State lines. The mayors come to see us—and they've strongly supported this legislation. They move from department to department where their interests are assigned to different agencies under different conditions. This would be a very important step forward, and that's why I am going to follow a procedure of sending it to the Congress so that in this way we are bound to get a vote on it by the House and the Senate.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, if you are able to create a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, there have been numerous reports that you would appoint Robert Weaver to this Cabinet position. Would you care to comment on these reports?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Weaver is the head of the Housing Agency and he was chosen for that position because he had long experience. I think he has done an outstanding job.

This would be the most important part of any new agency. If we did receive the authority, I would appoint Mr. Weaver to be the Secretary.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, your brother Teddy, in Massachusetts, seems to be running for something but none of us are very certain just what it is. Could you tell us if you have had an opportunity to discuss this with him and whether you can tell us the secret?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think he's the man—he's the man who's running and he's the man to discuss it with.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, assuming the American air bases in the Portuguese Azores are vital to our security, could you explain to us if you expect the Government will have any difficulty negotiating leases—renewed leases on those bases this year, especially in light of the report from Lisbon of our strained relations with Portugal?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the Azores base is very important to us and to NATO and the negotiations will take place this year. We're hopeful that they will continue to permit us to use this base upon which 75 to 80 percent of our military air traffic to Europe depends, so that in these rather critical times in Europe that base is extremely important to us.

I'm hopeful that it will be possible for us to reach an agreement with the Portuguese for continued use of it. But that's a matter which will be negotiated between the countries.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, you said yesterday that more people ought to drink milk. None of the young marrieds I know of lay off it on account of radioactivity. They lay off it because they can hardly buy enough for the children, and not themselves, on account of the price. Now, how is it that with the butter priced off the table and milk

so high they can't buy it, we have surpluses that we buy up and give away?

THE PRESIDENT. The price of milk has not—well, I don't have the latest figures here—in the last 12 months, overall consumer prices have not materially increased. Perhaps—so that I'm not sure that the whole explanation of the drop within the last 12 months, which has been quite sharp—in other words, the consumption has dropped by $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent, while the population was going up $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent, so that I don't feel, Mrs. Craig, even though I recognize that this is an important element, I don't believe it can be explained by price alone. We are attempting to make judgments as to what can be done to increase the consumption. I don't think that the dairy farmer, who averages about, I think, 82 cents an hour, is being overcompensated for his work. So that while price obviously is a factor, it is not the total explanation.

I was attempting to reassure on radio-active, and on the matter of—and also to see if we can stimulate it by example. Mr. Salinger drank it this morning—[laughter]—with no adverse effect.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, do you have real prospects that your medical-care-for-the-aged bill will come out of committee finally for a vote up or down by Congress at this session?

THE PRESIDENT. I have real hope that there will be a vote on the medical care for the aged this year, in the Congress, yes.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, what is your view of the House amendment to the postal rate bill which would prohibit the Post Office from distributing mail labeled as Communist propaganda?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it does not give the Attorney General—I just had the language here—it doesn't give the Attorney General very clear guidance as to what he's supposed to label Communist and political propaganda. Is he supposed to label newspapers that may be received or speeches, or whatever they may be, so that the language is somewhat vague? In addition, I think we

want to realize that this is a reciprocal matter. I think in the last 12 months, ending March 31, 1961, we sent—a total of 16 million pounds of mail of all types were sent to the Iron Curtain countries. A lot of it went to friends and relatives in Iron Curtain countries, food packages and all of the rest, and we were only receiving 2,300,000 pounds.

Now, there has been a drop in the amount of mail coming in from Communist countries in the last few months, really since last spring. If there is also an effort made by the Communists to deny us ability to send mail, it's going to present serious problems for a good many Americans who have been carrying on correspondence with friends and relatives. Now, I know that that's not the purpose. I think the Senate should examine the language very clearly and make sure that it's effective and is responsive to our national needs, and determine whether the rather generalized instructions to the Attorney General fall within the necessity of legal precision.

I think the American people are used to hearing all sides. I don't think that they are particularly impressed by a good deal of what I have seen of propaganda. We send a good deal of mail out and I want to be sure that our rights to send our mail and our views and our correspondence to all parts of the world are not interfered with. So that I think the Senate should look at it carefully.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, in your comments on the statements about the military censorship issue, you make no reference to President Eisenhower's statement of yesterday. Would you care to comment on what he had to say?

THE PRESIDENT. No. Everyone is giving their views. I've given mine. And my views are—I think I just gave them. President Eisenhower is entitled to hold his views and express them. And as I say, I thought Mr. Lovett and these other three military hit it so precisely that I strongly endorse what they said, and I'm filled with appreciation of the fact that three distinguished

members of the military said it.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, two well-known security risks have recently been put on a task force in the State Department to help reorganize the Office of Security.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, now, who?

Q. William Arthur Wieland, a well-known man who for over a year the State—

THE PRESIDENT. And who—now I think, Mrs. McClendon, I think that—would you give me the other name?

Q. Yes, sir—J. Clayton Miller.

THE PRESIDENT. Right. Well, now, I think the term—I would say that the term you've used to describe them is a very strong term which I would think that you should be prepared to substantiate. I am familiar with Mr. Miller's record because I happened to look at it the other day. He has been cleared by the State Department. In my opinion, the duties which he is now carrying out, he is fit for. And I have done that after Mr. Rusk and I both looked at the matter, so therefore I cannot accept your description of him.

Q. Did you both look at Mr. William Arthur Wieland, too?

THE PRESIDENT. I am familiar with Mr. Wieland. I'm also familiar with his duties at the present time, and in my opinion, Mr. Miller and Mr. Wieland, the duties they have been assigned to, they can carry out without detriment to the interests of the United States, and I hope without detriment to their characters by your question.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, considering that the one ingredient in all these radical right organizations seems to be anticommunism or possibly superpatriotism, would it be feasible or useful for you, or even for the Republican leaders, to appeal to these people to stop tilting at windmills and to make a common cause against the enemy? My question really is, do you think there is any merit in this idea?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I did attempt in my speech at Seattle, my speech in Los Angeles, and in other speeches to indicate what I consider to be the challenges that the United

States faces, and I would hope that—there have been others who have done the same thing and I think we should keep that up. And I am hopeful that we can turn the energies of all patriotic Americans to the great problems that we face at home and abroad. The problems are extremely serious. I share their concern about the cause of freedom. But I do think that we ought to look at what the challenges are with some precision and not concern ourselves on occasions with matters such as character or integrity of the Chief Justice or other matters which are really not even in question.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, it has been reported that you have indicated an interest in the provision of some sort of scholarship aid, perhaps something similar to the GI bill, for the reservists and National Guardsmen that were recently called up. Could you give us a little clearer picture of your views? For example, would you favor something such as Senator Yarborough of Texas' cold war GI bill?

THE PRESIDENT. Well now, on the general question of whether we should have a special scholarship program for reservists or draftees, this is a matter that is being considered. Senator Yarborough's bill was not in the administration's program on education this year. It involved a rather large sum of money, \$350 million, at a time when we were making rather broad recommendations for our education. But whether there should be some special program of selected scholarships which would be available for competition is a matter which we are looking at, and which I hope to discuss with Senator Yarborough.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, as you have just emphasized, present strontium 90 levels in milk are certainly well within an acceptable range. But since milk is a major source of calcium and adequate calcium in the body apparently does help prevent deposits of strontium 90 in bone, it has been suggested that strontium removal plants, such as the one developed by the Government might be

adopted by all the dairy industry to provide the Nation with a nutritious as well as a radiation-free source of calcium. Would you give us your views on this? What would you think of it?

THE PRESIDENT. My information is that—and I think, as I stated yesterday, that this has not reached a point where any action such as you've suggested is necessary. Milk is safe and can be drunk with strong conviction that it's assisting health and not working against good health. Now, if the situation should ever change, we would inform the American people and take appropriate action. But for the present, the cow itself, along with other factors, makes our milk very safe and useful to drink.

Q. Yes, that is what I pointed out. The only thing is it has been suggested that many other foods are not as yet safe and do add to the strontium burden in the body, and if one has a calcium-free source that is free of contamination, this helps build up a resistance for these other things. It was suggested from that point of view rather than because it is dangerous now or even in the future. [*Laughter*]

[19.] Q. Mr. President, in the face of your economic message urging both management and labor to moderate their policy regarding price and wage increases, would you tell us how you feel about the electricians union's contract in New York which calls for a 25-hour week?

THE PRESIDENT. I stated, I think at the Steelworkers convention, before I was elected, and I've stated since then, that I thought that the 40-hour week was the—in view of the many obligations that we had upon us at home and abroad, represented the national goal at this time. In addition, I've also stated that I thought that labor-management contracts should be settled within the realm of productivity increases, so that there would be a beneficial effect on price stability.

Now, this contract did not meet either one of those two standards, and therefore I regretted it.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, how do you feel or how does this Government feel about the political as distinct from the economic integration of Western Europe? President de Gaulle has seemed to stress confederation as distinct from federation, and the British don't seem to be very eager for a common parliament. What is this Government's position?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we support the Treaty of Rome, and of course that must be interpreted, and which is now a subject of negotiation between the Six, and will also be a subject of negotiation with the British, particularly because of their Commonwealth obligations and so on. So we'll have to wait to see how it evolves. But the general position of this administration, and the previous one, was support of the Treaty of Rome, support of the integration of Europe, because as Europe is strengthened we are strengthened. So that while the details are matters, of course, of judgment for them, the general movement we believe to be in the interests of the Atlantic Community.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, more than one-third of the Senate and several influential members of the House have petitioned you today seeking wider trade protection on textiles. In view of their importance to your trade fight in Congress, could you tell us how you plan to meet the request?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I received a letter today from both, a good many members of the House and the Senate in regard to the negotiations which are going to take place beginning next Monday, and they were anxious that in those negotiations, that we would be mindful of the desirability of maintaining a relationship between imports and national production. I believe last year's imports of textiles were around 7 percent—that's 1960—and they had gone from 4 percent to 7 percent from 1957 to 1960, and then dropped to about 6 percent. I think that this was a request for us to be concerned about any agreement which might provide a substantial increase in textiles, and we are very mindful of that, and we recognize the

effect of all of this upon the trade bill itself. So this is a matter of concern to us, too.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us what the United States hopes will emerge from the present conference at Punta del Este?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that what we—I think—will see emerge is an implementation of the—really rather an effective statement of the concern that is felt by the people of Latin America and this country at the intrusion of communism into this—into our OAS family. And I'm confident that the negotiations that are now going on, and that the deliberations of the countries will be—will make their hostility to communism and totalitarianism very clear.

[23.] Q. Mr. President, could you give us your views of the bill on educational television which is now pending in the House Rules Committee?

THE PRESIDENT. I am sorry, I don't know enough about it to give you an informed opinion.

[24.] Q. Mr. President, in a very abbreviated interview this morning, the Attorney General said that the Government was looking into racketeering, the operations of racketeering, racketeers, in the stock exchange. Could you give us—could you comment upon this problem or give us any indication of the extent of it?

THE PRESIDENT. I think I would rather have you go back to the Attorney General on it.

[25.] Q. Mr. President, in your speech out in Columbus, Ohio, you spoke of a fragmentation in the Communist bloc. Could you elaborate, tell us a little more about this trouble in the Red paradise?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I did make a reference in my State of the Union to the closer integration of the free world at a time when that particular trend had not been the most noticeable trend in other parts of the world. But I think that until the pattern of the future is clearer and relationships are more precise, a good deal of our information must

necessarily be surmised, and I don't really feel it would be useful at this time to explore it in more detail.

[26.] Q. Mr. President, it has been suggested by columnists and others that over the course of the past year you have become more conservative, particularly that you recognize that the country may not be ready for the full Democratic platform. Could you comment on this assessment and tell us if you have changed your view of the role of your leadership?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I consider the progress we made last year in implementing the

platform was very beneficial: minimum wage, social security, depressed areas, and all the others, advances in the field of foreign aid authorization. We have sent up a good many more programs this year that were suggested in the platform. And I feel we're making, and going to make, progress toward carrying out the commitments of the country and the party. And we're staying at it.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's twenty-first news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, January 24, 1962.

21 Special Message to the Congress Reporting Settlement of the 1961 Maritime Strike. *January 25, 1962*

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, as amended, I am reporting to the Congress about the recent labor dispute in the maritime industry.

A strike took place at 12:01 AM, June 16, 1961. Although only the ships in port and the employees on such ships were immediately affected, the dispute involved virtually all American shipping companies, some 70,000 employees and about 900 ships and affected the trade and commerce of every Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf port in the United States.

On June 26th, by Executive Order 10949, I established a Board of Inquiry, consisting of the Honorable David Cole, Chairman, Judge Samuel I. Rosenman and Professor James J. Healy, to inquire into the issues involved in the dispute and report to me on or before June 30th, in accordance with the provisions of Section 206 of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947, as amended. I subsequently extended the time for the submission of the initial report of the Board of Inquiry to July 3rd.

That report concisely presented the facts with respect to the dispute and the positions of the parties as required by law.

On July 3rd, acting on my instruction, the Attorney General filed a petition in the District Court for the Southern District of New York seeking an injunction against the continuance of the strike. A hearing was held on the Government's motion for a temporary restraining order on July 3rd, and the Court, after finding that the strike affected a substantial portion of the maritime industry, and that it would imperil the national health and safety if permitted to continue, temporarily restrained the strike activities until July 8th. A stay of that order sought immediately by the unions was denied by Circuit Judge Clark. (*United States v. National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, et al.*, 292 F. 2d 190, CA 2, July 8, 1961.)

A hearing was held on the Government's motion for a preliminary injunction on July 7th, and the temporary restraining order was extended until July 12th. Two days before this order was to expire, the Court found that it had been "abundantly and overwhelmingly established" that the strike was affecting a substantial portion of the industry, and if permitted to continue would imperil the national health and safety. In addition, it rejected the contention of the

National Maritime Engineers' Beneficial Association and the International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots that, because their membership consists of "supervisors," their participation in the strike could not be enjoined. (*United States v. National Maritime Union of America, et al.*, 196 F. Supp. 374, S.D.N.Y., July 10, 1961.)

The unions appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, which, in an opinion issued August 22nd, affirmed the lower court's decision. (*United States v. National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, et al.*, 294 F. 2d 385 CA 2.)

Pursuant to Section 209(b) of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, as

amended, I reconvened the Board of Inquiry. The Board held meetings with the parties and obtained the information required for its further report of the current position of the parties and the efforts which had been made for settlement, including a statement by each party of its position and a statement of the employer's last offer of settlement. This Final Report of the Board of Inquiry was submitted to me September 1st.

On September 25th, the Attorney General moved the District Court to discharge the injunction, which motion the Court that day granted effective September 21st.

I am happy to report that settlements were reached by all parties to the dispute.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

22 Special Message to the Congress on Foreign Trade Policy.

January 25, 1962

To the Congress of the United States:

Twenty-eight years ago our nation embarked upon a new experiment in international relationships—the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program. Faced with the chaos in world trade that had resulted from the Great Depression, disillusioned by the failure of the promises that high protective tariffs would generate recovery, and impelled by a desperate need to restore our economy, President Roosevelt asked for authority to negotiate reciprocal tariff reductions with other nations of the world in order to spur our exports and aid our economic recovery and growth.

That landmark measure, guided through Congress by Cordell Hull, has been extended eleven times. It has served our country and the free world well over two decades. The application of this program brought growth and order to the free world trading system. Our total exports, averaging less than \$2 billion a year in the three years preceding enactment of the law, have now increased to over \$20 billion.

On June 30, 1962, the negotiating authority under the last extension of the Trade

Agreements Act expires. It must be replaced by a wholly new instrument. A new American trade initiative is needed to meet the challenges and opportunities of a rapidly changing world economy.

In the brief period since this Act was last extended, five fundamentally new and sweeping developments have made obsolete our traditional trade policy:

—*The growth of the European Common Market*—an economy which may soon nearly equal our own, protected by a single external tariff similar to our own—has progressed with such success and momentum that it has surpassed its original timetable, convinced those initially skeptical that there is now no turning back and laid the groundwork for a radical alteration of the economics of the Atlantic Alliance. Almost 90 percent of the free world's industrial production (if the United Kingdom and others successfully complete their negotiations for membership) may soon be concentrated in two great markets—the United States of America and the expanded European Economic Community. A trade policy adequate to negotiate item by item tariff

reductions with a large number of small independent states will no longer be adequate to assure ready access for ourselves—and for our traditional trading partners in Canada, Japan, Latin America and elsewhere—to a market nearly as large as our own, whose negotiators can speak with one voice but whose internal differences make it impossible for them to negotiate item by item.

—*The growing pressures on our balance of payments position* have, in the past few years, turned a new spotlight on the importance of increasing American exports to strengthen the international position of the dollar and prevent a steady drain of our gold reserves. To maintain our defense, assistance and other commitments abroad, while expanding the free flow of goods and capital, we must achieve a reasonable equilibrium in our international accounts by offsetting these dollar outlays with dollar sales.

—*The need to accelerate our own economic growth*, following a lagging period of seven years characterized by three recessions, is more urgent than it has been in years—underlined by the millions of new job opportunities which will have to be found in this decade to provide employment for those already unemployed as well as an increasing flood of younger workers, farm workers seeking new opportunities, and city workers displaced by technological change.

—*The communist aid and trade offensive* has also become more apparent in recent years. Soviet bloc trade with 41 non-communist countries in the less-developed areas of the globe has more than tripled in recent years; and bloc trade missions are busy in nearly every continent attempting to penetrate, encircle and divide the free world.

—*The need for new markets for Japan and the developing nations* has also been accentuated as never before—both by the prospective impact of the EEC's external tariff and by their own need to acquire new outlets for their raw materials and light manufacturers.

To meet these new challenges and opportunities, I am today transmitting to the Congress a new and modern instrument of trade negotiation—the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. As I said in my State of the Union Address, its enactment “could well affect the unity of the West, the course of the Cold War and the growth of our nation for a generation or more to come.”

I. THE BENEFITS OF INCREASED TRADE

Specifically, enactment of this measure will benefit substantially every state of the union, every segment of the American economy, and every basic objective of our domestic economy and foreign policy.

Our efforts to expand our economy will be importantly affected by our ability to expand our exports—and particularly upon the ability of our farmers and businessmen to sell to the Common Market. There is arising across the Atlantic a single economic community which may soon have a population half again as big as our own, working and competing together with no more barriers to commerce and investment than exist among our 50 states—in an economy which has been growing roughly twice as fast as ours—representing a purchasing power which will someday equal our own and a living standard growing faster than our own. As its consumer incomes grow, its consumer demands are also growing, particularly for the type of goods that we produce best, which are only now beginning to be widely sold or known in the markets of Europe or in the homes of its middle-income families.

Some 30 percent of our exports—more than \$4 billion in industrial goods and materials and nearly \$2 billion in agricultural products—already goes to the members and prospective members of the EEC. European manufacturers, however, have increased their share of this rapidly expanding market at a far greater rate than American manufacturers. Unless our industry can maintain and increase its share of this

attractive market, there will be further temptation to locate additional American-financed plants in Europe in order to get behind the external tariff wall of the EEC. This would enable the American manufacturer to contend for that vast consumer potential on more competitive terms with his European counterparts; but it will also mean a failure on our part to take advantage of this growing market to increase jobs and investment in this country.

A more liberal trade policy will in general benefit our most efficient and expanding industries—industries which have demonstrated their advantage over other world producers by exporting on the average twice as much of their products as we import—industries which have done this while paying the highest wages in our country. Increasing investment and employment in these growth industries will make for a more healthy, efficient and expanding economy and a still higher American standard of living. Indeed, freer movement of trade between America and the Common Market would bolster the economy of the entire free world, stimulating each nation to do most what it does best and helping to achieve the OECD target of a 50 percent combined Atlantic Community increase in Gross National Product by 1970.

Our efforts to prevent inflation will be reinforced by expanded trade. Once given a fair and equal opportunity to compete in overseas markets, and once subject to healthy competition from overseas manufacturers for our own markets, American management and labor will have additional reason to maintain competitive costs and prices, modernize their plants and increase their productivity. The discipline of the world market place is an excellent measure of efficiency and a force to stability. To try to shield American industry from the discipline of foreign competition would isolate our domestic price level from world prices, encourage domestic inflation, reduce our exports still further and invite less desirable Governmental solutions.

Our efforts to correct our adverse balance of payments have in recent years roughly paralleled our ability to increase our export surplus. It is necessary if we are to maintain our security programs abroad—our own military forces overseas plus our contribution to the security and growth of other free countries—to make substantial dollar outlays abroad. These outlays are being held to the minimum necessary, and we are seeking increased sharing from our allies. But they will continue at substantial rates—and this requires us to enlarge the \$5 billion export surplus which we presently enjoy from our favorable balance of trade. If that surplus can be enlarged, as exports under our new program rise faster than imports, we can achieve the equilibrium in our balance of payments which is essential to our economic stability and flexibility. If, on the other hand, our surplus should fail to grow, if our exports should be denied ready access to the EEC and other markets—our overseas position would be endangered. Moreover, if we can lower the external tariff wall of the Common Market through negotiation our manufacturers will be under less pressure to locate their plants behind that wall in order to sell in the European market, thus reducing the export of capital funds to Europe.

Our efforts to promote the strength and unity of the West are thus directly related to the strength and unity of Atlantic trade policies. An expanded export program is necessary to give this Nation both the balance of payments equilibrium and the economic growth we need to sustain our share of Western military security and economic advance. Equally important, a freer flow of trade across the Atlantic will enable the two giant markets on either side of the ocean to impart strength and vigor to each other, and to combine their resources and momentum to undertake the many enterprises which the security of free peoples demands. For the first time, as the world's greatest trading nation, we can welcome a single partner whose trade is even larger than our own—a partner no longer divided and dependent,

but strong enough to share with us the responsibilities and initiatives of the free world.

The communist bloc, largely self-contained and isolated, represents an economic power already by some standards larger than that of Western Europe and hoping someday to overtake the United States. But the combined output and purchasing power of the United States and Western Europe—nearly a trillion dollars a year—is more than twice as great as that of the entire Sino-Soviet world. Though we have only half the population, and far less than half the territory, we can pool our resources and resourcefulness in an open trade partnership strong enough to outstrip any challenge, and strong enough to undertake all the many enterprises around the world which the maintenance and progress of freedom require. If we can take this step, Marxist predictions of “capitalist” empires warring over markets and stifling competition would be shattered for all time—Communist hopes for a trade war between these two great economic giants would be frustrated—and Communist efforts to split the West would be doomed to failure.

As members of the Atlantic Community we have concerted our military objectives through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We are concerting our monetary and economic policies through the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. It is time now to write a new chapter in the evolution of the Atlantic Community. The success of our foreign policy depends in large measure upon the success of our foreign trade, and our maintenance of Western political unity depends in equally large measure upon the degree of Western economic unity. An integrated Western Europe, joined in trading partnership with the United States, will further shift the world balance of power to the side of freedom.

Our efforts to prove the superiority of free choice will thus be advanced immeasurably. We will prove to the world that we believe in peacefully “tearing down

walls” instead of arbitrarily building them. We will be opening new vistas of choice and opportunity to the producers and consumers of the free world. In answer to those who say to the world’s poorer countries that economic progress and freedom are no longer compatible, we—who have long boasted about the virtues of the market place and of free competitive enterprise, about our ability to compete and sell in any market, and about our willingness to keep abreast of the times—will have our greatest opportunity since the Marshall Plan to demonstrate the vitality of free choice.

Communist bloc nations have negotiated more than 200 trade agreements in recent years. Inevitably the recipient nation finds its economy increasingly dependent upon Soviet goods, services and technicians. But many of these nations have also observed that the economics of free choice provide far greater benefits than the economics of coercion—and the wider we can make the area of economic freedom, the easier we make it for all free peoples to receive the benefits of our innovations and put them into practice.

Our efforts to aid the developing nations of the world and other friends, however, depend upon more than a demonstration of freedom’s vitality and benefits. If their economies are to expand, if their new industries are to be successful, if they are to acquire the foreign exchange funds they will need to replace our aid efforts, these nations must find new outlets for their raw materials and new manufactures. We must make certain that any arrangements which we make with the European Economic Community are worked out in such a fashion as to insure nondiscriminatory application to all third countries. Even more important, however, the United States and Europe together have a joint responsibility to all of the less developed countries of the world—and in this sense we must work together to insure that their legitimate aspirations and requirements are fulfilled. The “open partnership” which this Bill proposes will

enable all free nations to share together the rewards of a wider economic choice for all.

Our efforts to maintain the leadership of the free world thus rest, in the final analysis, on our success in this undertaking. Economic isolation and political leadership are wholly incompatible. In the next few years, the nations of Western Europe will be fixing basic economic and trading patterns vitally affecting the future of our economy and the hopes of our less-developed friends. Basic political and military decisions of vital interest to our security will be made. Unless we have this authority to negotiate and have it this year—if we are separated from the Common Market by high tariff barriers on either side of the Atlantic—then we cannot hope to play an effective part in those basic decisions.

If we are to retain our leadership, the initiative is up to us. The revolutionary changes which are occurring will not wait for us to make up our minds. The United States has encouraged sweeping changes in Free World economic patterns in order to strengthen the forces of freedom. But we cannot ourselves stand still. If we are to lead, we must act. We must adapt our own economy to the imperatives of a changing world, and once more assert our leadership.

The American businessman, once the authority granted by this bill is exercised, will have a unique opportunity to compete on a more equal basis in a rich and rapidly expanding market abroad which possesses potentially a purchasing power as large and as varied as our own. He knows that, once artificial restraints are removed, a vast array of American goods, produced by American know-how with American efficiency, can compete with any goods in any spot in the world. And almost all members of the business community, in every state, now participate or could participate in the production, processing, transporting, or distribution of either exports or imports.

Already we sell to Western Europe alone more machinery, transportation equipment,

chemicals and coal than our total imports of these commodities from all regions of the world combined. Western Europe is our best customer today—and should be an even better one tomorrow. But as the new external tariff surrounding the Common Market replaces the internal tariff structure, a German producer—who once competed in the markets of France on the same terms with our own producers—will achieve free access to French markets while our own producers face a tariff. In short, in the absence of authority to bargain down that external tariff, as the economy of the Common Market expands, our exports will not expand with it. They may even decline.

The American farmer has a tremendous stake in expanded trade. One out of every seven farm workers produces for export. The average farmer depends on foreign markets to sell the crops grown on one out of every six acres he plants. Sixty percent of our rice, 49 percent of our cotton, 45 percent of our wheat and 42 percent of our soybean production are exported. Agriculture is one of our best sources of foreign exchange.

Our farmers are particularly dependent upon the markets of Western Europe. Our agricultural trade with that area is four to one in our favor. The agreements recently reached at Brussels both exhausted our existing authority to obtain further European concessions, and laid the groundwork for future negotiations on American farm exports to be conducted once new authority is granted. But new and flexible authority is required if we are to keep the door of the Common Market open to American agriculture, and open it wider still. If the output of our astounding productivity is not to pile up increasingly in our warehouses, our negotiators will need both the special EEC authority and the general 50 percent authority requested in the bill described later in this message.

The American worker will benefit from the expansion of our exports. One out of every three workers engaged in manufacturing is employed in establishments that

export. Several hundred times as many workers owe their jobs directly or indirectly to exports as are in the small group—estimated to be less than one half of one percent of all workers—who might be adversely affected by a sharp increase in imports. As the number of job seekers in our labor force expands in the years ahead, increasing our job opportunities will require expanding our markets and economy, and making certain that new United States plants built to serve Common Market consumers are built here, to employ American workers, and not there.

The American consumer benefits most of all from an increase in foreign trade. Imports give him a wider choice of products at competitive prices. They introduce new ideas and new tastes, which often lead to new demands for American production.

Increased imports stimulate our own efforts to increase efficiency, and supplement anti-trust and other efforts to assure competition. Many industries of importance to the American consumer and economy are dependent upon imports for raw materials and other supplies. Thus American-made goods can also be made much less expensively for the American consumers if we lower the tariff on the materials that are necessary to their production.

American imports, in short, have generally strengthened rather than weakened our economy. Their competitive benefits have already been mentioned. But about 60 percent of the goods we import do not compete with the goods we produce—either because they are not produced in this country, or are not produced in any significant quantity. They provide us with products we need but cannot efficiently make or grow (such as bananas or coffee), supplement our own steadily depleting natural resources with items not available here in quantity (such as manganese or chrome ore, 90 percent or more of which must be imported if our steel mills are to operate), and contribute to our industrial efficiency, our economic growth and our high level of consumption. Those imports that do compete are equal

to only one or one and one-half percent of our total national production; and even these imports create jobs directly for those engaged in their processing, distribution, or transportation, and indirectly for those employed in both export industries and in those industries dependent upon reasonably priced imported supplies for their own ability to compete.

Moreover, we must reduce our own tariffs if we hope to reduce tariffs abroad and thereby increase our exports and export surplus. There are many more American jobs dependent upon exports than could possibly be adversely affected by increased imports. And those export industries are our strongest, most efficient, highest paying growth industries.

It is obvious, therefore, that the warnings against increased imports based upon the lower level of wages paid in other countries are not telling the whole story. For this fear is refuted by the fact that American industry in general—and America's highest paid industries in particular—export more goods to other markets than any other nation; sell far more abroad to other countries than they sell to us; and command the vast preponderance of our own market here in the United States. There are three reasons for this:

(a) The skill and efficiency of American workers, with the help of our machinery and technology, can produce more units per man hour than any other workers in the world—thus making the competitive cost of our labor for many products far less than it is in countries with lower wage rates. For example, while a United States coal miner is paid eight times as much per hour as the Japanese miner, he produces fourteen times as much coal—our real cost per ton of coal is thus far smaller—and we sell the Japanese tens of millions of dollars worth of coal each year.

(b) Our best industries also possess other advantages—the adequacy of low cost raw materials or electrical power, for example. Neither wages nor total labor costs is an

adequate standard of comparison if used alone.

(c) American products can frequently compete successfully even where foreign prices are somewhat lower—by virtue of their superior quality, style, packaging, servicing or assurance of delivery.

Given this strength, accompanied by increasing productivity and wages in the rest of the world, there is less need to be concerned over the level of wages in the low wage countries. These levels, moreover, are already on the rise, and, we would hope, will continue to narrow the current wage gap, encouraged by appropriate consultations on an international basis.

This philosophy of the free market—the wider economic choice for men and nations—is as old as freedom itself. It is not a partisan philosophy. For many years our trade legislation has enjoyed bi-partisan backing from those members of both parties who recognized how essential trade is to our basic security abroad and our economic health at home. This is even more true today. The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 is designed as the expression of a nation, not of any single faction, not of any single faction or section. It is in that spirit that I recommend it to the Congress for prompt and favorable action.

II. PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

New Negotiating Authority. To achieve all of the goals and gains set forth above—to empower our negotiators with sufficient authority to induce the EEC to grant wider access to our goods and crops and fair treatment to those of Latin America, Japan and other countries—and to be ready to talk trade with the Common Market in practical terms—it is essential that our bargaining authority be increased in both flexibility and extent. I am therefore requesting two basic kinds of authority to be exercised over the next five years:

First, a general authority to reduce existing tariffs by 50 percent in reciprocal nego-

tiations. It would be our intention to employ a variety of techniques in exercising this authority, including negotiations on broad categories or sub-categories of products.

Secondly, a special authority, to be used in negotiating with the EEC, to reduce or eliminate all tariffs on those groups of products where the United States and the EEC together account for 80 percent or more of world trade in a representative period. The fact that these groups of products fall within this special or "dominant supplier" authority is proof that they can be produced here or in Europe more efficiently than anywhere else in the world. They include most of the products which the members of the Common Market are especially interested in trading with us, and most of the products for which we want freer access to the Common Market; and to a considerable extent they are items in which our own ability to compete is demonstrated by the fact that our exports of these items are substantially greater than our imports. They account for nearly \$2 billion of our total industrial exports to present and prospective Common Market members in 1960, and for about \$1.4 billion of our imports from these countries. In short, this special authority will enable us to negotiate for a dramatic agreement with the Common Market that will pool our economic strength for the advancement of freedom.

To be effective in achieving a breakthrough agreement with the EEC so that our farmers, manufacturers and other free world trading partners can participate, we will need to use both the dominant supplier authority and the general authority in combination. Reductions would be put into effect gradually in stages over five years or more. But the traditional technique of trading one brick at a time off our respective tariff walls will not suffice to assure American farm and factory exports the kind of access to the European market which they must have if trade between the two Atlantic markets is to expand. We must talk instead in terms of trading whole layers at a time in exchange

for other layers, as the Europeans have been doing in reducing their internal tariffs, permitting the forces of competition to set new trade patterns. Trading in such an enlarged basis is not possible, the EEC has found, if traditional item by item economic histories are to dominate. But let me emphasize that we mean to see to it that all reductions and concessions are reciprocal—and that the access we gain is not limited by the use of quotas or other restrictive devices.

Safeguarding interests of other trading partners. In our negotiations with the Common Market, we will preserve our traditional most favored-nation principle under which any tariff concessions negotiated will be generalized to our other trading partners. Obviously, in special authority agreements where the United States and the EEC are the dominant suppliers, the participation of other nations often would not be significant. On other items, where justified, compensating concessions from other interested countries should be obtained as part of the negotiations. But in essence we must strive for a non-discriminatory trade partnership with the EEC. If it succeeds only in splintering the free world, or increasing the disparity between rich and poor nations, it will have failed to achieve one of its major purposes. The negotiating authority under this bill will thus be used to strengthen the ties of both "Common Markets" with, and expand our own trade in, the Latin American republics, Canada, Japan and other non-European nations—as well as helping them maximize their opportunities to trade with the Common Market.

The bill also requests special authority to reduce or eliminate all duties and other restrictions on the importation of tropical agricultural and forestry products supplied by friendly less-developed countries and not produced here in any significant quantity, if our action is taken in concert with similar action by the Common Market. These tropical products are the staple exports of many less-developed countries. Their efforts for economic development and diversi-

fication must be advanced out of earnings from these products. By assuring them as large a market as possible, we are bringing closer the day when they will be able to finance their own development needs on a self-sustaining basis.

Safeguards to American Industry. If the authority requested in this act is used, imports as well as exports will increase; and this increase will, in the overwhelming number of cases, be beneficial for the reasons outlined above. Nevertheless ample safeguards against injury to American industry and agriculture will be retained. Escape clause relief will continue to be available with more up-to-date definitions. Temporary tariff relief will be granted where essential. The power to impose duties or suspend concessions to protect the national security will be retained. Articles will be reserved from negotiations whenever such action is deemed to be in the best interest of the nation and the economy. And the four basic stages of the traditional peril point procedures and safeguards will be retained and improved:

- the President will refer to the Tariff Commission the list of proposed items for negotiations;

- the Tariff Commission will conduct hearings to determine the effect of concessions on these products;

- the Commission will make a report to the President, specifically based, as such reports are based now, upon its findings of how new imports might lead to the idling of productive facilities, the inability of domestic producers to operate at a profit and the unemployment of workers as the result of anticipated reductions in duties; and

- the President will report to the Congress on his action after completion of the negotiations. The present arrangements will be substantially improved, however, since both the Tariff Commission recommendation and the President's report would be broader than a bare determination of specific peril points; and this should enable us to make much more informed use of

these recommendations than has been true in the past.

Trade Adjustment Assistance. I am also recommending as an essential part of the new trade program that companies, farmers and workers who suffer damage from increased foreign import competition be assisted in their efforts to adjust to that competition. When considerations of national policy make it desirable to avoid higher tariffs, those injured by that competition should not be required to bear the full brunt of the impact. Rather, the burden of economic adjustment should be borne in part by the Federal Government.

Under existing law, the only alternatives available to the President are the imposition or refusal of tariff relief. These alternatives should continue to be available.

The legislation I am proposing, however, provides an additional alternative called Trade Adjustment Assistance. This alternative will permit the Executive Branch to make extensive use of its facilities, programs and resources to provide special assistance to farmers, firms and their employees in making the economic readjustments necessitated by the imports resulting from tariff concessions.

Any worker or group of workers unemployed or under-employed as a result of increased imports would, under this bill, be eligible for the following forms of assistance:

1. Readjustment allowances providing as much as 65 percent of the individual's average weekly wage for up to 52 weeks for all workers, and for as many as 13 additional weeks for workers over 60, with unemployment insurance benefits deducted from such allowances to the extent available;
2. Vocational education and training assistance to develop higher and different skills;
3. Financial assistance for those who cannot find work in their present community to relocate to a different place in the United States where suitable employment is available.

For a businessman or farmer adversely affected by imports, there should be available:

1. Technical information, advice and consultation to help plan and implement an attack on the problem;
2. Tax benefits to encourage modernization and diversification;
3. Loan guarantees and loans otherwise not commercially available to aid modernization and diversification.

Just as the Federal Government has assisted in personal readjustments made necessary by military service, just as the Federal Government met its obligation to assist industry in adjusting to war production and again to return to peacetime production, so there is an obligation to render assistance to those who suffer as a result of national trade policy. Such a program will supplement and work in coordination with, not duplicate, what we are already doing or proposing to do for depressed areas, for small business, for investment incentives, and for the retraining and compensation of our unemployed workers.

This cannot be and will not be a subsidy program of government paternalism. It is instead a program to afford time for American initiative, American adaptability and American resiliency to assert themselves. It is consistent with that part of the proposed law which would stage tariff reductions over a five year period. Accordingly, trade adjustment assistance, like the other provisions of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, is designed to strengthen the efficiency of our economy, not to protect inefficiencies.

Authority to grant temporary tariff relief will remain available to assist those industries injured by a sudden influx of goods under revised tariffs. But the accent is on "adjustment" more than "assistance." Through trade adjustment prompt and effective help can be given to those suffering genuine hardship in adjusting to import competition, moving men and resources out of uneconomic production into efficient pro-

duction and competitive positions, and in the process preserving the employment relationships between firms and workers wherever possible. Unlike tariff relief, this assistance can be tailored to their individual needs without disrupting other policies. Experience with a similar kind of program in the Common Market, and in the face of more extensive tariff reductions than we propose here, testifies to the effective but relatively inexpensive nature of this approach. For most affected firms will find that the adjustment involved is no more than the adjustment they face every year or few years as the result of changes in the economy, consumer taste or domestic competition.

The purpose of this message has been to describe the challenge we face and the tools we need. The decision rests with the Congress. That decision will either mark the beginning of a new chapter in the alliance of free nations—or a threat to the growth of Western unity. The two great Atlantic markets will either grow together or they will grow apart. The meaning and range of free economic choice will either be widened for the benefit of free men everywhere—or confused and constricted by new barriers and delays.

Last year, in enacting a long-term foreign aid program, the Congress made possible a fundamental change in our relations with the developing nations. This bill will make possible a fundamental, far-reaching and unique change in our relations with the other industrialized nations—particularly with the other members of the Atlantic Community. As NATO was unprecedented in military history, this measure is unprecedented in economic history. But its passage will be long-remembered and its benefits widely distributed among those who work for freedom.

At rare moments in the life of this nation an opportunity comes along to fashion out of the confusion of current events a clear and bold action to show the world what it is we stand for. Such an opportunity is before us now. This bill, by enabling us to strike a bargain with the Common Market, will “strike a blow” for freedom.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The Trade Expansion Act of 1962 was approved by the President on October 11, 1962. For his statement upon signing the bill, see Item 449.

23 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan I of 1962. *January 30, 1962*

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1962, prepared in accordance with the provisions of the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended.

In my special message on housing of March 9, 1961, and again in my message on the State of the Union earlier this year, I recommended the establishment in the executive branch of a new Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, of Cabinet rank. This plan would fulfill that recommendation.

The times we live in urgently call for this

action. In a few short decades we have passed from a rural to an urban way of life; in a few short decades more, we shall be a nation of vastly expanded population, living in expanded urban areas in housing that does not now exist, served by community facilities that do not now exist, moving about by means of systems of urban transportation that do not now exist. The challenge is great, and the time is short. I propose to act now to strengthen and improve the machinery through which, in large part, the Federal Government must act to carry out its proper role of encouragement and assist-

ance to States and local governments, to voluntary efforts and to private enterprise, in the solution of these problems.

The present and future problems of our cities are as complex as they are manifold. There must be expansion: but orderly and planned expansion, not explosion and sprawl. Basic public facilities must be extended ever further into the areas surrounding urban centers: but they must be planned and coordinated so as to favor rather than hamper the sound growth of our communities. The scourge of blight must be overcome, and the central core areas of our cities, with all their great richness of economic and cultural wealth, must be restored to lasting vitality. New values must be created to provide a more efficient local economy and provide revenues to support essential local services. Sound old housing must be conserved and improved, and new housing created, to serve better all income groups in our population and to move ever closer to the goal of a decent home in a suitable living environment for every American family. We will neglect our cities at our peril, for in neglecting them we neglect the Nation.

The reorganization plan I am transmitting would establish a new executive department to be known as the Department of Urban Affairs and Housing. To the department would be transferred the existing programs and responsibilities of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. These programs include an extraordinary range of diverse yet closely interrelated activities: insurance of mortgages to finance the construction of homes and the ready interchange of existing homes, as well as their modernization and improvement; financial aids to local communities in comprehensive local planning, in slum clearance and urban renewal, and in the conservation and rehabilitation of neighborhoods and whole urban areas; advances and loans to assist in the planning and construction of needed public facilities; loans to assist in meeting the needs of our hard-pressed colleges and universities for student and faculty housing; financial aids in

the search for solutions to the baffling problems of urban mass transportation; a variety of tools to stabilize and encourage liquidity in the private mortgage market; financial assistance in providing decent housing for low-income families; and others still.

Widely different as these Federal programs are in subject matter and in techniques, they all affect the lives and welfare of families in our cities and their surrounding areas, and they all impinge in one degree or another on each other. None can or should stand by itself. The basic purpose of this plan is to establish a department which will bring a maximum degree of coordination and effectiveness to the planning and execution of all of them.

Our cities and the people who live in and near them need and deserve an adequate voice in the highest councils of government. The executive branch and the Congress need an adequate instrument to assist them in the formulation and execution of policy concerning urban affairs and housing. States and local governing bodies urgently need an agency at the departmental level to assist them in formulating and carrying out their local programs for dealing with these problems. All these needs can best be met through the establishment of the department provided for in this reorganization plan.

It should not be assumed that these are matters of concern only to our larger cities. Hundreds of smaller cities and towns are located on or near the fringes of rapidly growing urban areas. The problems of the cities affect them today, and will be theirs tomorrow. Hundreds of other smaller towns and cities not now affected will be so situated a few short years hence. Thus, the smaller towns and cities have a stake in this proposal as vital as, and only a little less immediate than, that of our large urban centers. This plan is addressed to their needs as well as to those of the major cities. Likewise, it should be emphasized that the department will have important activities of service to the States. The establishment of this department does not connote any by-

passing or reduction of the constitutional powers and responsibilities of the States under our Federal system of government. Rather, the States must assume additional leadership in the future in dealing with problems of urban areas, and the department will maintain close working and consultative relationships with them. An example of this relationship can already be found in the urban planning assistance program of the Housing and Home Finance Agency which provides matching funds for use by States to aid municipalities and State, metropolitan and regional planning agencies facing rapid urbanization. Grants may be used by the States themselves to prepare state-wide comprehensive plans for urban development. Just as the programs of the Department of Agriculture have strengthened the role of the States in measuring and helping solve the problems of their farmers, so the Department of Urban Affairs and Housing will provide additional opportunities for the States to play a strong role in the development of their urban communities.

As the Senate Committee noted in its report on S. 1633 (S. Rep. No. 879, 87th Cong., 1st Session), "A Department of Urban Affairs and Housing is needed to provide Federal leadership to solve the problems emerging from the transformation of the American scene from a predominantly rural society to a vast urban complex. More than two-thirds of the American population now lives in metropolitan centers. The figure is multiplying. It is compounded of explosive population growth resulting from an increased birth rate, a declining death rate, and rapid migration of people from rural areas to cities, towns, and villages." The importance of our nation's metropolitan areas entitling them to representation at the Cabinet table is further emphasized by the great amount of tax revenues they contribute to the Federal government. For example, in 1959, taxpayers in the 10 largest metropolitan areas paid over \$13 billion in taxes or 35% of the total amount of individual income tax.

The need for such a department has been increasingly recognized in recent years. A proposal for a cabinet department substantially similar in nature was advanced at about the same time that the first consolidated Federal housing agency was established, twenty years ago. Since then, year by year, both the executive branch and the Congress have taken successive steps to create a more coordinated agency with a fuller range of tools to attack these problems. No fewer than five reorganization plans submitted by my predecessors have contributed to this process. On the legislative side, the Congress has enacted major legislation in the field of urban affairs and housing in every year but one since 1946. The time is here to take the next needed step.

First, Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1962 would establish a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, to be headed by a Secretary who would be assisted by an Under Secretary, three Assistant Secretaries, and a General Counsel. All of these officers would be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. There would also be in the department, as in many others, an Administrative Assistant Secretary appointed from the classified civil service by the Secretary, with the approval of the President.

Second, the plan transfers to the Secretary of Urban Affairs and Housing the functions of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and its Administrator, including the administration of the programs of the Urban Renewal Administration and the Community Facilities Administration and the authorities now vested by law in the Public Housing Administration and its officers.

Because of its magnitude in our economy and the immediacy of its impact on our people, housing has been and will continue to be the heart of this complex of related programs. In recognition of this fact, the plan provides for the transfer of the Federal Housing Administration as an entity to the new department. Provision is also made

for the continuance of the existing office of Federal Housing Commissioner, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Commissioner would continue to head the Federal Housing Administration under the supervision and direction of the Secretary as head of the department.

Finally, in view of its special legal status as a mixed-ownership corporation, the Federal National Mortgage Association would be transferred to the department without change. The Secretary would serve as Chairman of the Board of the Association, as the Housing and Home Finance Administrator now does. No change in the organization or functions of the Association within the department affecting its secondary market operations could be made unless the Secretary finds that such change would not adversely affect the rights and interests of owners of outstanding common stock of the Association.

In accordance with the spirit and intent of the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, this plan promotes the better execution of the laws, the more effective management of the executive branch of the government, and the expeditious administration of the public business. It aims to promote economy and increase efficiency to the fullest extent practicable. Its significance in the pursuit of these purposes must be judged in the light of the magnitude and significance of the programs affected.

The various programs with which the new department would be charged involve Federal investments of billions of dollars, and contingent liabilities of billions more. The quality of administration of these programs has profound effects on land values and tax revenues in local communities throughout the country. The operations of these programs figure importantly in the vitality of the general economy. The policies that govern them play a major role in determinations of national fiscal and monetary policy. Their management in the most effective and coordinated way possible, therefore, will

yield economies in the broad sense far outweighing the amount involved in the administrative cost of their operations. And even in the latter area, I am convinced that economy and efficiency will be importantly enhanced by the improved coordination which this reorganization plan will make possible.

For all the reasons herein set forth, I have concluded that the creation of a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing is urgently needed to permit me to discharge most effectively the responsibilities in this area placed upon the President by the Constitution and by the statutes respecting these matters enacted by the Congress.

After investigation, I have found and hereby declare that each reorganization included in Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1962 is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 2(a) of the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended. I have also found and hereby declare that by reason of these reorganizations it is necessary to include in the reorganization plan provisions for the appointment and compensation of the new officers specified in section 2 of the reorganization plan. The rates of compensation fixed for these officers are, respectively, those which I have found to prevail in respect of comparable officers in the executive branch of the government.

Although the taking effect of the reorganizations provided for in the reorganization plan will not in itself result in immediate savings, the improvement achieved in administration will in the future allow the performance of necessary services at greater savings than present operations would permit. An itemization of these savings in advance of actual experience is not practicable.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Released with the President's message was a statement containing a chronological summary of developments relating to the President's proposal for the creation of a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing.

Reorganization Plan 1 of 1962 is published in House Document 320 (87th Cong., 2d sess.).

24 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting a Bill for the Purchase of United Nations Bonds. *January 30, 1962*

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith for the consideration of the Congress a suggested bill "to promote the foreign policy of the United States by authorizing the purchase of United Nations bonds and the appropriation of funds therefor." This bill would authorize and appropriate up to \$100 million for the purchase of United Nations bonds.

The United Nations is faced with a financial crisis due largely to extraordinary expenditures which it incurred in fulfilling the pledges in its Charter to secure peace, progress and human rights. I regard it as vital to the interests of our country and to the maintenance of peace that the capacity of the United Nations to act for peace not be inhibited by a lack of financial resources.

Some members have failed to pay special assessments levied for peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and in the Congo, claiming that these assessments are not binding upon them. The shortage of operating funds thus created has reduced the working capital fund of the United Nations to zero and compelled it to hold back on the payment of bills and borrow from United Nations agencies.

Prudence and good management require all institutions—public or private, national or international—to keep their affairs in good financial order. The Secretary-General of the United Nations therefore urged the adoption of, and the members approved by a large majority, a three point plan to relieve the cash deficit and to avoid the need for makeshift financing of emergency operations designed to keep or restore the peace:

Point One is to cover anticipated expenses for the United Nations Operation in the Congo and for the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East through the end of the present Fiscal Year. The Sixteenth General Assembly approved a new

appropriation for these purposes, assessed against all members.

Point Two is to resolve all doubt as to whether delinquent members must pay special assessments for the Congo (ONUC) and Middle East (UNEF) operations, or face the loss of their voting rights. To this end, the United Nations General Assembly requested from the International Court of Justice an advisory opinion as to whether these special assessments, like regular assessments, are "expenses of the Organization" legally binding on all members by the terms of the United Nations Charter.

It is the opinion of the United States that special assessments voted by a two-thirds majority of the General Assembly are obligatory. We anticipate a decision by early summer of this year. If our view, which is shared by most of the members of the United Nations, is confirmed by the Court, then all members will have to pay their dues or lose their right to vote in the General Assembly. It is only fair that members that participate in the privileges of membership should participate also in its obligations.

Even if the Court's opinion goes as we believe it should, the United Nations would still be faced with a serious cash problem, aggravated by any further delays in collecting back dues from those who have not been willing to pay the special assessments. Consequently,

Point Three of the United Nations financial plan is to acquire a special fund to relieve the present cash deficit by paying off current bills and debts, and by setting aside a reasonable reserve to help finance United Nations peace-keeping operations in future emergencies.

For this purpose the General Assembly has authorized the Secretary-General to issue \$200 million worth of United Nations bonds repayable at 2 percent interest over a twenty-five year period with annual repayments

charged against the budget of the United Nations. All members are assessed a share of that budget.

If this program is successful, the United Nations will be in a vastly improved financial position. It is my judgment that this plan is sound both for the United Nations and for its members. These bonds will be repaid with interest at the rate of approximately \$10 million a year, as part of the regular assessment. Every nation—including the Soviet Union—will thus be required to pay its fair share or lose its vote. And the United States will be obligated, in the long run, to meet only 32 percent of these special costs instead of the nearly 50 percent we are presently contributing to the special operations of the United Nations.

I ask that the Congress act now to back the United Nations by authorizing the purchase of these bonds. Failure to act would serve the interests of the Soviet Union, which has been particularly opposed to the operation in the Congo and which voted against this plan as part of the consistent Communist effort to undermine the United Nations and undercut its new Secretary-General. For without the bond issue, either the United Nations' executive arm will wither or the United States will be compelled to pay a larger share of the costs of operation than is reasonable for any one member of an international organization.

The central purpose of the United Nations is to keep the peace wherever possible and to restore the peace whenever it is broken.

The United Nations has received the support of both political parties since its inception.

By emergency action the United Nations turned back aggression in Korea.

By emergency action the United Nations brought a halt to war in the Middle East over five years ago, and ever since has safeguarded the armistice lines.

By emergency action the United Nations has prevented large-scale civil war and avoided great-power intervention in the Congo.

It is impossible to say where or when the United Nations may be called on again for emergency action to preserve or restore the peace.

We shall spend this year nearly one-half of the Federal Budget for national defense. This authorization represents an investment of one-tenth of one percent of that budget in the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations.

Whatever its imperfections, the United Nations' effectiveness and existence are an essential part of the machinery to bring peace out of this world of danger and discord.

I earnestly hope that the Congress will give early and favorable consideration to this request.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: An act to promote the foreign policy of the United States by authorizing a loan to the United Nations and the appropriation of funds therefor (Public Law 87-731, 76 Stat. 695) was approved by the President on October 2, 1962.

25 Special Message to the Congress on Agriculture.

January 31, 1962

To the Congress of the United States:

Management of our agricultural resources to meet the triple goals of increased farm income, lower cost to the taxpayer, and reduced farm surpluses continues to be one of the most difficult problems confronting the Nation. A good start was made last year.

Net farm income rose \$1 billion, and income per farm increased almost \$350. Government stocks of farm products were reduced for the first time in 9 years. Budgetary costs were below those that would have been incurred under the programs that were replaced. All this was accomplished at the

same time food prices were reduced below their level a year earlier.

But the emergency programs enacted last year are expiring. There is a critical need for permanent legislation to consolidate the gains of 1961 and to provide a realistic and comprehensive program for agriculture in the years ahead—a program with which we can continue to move forward toward full utilization of our abundance. The drift toward a chaotic, inefficient, surplus-ridden farm economy, though halted last year, will resume unless prompt action is taken. In addition, new problems have developed in commodities not covered by the 1961 legislation. Unanticipated changes in consumer demand have produced still further surpluses. A reversion to the former programs for wheat and feed grains will inevitably bring both enormous surpluses and depressed farm income, seriously injuring a large segment of our economy.

Our increasing productivity

Our rapidly growing capacity to produce far outruns the growth of our domestic and foreign demand for food and fiber. This offers us an opportunity to manage abundance, rather than scarcity, an opportunity that is unique among nations of the world. It is relatively new even for the United States.

Early in this century there was serious question whether agriculture could, with the closing of the land frontier, continue to meet the food and fiber demands of a growing population. The rate of growth in farm output was declining, and food and fiber prices were rising relative to other prices. Public policy emphasized resource conservation and investment, and publicly supported research and education were designed to speed progress in agricultural productivity.

By the mid-1920's, these efforts began to bring dramatic results. Agricultural productivity began to rise and farm employment began to decline. But the full implications

of this rapid technological progress in agriculture were obscured—first by the depression, then by the second World War, and then by the Korean conflict. During the depression the overriding problem was the catastrophic decline in demand for farm products, and policy was directed to protecting farm prices and incomes from its consequences. During the war and the Korean conflict, agricultural programs were designed to encourage increases in output to meet emergency demands and to protect farm incomes when these abnormal demands disappeared.

But in the 1950's, agriculture felt the full effects of earlier programs to raise productivity. Farm output increased by more than one-fourth while use of labor declined by one-third. Surpluses accumulated and farm prices were brought under increasing pressure. Prices today are lower relative to other prices than during the first two decades of this century, even though crops are now harvested from 40 million fewer acres. The technological revolution in agriculture continues to increase yield at an accelerating rate. Our ability to produce more than the market can absorb will continue as far into the future as we can safely predict, outpacing population growth. Instead of a shortage of cropland, as many have long predicted, it now appears that by 1980 we will need 50 million fewer acres than we have today.

The commodity programs which were designed primarily to meet the emergencies of depression and war have retained for agriculture itself only a small part of these gains from increasing productivity. Most of the gains have been passed on to consumers. We spend less than 20 percent of our income on food; the Western European spends between 30 and 50 percent of his income on food; and the Russian uses 60 percent of his income for this same purpose. But failure to control production effectively has dissipated some of our potential gains to both farmers and consumers by drawing prime resources

into the production and storage of surplus commodities.

The need for action

Most industries are able to adjust to excess supply or reduced demand by variations in their rate of production. The larger the number of individual producing units and the more inflexible their production schedules, however, the more difficult it is to make the necessary adjustments. Our farm production is composed of millions of separate producers with schedules that must be planned a year or more in advance. Acting individually, the farmer cannot shift readily away from commodities in surplus. Nor will lower farm prices automatically assure reduced farm output, unless those prices fall to disastrous levels and remain there. Historically, lower prices have been met by increased output, in a desperate effort by the farmer to make his business profitable and to stay on the land.

Four independent studies, by Cornell University, Iowa State University, the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, and the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, show how sharp would be the drop in farm prices and farm income if farm programs were abandoned. These studies agree that wheat prices would be sliced almost in half, oats prices 25 percent, barley 28 percent, soybeans 38 percent, grain sorghums 22 percent, and dairy 17 percent. Non-price-supported commodities would also suffer. Livestock commodities would drop 24 percent, egg prices 20 percent, cattle prices 25 percent, hogs 30 percent, and broilers and turkeys even lower than this year.

Nor can the Federal Government be expected to undertake an indefinite program of large and unpredictable budget expenditures to acquire stocks of commodities that we do not need and cannot use. By the beginning of 1961—when the emergency legislation was introduced to reduce inventories—the Commodity Credit Corporation had over \$9 billion in loans and inventories. Carrying costs exceeded \$1 billion a year.

This large and continuing expenditure did not result in any increased income to the farmer. The 1.5 million efficient family farms which produce 87 percent of our total production are technically progressive, but their return on labor and capital has not kept pace with the rest of the population. Their incomes are highly sensitive to year-to-year fluctuations in farm output, especially when it is unrelated to demand.

The other 2 million or more farm operators who produce 13 percent of all farm products sold have especially low incomes because they own or control too little land or too little capital, and often possess too little skill or managerial ability.

Small town and rural America is dependent for prosperity upon the farmer. An improvement in his standard of living and in his income is immediately reflected in an improvement in the economy of the small urban center in his community. Any program should bear in mind this factor.

Our two goals—improving income and reducing costs—can both be achieved only if farm output can be reduced below needs for several years and then be allowed to increase at a rate equal to the growth in demand. That is the framework of logic and fact in which we now propose a broad new farm program—a program in four parts—each equally important and all interdependent.

Objectives

The new program should use the successful emergency legislation passed last year to establish guidelines and should also rely upon those proven techniques and methods that have been employed in the past. It should be designed:

1. To make maximum use of our productive abundance. Our agricultural resources can advance the cause of peace and freedom throughout the world; they assure Americans of a high standard of living; they can be an important weapon against poverty and disease.

2. To seek a balance between production and demand that will avoid the waste of

private effort and public resources. Rice, peanuts, and tobacco already enjoy well-balanced programs whose principles can be extended to other crops. Properly balanced, agriculture can make a major contribution toward economic stability. The farmer, the consumer and the taxpayer can all share in the benefits; without such balance, all may suffer.

3. To provide for conservation of our land and water resources. Land and water not needed to produce food and fiber should be directed to alternative uses of benefit to the Nation.

4. To initiate and expand programs for the development of human resources and renewal of rural communities. Each year 1 million people move from the farm to the city. Many others seek part-time employment to supplement meager returns from farm labor. The hardship and suffering this often entails should be alleviated, and these workers assisted in their efforts to acquire needed skills, obtain jobs, and further their education.

Abundance, Balance, Conservation, Development—these are our common sense goals—as common sense as A B C D. The program that follows—an A B C D farm program for the '60's—is designed to meet those goals.

This is a program for maximum freedom and flexibility in the operation of individual farm enterprises. Improvements in farming efficiency as well as shifts among enterprises must not only be allowed—they must be encouraged. They are in the long-run national interest; they are consistent with this program's overall objectives.

The new commodity programs recommended could become effective only after they are approved democratically by a two-thirds majority in a producer referendum. Producers of cotton, tobacco, rice, peanuts and wheat have long followed this procedure of choosing jointly to exert a measure of control over the production and marketing of their crops, just as industry groups exercise control over the product of their labor

and investment. This democratic procedure can be extended to other farm commodities.

I. Expanded use of agricultural abundance

Last year there was a greater expansion of our food utilization programs than ever before in our history.

Eighty-five thousand more schools, child care centers and camps are receiving fresh milk that previously had no such opportunity. Seven-hundred thousand more children enjoy a hot school lunch. Both the quantity and the variety of food distributed to more than six million needy persons has been increased substantially.

A pilot food stamp program in eight communities has brought such encouraging results that its administrative expansion in a further trial period to many additional communities is justified and is included in the new Budget.

We have also increased our shipments of food to other nations under P.L. 480, thus using our agricultural abundance to combat hunger and contribute to economic development throughout the free world. We have stepped up our emphasis on school lunch programs abroad, thus encouraging both education and better nutrition for the rising generation, on which so much of the future of these new nations depends. We shall continue to expand these programs wherever feasible.

We have markedly increased programs under which U.S. food is used to further projects for social and economic development in emerging nations. Today American agricultural abundance assists such projects in eleven countries, as compared with only two in 1960. And more than three-fourths of the local currency accruing from the sales authorized under Title I in 1961 will be used for economic development programs.

Our overall shipments under P.L. 480 during this fiscal year will reach an estimated 22 percent more than those of the previous fiscal year.

Last year the Congress extended and im-

proved P.L. 480. In order that our Food for Peace program can be made even more effective in the future I recommend:

(1) An amendment of Title II of P.L. 480 to permit shipments of surplus commodities such as dried beans and peas not in CCC inventory;

(2) Provisions to broaden the purpose of Title IV to include market development; and

(3) A new Title V to promote multinational programs for food assistance, authorizing the President to negotiate and carry out agreements for this purpose with international organizations and other intergovernmental groupings.

II. I recommend new programs for feed grains, wheat, and dairy products to achieve the proper balance between production and demand, and modification of the cotton program.

Feed Grains

For 9 consecutive years, prior to 1961 feed grain surpluses increased. The cost of carrying corn and grain sorghum inventories rose to nearly \$500 million in 1961, and the total program cost rose to a record level.

The 1961 feed grain program has reversed this trend. The 1961 crop was 800 million bushels smaller than it would have been without the program. The feed grain carryover will drop for the first time in a decade. A program similar to that of 1961 remains in operation for 1962 only. Without new legislation, the programs which failed us in the 1950's will automatically take effect again in 1963.

The feed grain program I recommend is designed to reduce feed grain output to a level that will maintain prices and incomes in the feed grain and livestock sectors of the farm economy without continuous ever-higher surplus accumulation. This can be accomplished by establishing a mandatory acreage allotment on all feed grains large enough to meet annual domestic and export requirements, for all purposes under all pro-

grams, less that amount which is to be deducted from the carryover stocks to reduce them gradually to a level no higher than that required for stability and security. Producers would share in the national allotment on the basis of past production, adjusted for unusual circumstances. Payments for diverted acreage would, of course, continue to be made to support farm income while surplus stocks are being reduced.

Initiation of this program is proposed for the 1963 crop year, subject to approval by a producer referendum.

Wheat

The problems of wheat production are much the same as for feed grains. Large inventories and high program costs were inherited from the 1950's. The temporary 1962 wheat program is expected to halt the accumulation of wheat surpluses, but the old programs—which have already failed—will become effective again for the 1963 crop unless legislation is promptly enacted.

I recommend a wheat program which will reduce wheat stocks to manageable levels, improve the competitive position of American wheat in world markets, and maintain the incomes of wheat producers. To achieve these objectives, national wheat acreage allotments will be established by estimating the actual requirements each year for milling, seed, and for export, and deducting a number of bushels that will permit us to draw upon our surplus stocks on hand to gradually reduce the carryover to the level required for stability and security. Marketing certificates would be used to assure growers a price support level between 75 and 90 percent of parity on the domestic allotment and up to 90 percent on the export allotment. The national allotment would be apportioned among all growers, including small growers, on the basis of past wheat acreage. The Secretary of Agriculture will have authority to make payments, which will help to maintain producers' incomes, for mandatory diversion of acreage from wheat to soil-conserv-

ing uses, and to offer such payments as an incentive for further voluntary acreage diversion.

Initiation of this program is necessary for the 1963 crop year. As in the case of feed grains, it would be subject to approval by a producer referendum.

Cotton

Cotton suffers chiefly from the attempt to adopt a single legislative program to widely divergent crop needs. There is a sharp conflict between the demand for cheap cotton that can compete effectively with substitute fibers and the need for support levels high enough to assure farmers an adequate income; between the interest of textile mill owners—who face stiffening world competition—in low raw material costs and in the interest of the producer in income sufficiently high to cover his costs; and between our nation's desire to expand further our world trade in cotton and to hold down a Federal budget already augmented by cotton export subsidies. These conflicts can best be reconciled by a program which establishes a support price upon allotted acreage but permits efficient producers to grow additional acreage at the world price.

I recommend that the Secretary of Agriculture be given authority to:

1. Establish the acreage allotment at a level which would produce the cotton needed for domestic use and such portion of the cotton exports as he may determine.

2. Authorize growers to exceed their farm acreage allotment by up to 30 percent, with the cotton produced on the additional acreage to be marketed under a plan which will net the grower approximately the world market price.

Dairy Products

Milk and dairy products constitute one of our most important sources of nutrients. They are also one of our most valuable farm products, bringing twice the cash income of the basic crops.

Incomes of dairy farmers were improved by the bill passed by Congress late in 1960 to increase the support price for milk from \$3.06 to \$3.22 per hundred pounds and by the increase in the support price last March to \$3.40 per hundred pounds for the current marketing year.

Unfortunately, milk producers now face a serious setback. An unexpected decline in the consumption of milk during the past year, amounting to nearly 3 billion pounds, will result in government expenditures this year of approximately \$500 million to support the prices of dairy products. There is no evidence as yet that this decline in consumption will be reversed in the year ahead. Under the present law, the Secretary of Agriculture is not authorized to set the price support rate for milk above 75 percent of parity unless, "necessary in order to assure an adequate supply." Under this law, in the present supply situation, the reduced support price must be announced for the marketing year beginning next April 1.

Such a reduction in milk price supports will gravely impair the incomes of milk producers. It will not, however, succeed in reducing government expenditures to a reasonable and justifiable level. Even at 75 percent of parity—the minimum level specified in the present law—government costs for supporting prices of dairy products will probably exceed \$440 million next year, as production continues to exceed consumption.

New legislation to correct the shortcomings of the present dairy price support laws is, therefore, urgently required, for the benefit of both farmer and taxpayer. I recommend passage by the Congress of legislation which will: (a) maintain the income of the dairy farmers by establishing support prices of up to 90 percent of parity under a supply management program; and (b) reduce the budgetary expenditures for the dairy price support program to the cost of acquiring dairy products needed for domestic welfare and foreign assistance programs, up to a

maximum of \$300 million per year, plus the costs incurred in the special milk and school lunch programs.

Each milk producer would be assigned a marketing base equal to his marketings of milk in 1961. His marketing allotment for the current year would reflect a percentage of his base proportionate to his share of the estimated commercial demand and the quantities needed for government programs in the national interest. Producers who market milk in excess of their allotments would pay surplus marketing fees on such milk, which would be used to purchase and dispose of the surplus products produced from excess milk.

Milk producers would be provided an opportunity to vote upon this program in a referendum. In the event the milk producers reject this program a support price would be established at such a level as to limit budgetary expenditures to \$300 million a year. Authority is also requested to include supply management provisions in Federal milk marketing orders when desired by milk producers in markets regulated under such orders.

While this legislation is being considered and implemented, in order to prevent disruption of markets by reduction of price supports to 75 percent of parity as required under the present law on April 1, 1962, I recommend enactment of a joint resolution authorizing the continuation of price supports on dairy products at the current level until December 31, 1962.

III. *Efficient conservation and utilization of land*

The scope of agricultural technology promises abundance tomorrow as well as today. For the first time in our history we can confidently predict that our future food and fiber needs can be met with fewer acres of cropland. In spite of a 65 million increase in population by 1980, our farms will be able to produce all we need with 50 million fewer acres than we have in cropland today.

This prospect offers us an opportunity to

take advantage of the unused acres for a wide range of recreational, aesthetic, and economic purposes. Land use changes are not only important to balanced production, they can also supply the growing demand for outdoor recreational areas and wildlife promotion, for woodlots and forests, and for grazing. We can transfer cropland to grass and trees—and we can place greater emphasis on wildlife and recreation development in the small watershed programs.

I recommend legislation to encourage a comprehensive survey of land uses, to undertake a research program on the conversion of land to alternate purposes, and to initiate a series of pilot and demonstration land use projects. As the pilot plan is evaluated and a permanent program for land use developed, it will be possible for our supply management efforts to place less emphasis on temporary diversion of acreage from the production of specific crops, and more on the permanent utilization of acreage to fulfill other public needs.

An effective land use program also requires the following additional legislation:

1. Amendment of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act to expand the agricultural conservation program to include payments and cost sharing arrangements, under long-term contracts, which would permit changes in cropping systems and land uses for the conservation and development of soil, water, forests, wildlife and recreational resources.

2. Amendment of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act to include the use of land acquired under that Act for recreational development and wildlife protection.

3. Amendment of the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act to permit the Secretary to share in the cost of any land acquired by local organizations for operation as a reservoir of public fish, wildlife or recreational development.

4. Modification of the Watershed Act to provide for loans for recreational facilities.

5. Expansion of the authority of the Farmers Home Administration to make

loans to farmers for recreational enterprises.

Additional legislation for conservation of our renewable resources is also necessary. These recommendations will be included in a message I will send to the Congress devoted to proposals for the maximum utilization of our land resources.

IV. Development and utilization of agriculture's human resources

The Department of Agriculture has launched a series of programs for the development and renewal of rural areas and rural communities. These programs are designed to end rural poverty by offering new opportunities—both agricultural and nonagricultural—to rural people. Activities of the Rural Electrification Administration, the Farmers Home Administration, the Federal Extension Service and other Department agencies are being coordinated under the Rural Area Development program in close cooperation with the Area Redevelopment Administration.

To make the most of the human resources in these rural areas, there is one need that transcends all others—that is education. Education can give them new vistas, new opportunities, new skills in place of the poverty that no price support program will ever remove.

Most of the necessary activities are already authorized by law. However, some additional authority is needed.

In many rural areas, the difficulty of financing adequate safe and sanitary housing and modern community facilities such as water and sewage systems, recreational installations, and transportation, has deterred general community improvement and more rapid industrialization. I recommend, therefore, new legislation to enable the Farmers Home Administration to finance sewage systems and other rural community facilities.

Rural Renewal and Education

In some rural areas the general level of economic activity and family income is so

low, and the lack of community facilities so acute, that a complete new development operation is the only sensible solution—a program of “rural renewal.”

For these areas, in addition to the nationwide rural area development program, I recommend a new legislative program under the Area Redevelopment Administration, to provide loans and technical assistance to local public rural renewal corporations. These corporations would aid in developing new uses for land and water, create forest industry parks, assist small farmers in farm consolidation and enlargement, and develop needed public facilities, including outdoor recreation. The bill would permit loans to approved public agencies to acquire, develop and dispose of land for these purposes, and provide for other loans to individual farmers to establish recreational facilities and other income producing enterprises. Consideration might also be given to making loans available to rural citizens, both young and old, for vocational and other educational training not otherwise available but essential to their preparation for non-farm jobs.

CONCLUSION

The goals of this program for Food and Agriculture are goals on which there is broad general agreement.

First, we seek to enable efficient farm operators to earn incomes equivalent to those earned in comparable nonfarm occupations.

Second, we seek continued production of food and fiber at reasonable prices in quantities sufficient to meet the needs of all Americans and to combat hunger and contribute to economic development throughout the free world.

Third, since we seek abundance for our children as well as for ourselves, we must conserve and use wisely our resources of land and water.

Fourth, we seek to end rural poverty. Farm children, and many farm adults as well, need improved opportunities for education and training, to equip them to earn an American standard of living in whatever

occupation they freely choose to follow.

We will enjoy the fruits of the technological revolution in American agriculture only if we recognize its implications. We must learn to live with an agricultural economy of abundance rather than scarcity. That is the

purpose of the approach I have outlined—a comprehensive, long-range program to replace the present patchwork of short-run emergency measures.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

26 Message to the Congress Transmitting Report “United States Aeronautics and Space Activities, 1961.” *January 31, 1962*

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Section 206(b) of the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958, as amended, I transmit herewith a report for the calendar year 1961, on this nation’s aeronautics and space activities.

During 1961, major attention was devoted to establishing our policy objective of space leadership and to accelerating our efforts toward achieving that objective.

In my Message to the Congress on May 25, 1961, I stated that a leading role in space achievements may well hold the key to this country’s future. That I reaffirm. Last year, we made necessary decisions and, with the support of the Congress, stepped up the pace of performance. Even greater strides must be made in the coming months and years, and thus the recommended budget which I submitted to the Congress earlier this month

contains requests for funds for the Fiscal Year 1963 Space Program, totalling \$5.5 billion, an increase of \$2.4 billion over FY 1962 and \$3.7 billion over FY 1961.

It is the policy of the United States that activities in space be devoted to peaceful purposes and during 1961 we made significant progress in that regard. Such progress included space projects to help keep the peace and space projects to increase man’s well-being in peace.

In summary form, the accompanying report indicates the contributions of the various departments and agencies of the government to a national space program.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The report is printed in House Document 324 (87th Cong., 2d sess.).

27 The President’s News Conference of *January 31, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon.

[1.] I want to—I take pleasure in welcoming the editor of *Izvestia* and Mrs. Adzhubei, to this Presidential press conference. He is, as I said, editor of a paper which carried our interview last November, and he’s also a member of the Central Committee, and therefore combines two hazardous professions, of politics and journalism, and also Mrs. Adzhubei, who is the daughter of the Chairman. We’re glad to have them here to observe an ancient American custom.

[2.] Secondly, I want to express my satisfaction, and I believe that of all Americans, at the action taken by the Organization of American States at the Punta del Este conference. Six resolutions, representing a six-point program, were passed by the conference early this morning. Not a single nation joined Cuba in voting against these resolutions. The 20 other nations of this conference joined in a vigorous declaration against Communist penetration of this hemisphere, in full support for the Alliance for Progress,

and to expel Cuba from the Inter-American Defense Board. For the first time, the independent American states have declared with one voice that the concept of Marxist Leninism is incompatible with the inter-American system, and they have taken explicit steps to protect the hemisphere's ability to achieve progress with freedom.

[3.] Thirdly, I have an important announcement to make about the national stockpiling program. The purpose of this program over a period of several years has been to store for future use those strategic materials which might be essential to the Nation in the event of an emergency. After a review of this program, upon assuming the responsibilities of office, I was astonished to find that the total stockpile now amounts to some \$7.7 billion worth of materials, an amount that exceeds the CCC's total inventory of farm products, and of more importance, an amount that exceeds our emergency requirements as presently determined by nearly \$3.4 billion. In some cases the Government had acquired more than seven times the amount that could possibly be used. For example, the value of the aluminum in this stockpile exceeds the amounts we would need for 3 years in the event of war by \$347 million. The excess supply of nickel is \$103 million. This administration has taken steps to halt any new acquisitions to the stockpile with the exception of three items, still critically short, and on which we have spent less than \$2 million. Unfortunately, the surplus of other materials is still growing, as the result of contracts negotiated prior to this administration's taking office.

It was apparent to me that this excessive storage of costly materials was a questionable burden on public funds and, in addition, a potential source of excessive and unconscionable profits. Last spring a detailed check was ordered, and our information to date has convinced me that a thorough investigation is warranted. The cloak of secrecy which surrounded this program may have been justified originally to conceal our shortages, but this is no longer the case, and

secrecy now is only an invitation to mismanagement.

I have therefore discussed this matter with Senator Symington, chairman of the Senate stockpiling subcommittee. He agrees that the program should be completely explored, and without delay. I have assured him that we will make available to his subcommittee all the material we have already discovered and that the executive branch will cooperate fully with any investigation.

In the meantime, I have directed the various departments and agencies to accelerate their review of materiel requirements and I am appointing a commission to make a detailed review of our stockpiling policies, programs, and goals, in the light of changed defense strategy and improved technology. I am very much aware of the intricate and interrelated problems involved in this area, including the difficulties experienced by certain domestic mineral industries, the impact on world markets, and the heavy reliance of certain countries on producing one or more of these minerals. And I can say that we will take no action which will disrupt commodity prices.

All of these factors in a careful review of the program will be taken into account, but the full facts on this matter must be open to the public.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, do these recent manifestations of cordiality between the United States and Russia—I am speaking specifically of your hospitality to Mr. Adzhubei, Mr. Salinger's conference in Paris with Mr. Kharlamov, Mr. Salinger's forthcoming visit to Moscow—do these evidences equate in any way with an increase or improvement in the prospects for settlement of such basic issues as Berlin?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, of course, we would like to have a settlement of the basic issues which have divided the Soviet Union and the United States. The meetings—I think two meetings took place between Mr. Adzhubei and Mr. Salinger, and out of those meetings came an interview which I think was very useful in helping us to express the viewpoint

of the United States on serious problems to the people of the Soviet Union.

The conversations in Paris last weekend were directed to the same question. Mr. Salinger's visit in response to an invitation that he's received, is also directed to improving communications. We hope that as communications improve, that the problems which cause tension and danger to the world will lessen. The negotiations on these matters, however, of policy, are matters which are being conducted in this case by Ambassador Thompson, who, I believe, has a meeting with Foreign Minister Gromyko, tomorrow, at the third meeting, so-called probes in regard to the matter of Berlin.

We're hopeful that these will bring a happy result. But I believe that any exchange of information, any exchange of views, any cooperation of any kind in these very hazardous times is very useful, so we're glad for them. And we are glad when they treat Americans as they do with courtesy when they visit Moscow.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, in your statements on stockpiling, is there any implication of wrongdoing by an individual?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that—no, I'm not making any implication. The only thing is I think that this is a large amount of money to be invested. I think the whole matter should be carefully looked into, contracts and all the rest, profits and so on. I would make no statement other than to say it's a matter which lends itself to a careful scrutiny by Senator Symington's committee and Senator Symington is most anxious to initiate such an investigation, which we both discussed last week and which we feel is overdue.

But we'll certainly wait, in answer to your question, on the investigation, before making any judgments.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, have you any reaction to the failure of some of our neighbors to the south—I am thinking of Argentina and Brazil—to go along with us all the way in our ambitions at Punta del Este?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think that I've indicated what I consider to be the most significant fact, which is on the basic question of the compatability of the Communist system with the inter-American system. I think there was a unanimity.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, some of the critics of your urban affairs plan charge that it's an invasion of States' and local rights. Would you comment on that, and would you also comment on it in a larger frame? For instance, what do you think of the argument that big government, so called, might not need to be so big if State and local governments were more efficient in fulfilling their duties?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, in regard to the specific question on the—I don't believe that such a Cabinet position would interfere with the States. In my opinion it would supplement their efforts. There is a responsibility which the States have for various—and each city has—for certain important functions in the life of every citizen, but the Federal Government also has one.

There is a Department of Agriculture, which has contact with each individual farmer in the United States. That does not interfere with the county responsibility or the State responsibility.

Now, in the urban message I sent up yesterday, I pointed out that in our 10 leading cities, the citizens pay 35 percent of the income taxes paid in the United States. They have many serious problems which are increasing in time, particularly as our population increases by 3 million a year. I believe that these problems are entitled to a place at the Cabinet table.

Now, I'm interested in charges about big government—and I read these speeches, and then I receive a wire asking for the Federal Government to take over the operations of the New Haven Railroad. And we send a wire back to the States, after having put \$35 million into maintaining that railroad: "What action are the States prepared to take?"

My experience usually is that these matters are put to the Federal Government by the request of cities, of States, or individual groups and it's not a question of the Federal Government anxious to extend its role, but rather that there is a need and no one responds to it and the National Government, therefore, must meet its responsibility. And I believe that with two-thirds of our people in the cities of the United States that they should be up alongside of the others in the Cabinet, so that we can deal more effectively with these programs.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, there has been renewed fighting in Laos. Would you give us your evaluation of the situation there, whether or not this fighting would threaten a political settlement, and also the situation in South Viet-Nam?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, the—of course if the fighting—hostilities began, the hope of a settlement would be substantially diminished. There have been, as you know, a series of tentative agreements. There is still a disagreement over who shall hold particular cabinet positions. It is my understanding that there is scheduled to be a meeting at Luang Prabang on February 2 between those leaders of the various groups within Laos. It is my earnest hope that both sides will refrain from hostilities after a cease fire which has been in effect generally since last May, so that we can see if a peaceful solution can be reached. Because if hostilities begin, they bring reactions and counterreactions, and all of the work which has gone on in the negotiations of the last months could go up in smoke and fire. So that I'm hopeful that both sides will give the parties who are involved an opportunity to meet and continue and see if a solution can be reached, and I'm hopeful that both sides will work earnestly toward that goal.

The situation in Viet-Nam is one that's of great concern to us. There were, I think last week, nearly 500 incidents, deaths, ambushes and so on. It's extremely serious. The United States has increased its help to the government. I'm hopeful that

the control commission will continue to examine that and come to some conclusions in regard to the Geneva accords.

We are anxious for a peace in that area, and we are assisting the government to maintain its position against this subterranean war.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, a political question, sir. The Republicans are holding leadership conferences around the country, including one here in Washington today, with the purpose of upsetting the Democratic balance of power in congressional elections that are coming up. Would you care to comment on the task these Republican teachers have, and with what hope they might look toward success in the fall?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think that—I'm sure that I don't know who's giving the leadership direction but I'm sure that they'll have a varied program!

[10.] Q. Mr. President, as part of our effort to show our good faith as a result of the Punta del Este meeting, is there any possibility that this Government might reduce its trade with Cuba? Last year I understand we purchased from Cuba about \$17 million worth of goods in excess of what we sold, largely in the field of tobacco. I was thinking of giving up cigars for the duration. Is that under consideration?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, the trade which—the things we sell to Cuba have been foods and medicines, which I think the total amount, as I recall, was around \$12 or \$13 million. I think any decision in regard to trade would better wait until the Secretary returns and we've had a chance to discuss the matter with him.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, visitors who go out to visit Lincoln Park on East Capital Street are dismayed to find it a slum. Congress has authorized and the National Council of Negro Women will erect there a memorial stadium and a statue of the great woman educator, Mary Bethune. Now the transit company proposes to put an eight-lane freeway between the park and the Capitol, cutting it off. Could you inquire

into that, and see if the freeway could be put further out beyond the park?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I will. [*Laughter*]
You're very gentle today, Mrs. Craig.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, does the United States intend to precondition the purchase of the \$100 million of United Nations bonds on support of the other \$100 million by other countries, and, if so, would not such a precondition serve to raise a question of earnestness in the support of the U.N. by all nations?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I think there's an obvious relationship between the amount that we purchase and the amount that other countries take. We stated that we would take—that we would consider taking \$100 million worth of the bonds. It was our hope that other countries would take \$100 million, I think the Canadians have indicated around \$7 million, and the British \$12 million, and I think the Scandinavian countries have given it careful consideration. I think Mr. Black, of the World Bank, has written to other governments, so that in answer to your question, there is a relationship obviously between what we could do and what others will do. I'm hopeful that both will meet their responsibilities in the matter.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, in the debate just terminated in the Senate over the confirmation of John McCone as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, a considerable body of opinion indicated that they were concerned about the supervision over CIA. Have you done anything in your administration to increase Executive supervision over CIA, and what is your view toward giving Congress a greater share over the supervision of CIA?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, Congress does have groups that have a responsibility over CIA. They provide the budget, and they also provide—receive reports and confer and exercise supervision at the present time.

Secondly, I appointed General Taylor some months ago to be my representative in

regard to matters affecting intelligence, and there are intergovernmental meetings in response to any activities that CIA might carry out with general supervision and it's a matter which has concerned me personally increasingly. So that those are the areas where there is control and I think it's up to all those who have control, as well as to Mr. McCone and the members of the CIA, to attempt to carry out their functions in a way which serves our interest, which I'm sure is their objective.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, speaking of going to Moscow, could you tell us under what conditions you would accept an invitation to visit the Soviet Union?

THE PRESIDENT. I would think that an invitation—and an acceptance of an invitation—would probably wait on the easing of the tensions which unfortunately surround our relationship. And so that, for the present, of course, until we have significant breakthroughs, that sort of journey would probably not be considered useful by either country. But we, of course, are always hopeful and we're making every effort that we can to bring an easing of tensions. And that's why Mr. Thompson is pursuing his course, and that's why we are making the other efforts that we're making.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us whether you expect any difficulty in Congress with your Alliance for Progress program by reason of the opposition of some of the bigger Latin American countries at the Punta del Este conference?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that I could probably—the Congress, of course, has to make that judgment. In my opinion, the program is very essential; I think it was endorsed by 20 nations, the Alliance for Progress. This is a long struggle to improve the life of the people in this hemisphere. I think we must go ahead, and I'm confident that the Members of the Congress when they come back will feel the same way. So that what has happened recently, in my opinion, makes more desirable and essential the Alliance for

Progress. That is where our efforts ought to be, and that's where we can serve the cause of freedom and I think the interhemisphere system best. So I'm hopeful that Congress will agree.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, two network chiefs recently have expressed fear of Government supervision of the television networks. The FCC has denied any such intention. Can you foresee circumstances under which FCC supervision of television programing might become necessary or useful?

THE PRESIDENT. No. Do you mean of a different kind than now, a different relationship than that which now exists?

Q. Yes, over program content.

THE PRESIDENT. No. I don't. I think, as you know, the FCC does have certain regulations with regard to the percentage used in public service. Mr. Minow has attempted to use not force, but to use encouragement in persuading the networks to put better children's programs, more public service programs. I don't know of anyone—and Mr. Minow has already denied considering changing the basic relationship which now exists.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with the situation in Laos, is Mr. Harriman in touch with his opposite Soviet number in order to get the cooperation of the Soviet Union in reducing the heavy infiltration of Viet-Nam units in Laos?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Harriman, the Assistant Secretary, has indicated, as has the State Department, as have I, the great dangers in—to both sides in a resumption of hostilities. And we are making every effort to attempt to get an accord before this cease-fire, which appears to be strained somewhat, after many months, to try to get an accord before we have a breakdown of the cease-fire, and that is true of both sides.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, last year the administration put forward no civil rights legislation. Now the administration has submitted a bill on literacy tests in voting

and Secretary Goldberg has endorsed "in principle" an FEPC bill. Does this mean the administration has suddenly decided to go further on the legislative route in the civil rights field?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that my State of the Union Address said that we would comment on the various bills, of which there are a great many that have been introduced. And that's what Secretary Goldberg did. In addition, I made specific reference to the question of voting, and literacy tests, and Senator Mansfield has indicated action would be on that bill. So it seems to me that we are where we said we would be in the State of the Union Address.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, is there a small war imminent between Floyd Patterson and Sonny Liston?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that's a matter that you ought to talk to Mr. Patterson about. He hasn't confided fully in me.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, in your statement on stockpiling policy, you referred to three items you felt were understockpiled. You didn't indicate what those were, and what considerations apply. Could you supply those for us?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that this—as I say, the whole matter of stockpiling is a matter which would wait on Senator Symington. I did say that they involved, I think, the sum of about \$2 million, so they're not significant, but they are in short enough supply so that we are continuing those purchases. But they are not of major proportions, though they are in this case significant.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, they told us you took a cab ride or a limousine drive across from your house last night, at Lafayette Square, to inspect it. And in connection with that, you are familiar with the old Belasco Theater on Lafayette Square which now houses the United Services Organization home for the thousands of enlisted military people in the area. That theater as you know is going to be torn down.

Does the Government and specifically you, as Commander in Chief, have any plans to place these people in a suitable area?

THE PRESIDENT. The USO?

Q. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Well I'm sure we'll be delighted to cooperate with the USO in getting satisfactory facilities. Last night I was looking at the question of the building next to Blair House, whether that ought to come down, the court building, whether that ought to come down or trees should be planted there, and I thought that—in agreement with the Fine Arts Commission that trees should be planted there. [Laughter]

[22.] Q. Mr. President, what effect do you believe the most recent collapse of the nuclear test ban negotiations with the Soviet Union will have on the possibilities for success in the coming March 14 Geneva disarmament talks? And will this collapse have any effect on your decision, if any, to resume nuclear testing?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, no progress was being made in developing a test ban which would have adequate inspection, and therefore we felt that it should be moved into the general disarmament conference, which begins on the 14th.

This failure, as I said somewhat earlier, represents the biggest disappointment of my first year in office, and continues to be a disappointment, because every action here as I say, breeds a response, and we have been anxious from the beginning to get an agreement which would prohibit tests with an adequate inspection. Now, we haven't been able to adjust that satisfactorily. Therefore it will put an additional burden and an additional opportunity before the Disarmament Commission. And of course our failure to get an agreement does increase the likelihood of various countries testing. That's one of the reasons why I was anxious that we get an agreement.

[23.] Q. Mr. President, on this question of the changed atmosphere between the U.S. and the Soviet Union of late, just to set the

record straight, is this so far entirely a matter of atmospheric or is there in any of the negotiating issues across the board any indication of the possibility of an agreement?

THE PRESIDENT. I would say that on the question of Laos, that there has been evidence of a desire by the Soviet Union and the United States to come to the agreement along the lines suggested by Chairman Khrushchev and myself last June. On the question of Berlin and Germany, I don't think that significant progress as yet has been made. But I do think, as I've said, that the means of communication and the channels of communication should be kept very widely open, which has been a basic premise of ours for the last few months; which is the reason that Ambassador Thompson is working. Any way we can lessen the chance of danger, as I said at the beginning, we will explore. So that I think that attempts to separate the facts of the matter from what you would call atmosphere, though atmosphere can be very important in our lives, as we see every day.

[24.] Q. Sir, independent oil producers have urged you to take action quickly, even before completion of the Ellis study about June, to reduce oil imports. Now this week the independents are urging Congress to write into your trade program a provision reducing crude imports about 250,000 barrels daily and limiting them in the future to 14 percent of domestic crude oil production. Sir, do you think that the domestic producers will receive any relief from Executive action in the near future, and do you favor tightening of import controls on oil by such legislation as they propose?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, in the first place, as you've suggested, this is a matter which is still being examined by Mr. Ellis' commission. In regard to legislation, I'm not familiar with this proposal; it's the first I've heard about it. There are, of course, obvious difficulties traditionally in attempting to write in quota restrictions on various commodities in any kind of trade legislation, be-

cause one begets another, and we can find ourselves with a whole series of limitations and exclusions which is the reason, I think, that Franklin Roosevelt originally came forward with the reciprocal trade program. But we are very much aware of the concern, the fact that in some of our States that the wells are down 10 or 11 days a month, and that this is a matter of serious concern to a good many Americans. I'll have to leave it at that at the present time because the study is not complete and I'd have to examine the legislation, other than my general comments on it.

[25.] Q. Mr. President, to go back to the Urban Affairs Department, the Republicans say that you were playing politics last week when you said that you would like to have Mr. Robert Weaver, a distinguished Negro, to head that department. They also accuse you of injecting the race issue into this whole matter. Would you care to comment?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I merely said in response to a question that it was quite obvious that Mr. Weaver is the very successful, able head of the—by far the largest division which would be placed in an urban department. It was well rumored that Mr. Weaver would be appointed to the Cabinet. In fact, it may have played some part in some decisions in regard to the matter, so I think it's much better to get it out in the open. Obviously, if the legislation had been passed, Mr. Weaver would have been appointed. It was well known on the Hill. The American people might as well know it.

[26.] Q. Mr. President, Congressman Alger of Texas, today criticized Mr. Salinger as a "young and inexperienced White House publicity man"—[*laughter*—and questioned the advisability of having him visit the Soviet Union. I wonder if you have any comments.

THE PRESIDENT. I know there are always some people who feel that Americans are always young and inexperienced, and foreigners are always able and tough and great negotiators. But I don't think that the

United States would have acquired its present position of leadership in the free world if that view were correct.

Now he also, as I saw the press, said that Mr. Salinger's main job was to increase my standing in the Gallup poll. Having done that, he is now moving on—[*laughter*—to improve our communications.

As I say, Mr. Salinger and Mr. Adzhubei are responsible for our interview, which I think was very helpful. And I think anything we can do—I don't think we should worry so much about Americans traveling abroad; I think they've acquitted themselves and so will Mr. Salinger. I'm sure that some people in the Soviet Union are concerned about Mr. Adzhubei's visits abroad. [*Laughter*]

[27.] Q. Mr. President, with regard to your authority to cut taxes as an antirecession measure, a Democratic member of the House Ways and Means Committee said the other day that no such authority was necessary because a request would go through Congress faster than a declaration of war. What do you think of this and of the argument that this power might be used for political reasons as well as economic?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you recall, in our proposal we harnessed it to a statistical base which was charted on the recessions which you have had since World War II and, therefore, would go off or be prepared to go off after we reached a certain peak of unemployment after a certain period of months. That is the purpose of it. So that it seemed to us it was a tool which would be most valuable.

As you know, Arthur Burns, who was Chairman of the Economic Advisers under President Eisenhower, has endorsed this proposal. It's been endorsed by people on all sides of the spectrum. There is nothing more costly, nothing more expensive than recurrent recessions. And if we can take action early enough, it was felt by economists and businessmen, the Council—for example, the CED and others, that this would be a way of easing the impact.

If you can tell me anything more expensive than the large deficits we ran as a result of the '58 and '60 recessions and the unemployment we had as a result of those recessions—I consider this to be soundly based.

Now, if we cannot get it, then we will have to consider the action that you've suggested. But I think it would be a very important standby tool. This economy is a very—it fluctuates and moves—and we don't want to have a recovery in '62 and a lack of vigor in that recovery in '63 when early

action might maintain the economy and maintain employment. I hope this will be given a long look, even though I realize the Ways and Means Committee has other priorities. But in my judgment, in the long run we have a good chance to have it accepted.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's twenty-second news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, January 31, 1962.

28 Special Message to the Congress on Public Welfare Programs.

February 1, 1962

To the Congress of the United States:

Few nations do more than the United States to assist their least fortunate citizens—to make certain that no child, no elderly or handicapped citizen, no family in any circumstances in any State, is left without the essential needs for a decent and healthy existence. In too few nations, I might add, are the people aware of the progressive strides this country has taken in demonstrating the humanitarian side of freedom. Our record is a proud one—and it sharply refutes those who accuse us of thinking only in the materialistic terms of cash registers and calculating machines.

Our basic public welfare programs were enacted more than a quarter century ago. Their contribution to our national strength and well-being in the intervening years has been remarkable.

But the times, the conditions, the problems have changed—and the nature and objectives of our public assistance and child welfare programs must be changed, also, if they are to meet our current needs.

The impact of these changes should not be underestimated:

—People move more often—from the farm to the city, from urban centers to the suburbs, from the East to the West, from the South to the North and Midwest.

—Living costs, and especially medical costs, have spiraled.

—The pattern of our population has changed. There are more older people, more children, more young marriages, divorces, desertions and separations.

—Our system of social insurance and related programs has grown greatly: in 1940 less than 1% of the aged were receiving monthly old age insurance benefits; today over 3/4rds of our aged are receiving these benefits. In 1940 only 21,000 children, in families where the breadwinner had died, were getting survivor insurance benefits; today such monthly benefits are being paid to about 2 million children.

All of these changes affect the problems public welfare was intended to relieve as well as its ability to relieve it. Moreover, even the nature and causes of poverty have changed. At the time the Social Security Act established our present basic framework for public aid, the major cause of poverty was unemployment and economic depression. Today, in a year of relative prosperity and high employment, we are more concerned about the poverty that persists in the midst of abundance.

The reasons are often more social than economic, more often subtle than simple. Some are in need because they are untrained

for work—some because they cannot work, because they are too young or too old, blind or crippled. Some are in need because they are discriminated against for reasons they cannot help. Responding to their ills with scorn or suspicion is inconsistent with our moral precepts and inconsistent with their nearly universal preference to be independent. But merely responding with a “relief check” to complicated social or personal problems—such as ill health, faulty education, domestic discord, racial discrimination, or inadequate skills—is not likely to provide a lasting solution. Such a check must be supplemented, or in some cases made unnecessary, by positive services and solutions, offering the total resources of the community to meet the total needs of the family to help our less fortunate citizens help themselves.

Public welfare, in short, must be more than a salvage operation, picking up the debris from the wreckage of human lives. Its emphasis must be directed increasingly toward prevention and rehabilitation—on reducing not only the long-range cost in budgetary terms but the long-range cost in human terms as well. Poverty weakens individuals and nations. Sounder public welfare policies will benefit the nation, its economy, its morale, and, most importantly, its people.

Under the various titles of the Social Security Act, funds are available to help the States provide assistance and other social services to the needy, aged and blind, to the needy disabled, and to dependent children. In addition, grants are available to assist the States to expand and strengthen their programs of child welfare services. These programs are essentially State programs. But the Federal Government, by its substantial financial contribution, its leadership, and the standards it sets, bears a major responsibility. To better fulfill this responsibility, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare recently introduced a number of administrative changes designed to get people off assistance and back into useful, productive roles in society.

These changes provided for:

- the more effective location of deserting parents;

- an effort to reduce that proportion of persons receiving assistance through willful misrepresentation, although that proportion is only a small part of the 1.5% of persons on the rolls found to be ineligible;

- allowing dependent children to save money for educational, employment or medical needs without having that amount deducted from their public assistance grants;

- providing special services and safeguards to children in families of unmarried parents, in families where the father has deserted, or in homes in danger of becoming morally or physically unsuitable; and

- an improvement in the training of personnel, the development of services and the coordination of agency efforts.

In keeping with this new emphasis, the name of the Bureau of Public Assistance has been changed to the Bureau of Family Services.

But only so much can be done by administrative changes. New legislation is required if our State-operated programs are to be fully able to meet modern needs.

I. PREVENTION AND REHABILITATION

As already mentioned, we must place more stress on services instead of relief.

I recommend that the States be encouraged by the offer of additional Federal funds to strengthen and broaden the rehabilitative and preventive services they offer to persons who are dependent or who would otherwise become dependent. Additional Federal funds would induce and assist the States to establish or augment their rehabilitation services, strengthen their child welfare services, and add to their number of competent public welfare personnel. At the present time, the cost of these essential services is lumped with all administrative costs—routine clerical and office functions—and the Federal Government pays one-half of the total of all such costs incurred by the States.

By separating out and identifying the cost of these essential rehabilitation, social work and other service costs, and paying the States three-fourths of such services—a step I earnestly recommend for your consideration—the Federal Government will enable and encourage the States to provide more comprehensive and effective services to rehabilitate those on welfare. The existing law should also be amended to permit the use of Federal funds for utilization by the State welfare agency of specialists from other State agencies who can help mount a concerted attack on the problems of dependency.

There are other steps we can take which will have an important effect on this effort. One of these is to expand and improve the Federal-State program of vocational rehabilitation for disabled people. Among the 92,500 disabled men and women successfully rehabilitated into employment through this program last year were about 15,000 who had formerly been receiving public assistance. Let me repeat this figure: 15,000 people, formerly supported by the taxpayers through welfare, are now back at work as self-supporting taxpayers. Much more of this must be done—until we are restoring to employment every disabled person who can benefit from these rehabilitation services.

The prevention of future adult poverty and dependency must begin with the care of dependent children—those who must receive public welfare by virtue of a parent's death, disability, desertion or unemployment. Our society not only refuses to leave such children hungry, cold, and devoid of opportunity—we are insistent that such children not be community liabilities throughout their lives. Yet children who grow up in deprivation, without adequate protection, may be poorly equipped to meet adult responsibilities.

The Congress last year approved, on a temporary basis, aid for the dependent children of the unemployed as a part of the permanent Aid to Dependent Children program. This legislation also included temporary provisions for foster care where the

child has been removed from his home, and an increase in Federal financial assistance to the aged, blind and disabled. The need for these temporary improvements has not abated, and their merit is clear. I recommend that these temporary provisions be made permanent.

But children need more than aid when they are destitute. We need to improve our preventive and protective services for children as well as adults. I recommend that the present ceiling of \$25,000,000 authorized for annual appropriations for grants to the States for child welfare services be gradually raised, beginning with \$30,000,000 for 1963, up to \$50,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and succeeding years.

Finally, many women now on assistance rolls could obtain jobs and become self-supporting if local day care programs for their young children were available. The need for such programs for the children of working mothers has been increasing rapidly. Of the 22 million women now working, about 3 million have children under 6, and another 4½ million have school-age children between 6 and 17. Adequate care for these children during their most formative years is essential to their proper growth and training. Therefore, I recommend that the child welfare provisions of the Social Security Act be changed to authorize earmarking up to \$5,000,000 of grants to the States in 1963 and \$10,000,000 a year thereafter for aid in establishing local programs for the day care of young children of working mothers.

II. PROMOTING NEW SKILLS AND INDEPENDENCE

We must find ways of returning far more of our dependent people to independence. We must find ways of returning them to a participating and productive role in the community.

One sure way is by providing the opportunity every American cherishes to do sound and useful work. For this reason, I am recommending a change in the law to permit States to maintain with Federal financial

help community work and training projects for unemployed people receiving welfare payments. Under such a program, unemployed people on welfare would be helped to retain their work skills or learn new ones; and the local community would obtain additional manpower on public projects.

But earning one's welfare payment through required participation in a community work or training project must be an opportunity for the individual on welfare, not a penalty. Federal financial participation will be conditioned upon proof that the work will serve a useful community or public purpose, will not displace regular employees, will not impair prevailing wages and working conditions, and will be accompanied by certain basic health and safety protections. Provisions must also be made to assure appropriate arrangements for the care and protection of children during the absence from home of any parent performing work or undergoing training.

Moreover, systematic encouragement would be given all welfare recipients to obtain vocational counseling, testing, and placement services from the United States Employment Service and to secure useful training wherever new job skills would be helpful. Close cooperative arrangements would be established with existing training and vocational education programs, and with the vocational and on-the-job training opportunities to be created under the Manpower Development and Training and Youth Employment Opportunities programs previously proposed.

III. MORE SKILLED PERSONNEL

It is essential that state and local welfare agencies be staffed with enough qualified personnel to insure constructive and adequate attention to the problems of needy individuals—to take the time to help them find and hold a job—to prevent public dependency and to strive, where that is not possible, for rehabilitation—and to ascertain promptly whether any individual is receiving

aid for which he does not qualify, so that aid can be promptly withdrawn.

Unfortunately, there is an acute shortage of trained personnel in all our welfare programs. The lack of experienced social workers for programs dealing with children and their families is especially critical.

At the present time, when States expend funds for the training of personnel for the administration of these programs, they receive Federal grants on a dollar-for-dollar basis. This arrangement has failed to produce a sufficient number of trained staff, especially social workers. I recommend, therefore, that Federal assistance to the States for training additional welfare personnel be increased; and that in addition, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare be authorized to make special arrangements for the training of family welfare personnel to work with those children whose parents have deserted, whose parents are unmarried, or who have other serious problems.

IV. FITTING GENERAL CONDITIONS OR SAFEGUARDS TO INDIVIDUAL NEEDS

In order to make certain that welfare funds go only to needy people, the Social Security Act requires the States to take all income and resources of the applicant into consideration in determining need. Although Federal law permits, it does not require States to take into full account the full expenses individuals have in earning income. This is not consistent with equity, common sense or other Federal laws such as our tax code. It only discourages the will to earn. In order to encourage assistance recipients to find and retain employment, I therefore recommend that the Act be amended to require the States to take into account the expenses of earning income.

Among relatives caring for dependent children are a few who do not properly handle their assistance payments—some to the extent that the well-being of the child is adversely affected. Where the State determines that a relative's ability to manage

money is contrary to the welfare of the child, Federal law presently requires payments to be made to a legal guardian or representative, if Federal funds are to be used. But this general requirement may sometimes block progress in particular situations. In order to recognize the necessity for each State to make exceptions to this rule in a very limited number of cases, I recommend that the law be amended to permit Federal sharing to continue even though protective payments in behalf of children—not to exceed $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% of ADC recipients in each State—are made to other persons concerned with the welfare of the family. The States would be required to reexamine these exceptions at intervals to determine whether a more permanent arrangement such as guardianship is required.

When first enacted, the aid to dependent children program provided for Federal sharing in assistance payments only to the child. Since 1950, there has been Federal sharing in any assistance given to one adult in the household as well as to the child or children. Inasmuch as under current law there may be two parents in homes covered by this program, one incapacitated or unemployed, I recommend in the interest of equity the extension of Federal sharing in assistance payments both to the needy relative and to his or her spouse when both are living in the home with the child.

V. MORE EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATION

Under present public assistance provisions, States may impose residence requirements up to five of the last nine years for the aged, blind and disabled. Increased mobility, as previously mentioned, is a hallmark of our times. It should not operate unfairly on either an individual State or an individual family. I recommend that the Social Security Act be amended so as to provide that States receiving Federal funds not exclude any otherwise eligible persons who have been residents of the State for one year immedi-

ately preceding their application for assistance. I also recommend that the law be amended to provide a small increase in assistance funds to those States which simplify their laws by removing all residence requirements in any of their Federally aided programs.

In view of the changing nature of the economic and social problems of the country, the desirability of a periodic review of our public welfare programs is obvious. For that purpose I propose that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare be authorized to appoint an Advisory Council on Public Welfare representing broad community interests and concerns, and such other advisory committees as he deems necessary to advise and consult with him in the administration of the Social Security Act.

No study of the public welfare program can fail to note the difficulty of the problems faced or the need to be imaginative in dealing with them. Accordingly, I recommend that amendments be made to encourage experimental, pilot or demonstration projects that would promote the objectives of the assistance titles and help make our welfare programs more flexible and adaptable to local needs.

The simplification and coordination of administration and operation would greatly improve the adequacy and consistency of assistance and related services. As a step in that direction, I recommend that a new title to the Social Security Act be enacted which would give to States the option of submitting a single, unified State plan combining their assistance programs for aged, blind and disabled, and their medical assistance programs for the aged, granting to such States additional Federal matching for medical payments on behalf of the blind and disabled.

These proposed far-reaching changes—aimed at far-reaching problems—are in the public interest and in keeping with our finest traditions. The goals of our public

welfare programs must be positive and constructive—to create economic and social opportunities for the less fortunate—to help them find productive, happy and independent lives. It must stress the integrity and preservation of the family unit. It must contribute to the attack on dependency, juvenile delinquency, family breakdown, illegitimacy, ill health and disability. It must reduce the incidence of these problems, prevent their occurrence and recurrence, and strengthen and protect the vulnerable in a highly competitive world.

Unless such problems are dealt with effectively, they fester, and grow, sapping the strength of society as a whole and extending their consequences in troubled families from one generation to the next.

The steps I recommend to you today to alleviate these problems will not come cheaply. They will cost more money when first enacted. But they will restore human dignity; and in the long run, they will save money. I have recommended in the Budget

submitted for fiscal year 1963 sufficient funds to cover the extension of existing programs and the new legislation here proposed.

Communities which have—for whatever motives—attempted to save money through ruthless and arbitrary cutbacks in their welfare rolls have found their efforts to little avail. The root problems remained.

But communities which have tried the rehabilitative road—the road I have recommended today—have demonstrated what can be done with creative, thoughtfully conceived, and properly managed programs of prevention and social rehabilitation. In those communities, families have been restored to self-reliance, and relief rolls have been reduced.

To strengthen our human resources—to demonstrate the compassion of free men—and in the light of our own constructive self-interest—we must bring our welfare programs up to date. I urge that the Congress do so without delay.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

29 Message to the Congress Transmitting First Annual Report of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

February 1, 1962

To the Congress of the United States:

I have the honor to transmit the first annual report of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

The Agency was established by the Act of September 26, 1961, and has thus been in existence for only four months. This report, submitted pursuant to law, describes not only its own initial activities, but also the work of predecessor agencies which it is continuing.

The existence of this new Agency is a source of strength to me, in the performance of my responsibility to pursue a new type of world security which will increase our own prospects of living in peace and freedom. I know that this goal is the desire of the

Congress and the American people to leave no stone unturned in their search for a peaceful world.

This report of activities indicates that the new Agency is moving surely toward the achievement of greater effectiveness and flexibility in disarmament negotiations. The development of this kind of skill and responsibility is essential to the serious pursuit of security through disarmament.

On March 14, our representatives will meet with the representatives of 17 other nations in a forum established by resolution of the United Nations General Assembly to seek to negotiate a comprehensive disarmament treaty program. When I appeared before the United Nations last September,

I submitted a program for general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world. It is my hope and expectation that the forthcoming conference will make significant progress toward the achievement of the goal of disarmament with effective methods of insuring compliance.

Never before in the history of man has the importance of arms control and dis-

armament been so great. For this reason, I urge your support of this Agency in the great and difficult tasks which it will face in the future.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The report is printed in House Document 326 (87th Cong., 2d sess.).

30 Remarks of Welcome to the Members of the U.S. Delegation Upon Their Return From the Punta del Este Conference. *February 1, 1962*

ON BEHALF of all the people of this country, we want to express our great pleasure in extending a very warm welcome on a cold day to the Secretary of State and to the entire delegation—the Members of the Congress from the House and Senate of both parties, who together represented our country during some most important days. All of us have the greatest pride and satisfaction in their work.

I believe that the delegation was most ably led by the Secretary of State who I think under the conditions which represented intensive negotiations for a long period of time in attempting to reconcile and maintain and strengthen the Organization of American States, in which we all believe—I believe that he did himself great credit and he did his country credit. And I want to express our thanks to him and to the

Members of the Congress who accompanied him, who represented us all.

We believe strongly in the American system, and my strong conviction is that as a result of this meeting and as a result of the efforts of the delegation, this system has been strengthened—and I think communism has been isolated in this hemisphere. And I think the hemisphere can move on towards progress.

So, Mr. Secretary, and Members of the Congress, we thank you and welcome you home with great appreciation.

NOTE: The President spoke in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Secretary Rusk was accompanied to the conference by Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, Senator Bourke Hickenlooper of Iowa, Representative Armistead I. Selden, Jr., of Alabama, and Representative Chester E. Mellow of New Hampshire.

31 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting Bill To Authorize U.S. Loans to the International Monetary Fund. *February 2, 1962*

Dear Mr. ————:

Transmitted herewith for the consideration of the Congress is legislation which would implement the recommendations of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems re-

lating to "special borrowing arrangements of the International Monetary Fund." A copy of the report of the Council is attached.

The legislation takes the form of an amendment to the Bretton Woods Agreements Act and authorizes the United States

to participate in loans to the International Monetary Fund in order to strengthen the international monetary system.

The International Monetary Fund has been a vital force for economic stability in the free world ever since it was formed in 1946. Its transactions have supported the currencies of free world nations which encountered balance of payments or other monetary difficulties, and it helped maintain confidence in the currencies of its members. The leadership of the United States in the establishment and support of the Fund has been a source of pride and satisfaction.

In my message of last February 6, I discussed the imbalance in our international payments and called for a series of related measures to correct it. A number of these measures have been adopted. But the problem is stubborn and complex and will require additional action over a number of years.

Meanwhile, we can strengthen the monetary system in general and the position of the United States in that system by augmenting the resources and flexibility of the International Monetary Fund to permit the Fund to be utilized more effectively in supporting a healthy and growing world economy.

To accomplish this purpose, intensive negotiations have gone forward, with the active participation of the Fund, among the major industrial nations of the free world. These negotiations culminated in the proposals described and recommended in the National Advisory Council's report calling for the addition of \$6 billion to the resources of the Fund. This addition would strongly reinforce the international monetary system of the free world.

It would, in particular, greatly enhance the ability of the Fund to assist the United States in coping with its international payments problems. Today, the Fund has on hand only \$1.6 billion of the currencies of other major industrial countries—exclusive of the United Kingdom, which has itself made a large drawing from the Fund—to

meet a possible need for a drawing by the United States. The new arrangements would permit an additional \$3 billion increase in available resources of these other major currencies, and would thus assure the Fund the assets needed to meet a request for a drawing by the United States should such a request ever be necessary. At a time when the confidence in the dollar is of utmost importance to the free world, the \$6 billion addition to the Fund will be especially significant. It will greatly enhance our own financial resources and greatly reduce any possibility of a serious drain upon dollar balances. The very existence of the new standby credits will be an assurance of stability of major currencies.

The new borrowing arrangements would require amendment of the Bretton Woods Agreements Act by authorizing the United States to lend up to \$2 billion to the Fund. The other nine participants in the arrangement would commit themselves to provide up to \$4 billion. The commitment of nearly \$2.5 billion by members of the European Common Market—Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands—would represent an amount about equal to the present aggregate of their Fund quotas. By contrast the United States and the United Kingdom would provide amounts equal to only about half their present quotas. The United States would not be expected to lend to the Fund in the absence of a substantial improvement in its balance of payments position.

The new proposals would strengthen the position of the dollar as the world's major reserve currency. They would also provide new armament for the defense of the currencies of the free world and for reinforcing the entire international monetary system. I urge, therefore, that the Congress promptly consider this legislation. Participation by the United States in the proposed arrangements is in the national interest.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The report of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems, dated January 1962, is published as a committee

print (24 pp.) of the House Committee on Banking and Currency (Government Printing Office, 1962).

The amendment to the Bretton Woods Agreements Act (Public Law 87-490, 76 Stat. 105) was approved on June 19, 1962.

32 White House Statement Concerning the Embargo on Trade With Cuba. *February 3, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT announced today an embargo upon trade between the United States and Cuba. He said that on humanitarian grounds exports of certain foodstuffs, medicines, and medical supplies from the United States to Cuba would be excepted from this embargo.

The President acted under the authority of section 620(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. He stated in his proclamation that the embargo was being imposed in accordance with the decisions of the recent Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Inter-

American System at Punta del Este, Uruguay.

The President pointed out that the embargo will deprive the Government of Cuba of the dollar exchange it has been deriving from sales of its products in the United States. The loss of this income will reduce the capacity of the Castro regime, intimately linked with the Sino-Soviet bloc, to engage in acts of aggression, subversion, or other activities endangering the security of the United States and other nations of the hemisphere.

33 Statement by the President Upon Approving Bill Relating to Distribution of General Motors Shares. *February 3, 1962*

I HAVE approved H.R. 8847, entitled "An Act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 so as to provide that a distribution of stock made to an individual (or certain corporations) pursuant to an order enforcing the antitrust laws shall not be treated as a dividend distribution but shall be treated as a return of capital; and to provide that the amount of such a distribution made to a corporation shall be the fair market value of the distribution."

H.R. 8847 adds several new provisions to the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 which are designed to affect the income tax treatment of certain taxpayers who may receive a distribution of General Motors stock pursuant to a court order requiring E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company (and, possibly, Christiana Securities Corporation) to divest itself (or themselves) of such stock

pursuant to the *du Pont* antitrust case (*United States v. E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Co., et al*, 365 U.S. 806 (1961)). The bill applies only if the court orders the distribution to be completed within three years or less from the date the court order becomes final.

In general, the bill provides that the receipt of General Motors stock pursuant to a court order in the *du Pont* antitrust case by individual shareholders (or any shareholder which is not entitled to the corporate dividends received deduction) will be treated as a return of capital, and its fair market value will reduce the basis of the stock with respect to which the distribution is made. In those instances where the fair market value of the General Motors stock exceeds the basis of the stock with respect to which the distribution is made, such ex-

cess will be taxed as capital gain. If this bill were not enacted, such individual shareholders would be required to pay an ordinary income tax on the full fair market value of the General Motors stock received.

With the exception of Christiana Securities Corporation, the bill does not alter the tax treatment of those corporations which, as stockholders, may receive a distribution of General Motors stock pursuant to court order. Under existing law these corporate stockholders will be required to pay a tax at ordinary income rates measured by the basis of the stock to the distributing corporation (*i.e.*, basis of General Motors stock to E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company or Christiana Securities Corporation immediately prior to the distribution) less the 85 percent intercorporate dividends received deduction.

The bill will impose on Christiana Securities Corporation a higher income tax than will be imposed, under existing law, upon other corporate shareholders to which General Motors stock may be distributed. Christiana has made it clear to the Treasury Department and the Congress, however, that the benefits to it and to its stockholders from the entire legislation justify this tax.

At the same time this legislation was before the Congress, the United States District Court for the Northern District of Illinois had before it the litigation to determine what method of distribution of the General Motors stock should be adopted in order to carry out the Supreme Court decision. No final divestiture decree has yet been rendered. The Department of Justice is urging the District Judge to require Christiana to sell the General Motors stock which it would receive as a stockholder of du Pont so that the stock would not pass-through to Christiana stockholders. If the

pass-through occurred, a large percentage of General Motors stock would be acquired by members of the du Pont family. This, it is argued, would mean that the du Pont family would still effectively control both du Pont and General Motors.

This legislation clearly does not attempt to express a judgment upon the question that is now before the court. The Senate Finance Committee report pointed out that all issues dealing with the manner of divestiture should be determined judiciously, solely with reference to antitrust principles, and without regard to the provisions of the bill before it. The debate discloses a unanimity of intent on this point. Both the proponents and the opponents of the bill agreed that the antitrust questions, particularly the question whether the pass-through of stock to Christiana stockholders should be permitted, should not be affected in any way by the legislation.

In view of this unequivocal construction of the legislation, I am approving it. It should be clearly understood that neither the Congress nor I have approved a divestiture which will permit the stock of General Motors to pass-through Christiana to the stockholders of Christiana. The tax impact upon stockholders of du Pont who may receive General Motors stock in the divestiture decree by the District Judge will be affected. However, the court should not be influenced in its determination as to what relief is appropriate to carry out the decision of the Supreme Court, and the Department of Justice should not be prejudiced in any way in its effort to enforce the antitrust decision of the Supreme Court by this legislation.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 8847 is Public Law 87-403 (76 Stat. 4).

34 Recorded Message to the People of Viet-Nam on the Occasion of Their New Year's Celebration. *February 5, 1962*

ON THE OCCASION of your New Year's celebration, my fellow Americans and I extend our very best wishes for the prosperity and well-being of the government and the people of Viet-Nam.

In your struggle against the aggressive forces of communism, the sacrifices that you have willingly made, the courage you have shown, the burdens you have endured have been a source of inspiration to people all over the world.

Let me assure you of our continued assistance in the development of your capabilities

to maintain your freedom and to defeat those who wish to destroy that freedom.

We in America sincerely hope that the year of the Tiger will see peace come again to Viet-Nam. We know that courage and dedication to peace and freedom will prevail—and that prospects for Viet-Nam will brighten during the coming year.

And we look forward confidently with you to the day when your country will again be at peace—united, prosperous, and free.

NOTE: The message was recorded on film and tape for transmission through the Voice of America.

35 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Adoula of the Republic of the Congo. *February 5, 1962*

Gentlemen:

I am sure you all join me in welcoming to this country the guest of honor and the members of his government. I don't think that any head of state of a new country has faced the difficulties and the challenges which have pressed upon him with so much force in the last few months.

The difficulties of our revolutionary experience, and the experiences of every other people coming into independence since the end of World War II, pale in comparison to the problems which the Congo has faced and which press upon the Prime Minister and his supporters.

What makes him especially welcome is the courage and the fortitude, the persistence and the judgment with which he has met these challenges—which would have overwhelmed a lesser people, a lesser country, a lesser man, a lesser government.

Prime Minister, we welcome you here for many reasons. The success of the Congo is tied up, really, we believe, with the success of the United Nations. If you fail, and the Congo should fail, it would be a serious blow

for the United Nations, upon which this country has placed so many hopes for the last 17 years. And because of the intimate association between the United Nations and your government, we are particularly glad that you are here to address them.

We are also glad to welcome you because of your own qualities, because you have set a course for your nation, of being independent, of being African, of being free, of being unaligned, of governing under most adverse conditions, through parliamentary democracy, at a time when some other new nations have been forced by events to move away from democratic processes.

We welcome you because of your own extraordinary record—rising because of your own efforts to a position of preeminence, where you have won the support of people, both within and without your country—and because of your own personal qualities.

We are vitally interested in the success of the Congo because we believe the success of your country is essential to the success of a free Africa. We believe strongly in the unity of free states, able to choose their own

destiny and able to decide their own fate.

So, Prime Minister, we welcome you here. Many years ago, one of our distinguished Presidents—you examined his portrait this morning in President Lincoln's bedroom—Andrew Jackson, said, "Our Federal Union, it must be preserved."

We recognize your strong conviction that the same policy should follow for your own country, that the Congo must be preserved. And as a faithful member of the United Nations, we support—through the United Nations—the implementation of that policy.

So we welcome you here, and I hope that all of you will join me in saluting the people of the Congo, the country, and its distinguished Prime Minister.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House.

In his response (through an interpreter) Prime Minister Adoula admitted that the Congo had gone through a period of grave difficulties. He added that there were people in the Congo, men of good will, who had decided to fight to surmount and overcome those difficulties.

"However, I must say, Mr. President," the Prime Minister continued, "that there is one thing which

you have left out of your speech, and this is that all those efforts of the people of the Congo, all the efforts of the government, of parliament, of the population itself, would not have availed very much if we had been left to ourselves.

"Fortunately for us, we have found in the world people of great understanding, people of great friendship. We have found countries which have helped us, and which have helped us continuously—without ulterior motivation. This help has enabled us to try. . . .

"This help, Mr. President, has come primarily from you, from your government, from your country, through the United Nations organization. This is a help which you have given us by helping the United Nations from its very beginnings—by helping the United Nations to carry out the directives of the Security Council and of the General Assembly's directives, which you have helped to forge. . . .

"So all I can say at this moment, Mr. President, is that in the name of our people first of all, in the name of our government, in the name of our chief of state, we say thank you to the United States.

"We say thank you for a help which has been efficacious, spontaneous, and sincere. We thank your administration for it, Mr. President, because we are quite sure, as I repeat it, that our efforts would have been to no avail if it had not been for the moral and material help which we have received from you. . . ."

36 Remarks at the Presentation to the White House of President Wilson's Typewriter. *February 6, 1962*

LAST FALL I received a letter from Mr. David Lawrence who informed me that President Wilson's typewriter was at the American Red Cross, and because of our interest in attempting to acquire things which were associated with our Presidents he thought that we should—suggested that we might get in touch with the Red Cross and see if they would be willing to turn it back to the White House.

I called General Gruenther and he informed me that the typewriter belonged to the Grayson family. This typewriter had been Government issue. I think it was in the White House during President Wilson's administration, and it was sold, I understand from Professor Link, during the Harding

administration as surplus. And it came into the possession of Admiral Grayson, who had been associated with President Wilson, and has continued to be a valuable possession of the Grayson family.

The Grayson family were very generous enough to agree to have it come to the White House, and we are most indebted to them, because we know what a valuable source of satisfaction it was to them because of the association with their father.

So we are very appreciative to them and we are very glad to have this come to the White House. It was on this typewriter that he typed his Fourteen Points and other messages. We are going to put it on exhibit here in the White House so that the million

people who come every year can see it, because it reminds us of a distinguished President and of the distinguished role he played in the life of our country.

So we thank you all—members of the family—General Gruenther—the Red Cross—Mr. Lawrence, for reminding us of this—Professor Link, for his valuable works on the life of President Wilson. And this is a—my wife has collected everything and this is

my—[*laughter*]*—this is the only thing I have produced, with their help.*

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in his office at the White House. The ceremony was attended by David Lawrence, journalist and publisher; Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, President of The American Red Cross; Arthur S. Link, professor of history at Princeton University and editor of the Wilson papers; and members of the family of the late Adm. Cary T. Grayson, President Wilson's physician.

37 Special Message to the Congress on Education.

February 6, 1962

To the Congress of the United States:

No task before our Nation is more important than expanding and improving the educational opportunities of all our people. The concept that every American deserves the opportunity to attain the highest level of education of which he is capable is not new to this Administration—it is a traditional ideal of democracy. But it is time that we moved toward the fulfillment of this ideal with more vigor and less delay.

For education is both the foundation and the unifying force of our democratic way of life—it is the mainspring of our economic and social progress—it is the highest expression of achievement in our society, ennobling and enriching human life. In short, it is at the same time the most profitable investment society can make and the richest reward it can confer.

Today, more than at any other time in our history, we need to develop our intellectual resources to the fullest. But the facts of the matter are that many thousands of our young people are not educated to their maximum capacity—and they are not, therefore, making the maximum contribution of which they are capable to themselves, their families, their communities and the Nation. Their talents lie wasted—their lives are frequently pale and blighted—and their contribution to our economy and culture are lamentably below the levels of their potential skills,

knowledge and creative ability. Educational failures breed delinquency, despair and dependence. They increase the costs of unemployment and public welfare. They cut our potential national economic output by billions. They deny the benefits of our society to large segments of our people. They undermine our capability as a Nation to discharge world obligations. All this we cannot afford—better schools we can afford.

To be sure, Americans are still the best-educated and best-trained people in the world. But our educational system has failed to keep pace with the problems and needs of our complex technological society. Too many are illiterate or untrained, and thus either unemployed or underemployed. Too many receive an education diminished in quality in thousands of districts which cannot or do not support modern and adequate facilities, well-paid and well-trained teachers, or even a sufficiently long school year.

Too many—an estimated one million a year—leave school before completing high school—the bare minimum for a fair start in modern-day life. Too many high school graduates with talent—numbering in the hundreds of thousands—fail to go on to college; and 40 percent of those who enter college drop out before graduation. And too few, finally, are going on to the graduate studies that modern society requires in in-

creasing number. The total number of graduates receiving doctorate degrees has increased only about one-third in ten years; in 1960 they numbered less than ten thousand, including only three thousand in mathematics, physical sciences and engineering.

An educational system which is inadequate today will be worse tomorrow, unless we act now to improve it. We must provide facilities for fourteen million more elementary, secondary school and college students by 1970, an increase of 30 percent. College enrollments alone will nearly double, requiring approximately twice as many facilities to serve nearly 7 million students by 1970. We must find the means of financing a 75 percent increase in the total cost of education—another \$20 billion a year for expansion and improvement—particularly in facilities and instruction which must be of the highest quality if our nation is to achieve its highest goals.

THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The control and operation of education in America must remain the responsibility of State and local governments and private institutions. This tradition assures our educational system of the freedom, the diversity and the vitality necessary to serve our free society fully. But the Congress has long recognized the responsibility of the nation as a whole—that additional resources, meaningful encouragement and vigorous leadership must be added to the total effort by the Federal Government if we are to meet the task before us. For education in this country is the right—the necessity—and the responsibility—of all. Its advancement is essential to national objectives and dependent on the greater financial resources available at the national level.

Let us put to rest the unfounded fears that "Federal money means Federal control." From The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, originally conceived by Thomas Jefferson, through the Morrill Act of 1862, establishing

the still-important and still-independent Land-Grant College system, to the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the Congress has repeatedly recognized its responsibility to strengthen our educational system without weakening local responsibility. Since the end of the Korean War, Federal funds for constructing and operating schools in districts affected by Federal installations have gone directly to over 5,500 districts without any sign or complaint of interference or dictation from Washington. In the last decade, over \$5 billion of Federal funds have been channeled to aid higher education without in any way undermining local administration.

While the coordination of existing Federal programs must be improved, we cannot meanwhile defer action on meeting our current pressing needs. Every year of further delay means a further loss of the opportunity for quality instruction to students who will never get that opportunity back. I therefore renew my urgent request of last year to the Congress for early action on those measures necessary to help this nation achieve the twin goals of education: a new standard of educational excellence—and the availability of such excellence to all who are willing and able to pursue it.

I. ASSISTANCE TO ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Elementary and secondary schools are the foundation of our educational system. There is little value in our efforts to broaden and improve our higher education, or increase our supply of such skills as science and engineering, without a greater effort for excellence at this basic level of education. With our mobile population and demanding needs, this is not a matter of local or State action alone—this is a national concern.

Since my Message on Education of last year, our crucial needs at this level have intensified and our deficiencies have grown more critical. We cannot afford to lose an-

other year in mounting a national effort to eliminate the shortage of classrooms, to make teachers' salaries competitive, and to lift the quality of instruction.

Classrooms

To meet current needs and accommodate increasing enrollments—increasing by nearly one million elementary and secondary pupils a year in the 1960's—and to provide every child with the opportunity to receive a full-day education in an adequate classroom, a total of 600,000 classrooms must be constructed during this decade. The States report an immediate shortage today of more than 127,000 classrooms and a rate of construction which, combined with heavily increasing enrollments, is not likely to fill their needs for ten years. Already over half a million pupils are in curtailed or half-day sessions. Unless the present rate of construction is accelerated and Federal resources made available to supplement state and local resources that are already strained in many areas few families and communities in the Nation will be free from the ill effects of overcrowded or inadequate facilities in our public schools.

Teachers' Salaries

Teachers' salaries, though improving, are still not high enough to attract and retain in this demanding profession all the capable teachers we need. We entrust to our teachers our most valuable possession—our children—for a very large share of their waking hours during the most formative years of their life. We make certain that those to whom we entrust our financial assets are individuals of the highest competence and character—we dare not do less for the trustees of our children's minds.

Yet in no other sector of our national economy do we find such a glaring discrepancy between the importance of one's work to society and the financial reward society offers. Can any able and industrious student, unless unusually motivated, be expected to elect a career that pays more poorly

than almost any other craft, trade, or profession? Until this situation can be dramatically improved—unless the States and localities can be assisted and stimulated in bringing about salary levels which will make the teaching profession competitive with other professions which require the same length of training and ability—we cannot hope to succeed in our efforts to improve the quality of our children's instruction and to meet the need for more teachers.

These are problems of national proportion. Last year I sent to the Congress a proposal to meet the urgent needs of the Nation's elementary and secondary schools. A bill (S. 1021) embodying this proposal passed the Senate last year; and similar legislation (H.R. 7300) was favorably reported to the House by its Committee on Education and Labor. It offered the minimum amount required by our needs and—in terms of across-the-board aid—the maximum scope permitted by our Constitution. It is imperative that such a proposal carrying out these objectives be enacted this session. I again urge the Congress to enact legislation providing Federal aid for public elementary and secondary classroom construction and teachers' salaries.

As noted earlier, Federal aid for construction and operation of many public schools has been provided since 1950 to those local school districts in which enrollments are affected by Federal installations. Such burdens which may remain from the impact of Federal activities on local school districts will be eased by my proposal for assistance to *all* school districts for construction and teachers' salaries, thus permitting modification and continuation of this special assistance program as proposed in last year's bill.

A fundamental overhauling and modernization of our traditional vocational education programs is also increasingly needed. Pursuant to my Message on Education last February, a panel of consultants to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is studying national needs in this area. They have been asked to develop recommenda-

tions by the close of this year for improving and redirecting the Federal Government's role in this program.

Improvement of Educational Quality

Strengthening financial support for education by general Federal aid will not, however, be sufficient. Specific measures directed at selected problems are also needed to improve the quality of education. And the key to educational quality is the teaching profession. About one out of every 5 of the nearly 1,600,000 teachers in our elementary and secondary schools fails to meet full certification standards for teaching or has not completed four years of college work. Our immediate concern should be to afford them every possible opportunity to improve their professional skills and their command of the subjects they teach.

In all of the principal areas of academic instruction—English, mathematics, physical and biological sciences, foreign languages, history, geography, and the social sciences—significant advances are being made, both in pushing back the frontiers of knowledge and in the methods of transmitting that knowledge. To keep our teachers up-to-date on such advances, special institutes are offered in some of these areas by many colleges and universities, financed in part by the National Science Foundation and the Office of Education. Many elementary and secondary school teachers would profit from a full year of full-time study in their subject-matter fields. Very few can afford to do so. Yet the benefits of such a year could be shared by outstanding teachers with others in their schools and school systems as well as with countless students. We should begin to make such opportunities available to the elementary and secondary school teachers of this country and thereby accord to this profession the support, prestige and recognition it deserves.

Another need is for higher standards of teacher education, course content and instructional methods. The colleges and universities that train our teachers need finan-

cial help to examine and further strengthen their programs. Increased research and demonstration efforts must be directed toward improving the learning and teaching of subject-matter and developing new and improved learning aids. Excellent but limited work in educational research and development has been undertaken by projects supported by the National Science Foundation, the Office of Education, and private groups. This must be increased—introducing and demonstrating to far more schools than at present up-to-date educational methods using the newest instructional materials and equipment, and providing the most effective in-service training and staff utilization.

Finally, in many urban as well as rural areas of the country, our school systems are confronted with unusually severe educational problems which require the development of new approaches—the problems of gifted children, deprived children, children with language problems, and children with problems that contribute to the high drop-out rate, to name but a few.

To help meet all of these needs for better educational quality and development, and to provide a proper Federal role of assistance and leadership, I recommend that the Congress enact a program designed to help improve the excellence of American education by authorizing:

(1) The award each year of up to 2,500 scholarships to outstanding elementary and secondary school teachers for a year of full-time study;

(2) The establishment of institutes at colleges and universities for elementary and secondary school teachers of those subjects in which improved instruction is needed;

(3) Grants to institutions of higher education to pay part of the cost of special projects designed to strengthen teacher preparation programs through better curricula and teaching methods;

(4) Amendment of the Cooperative Research Act to permit support of extensive, multi-purpose educational research, develop-

ment, demonstration, and evaluation projects; and

(5) Grants for local public school systems to conduct demonstration or experimental projects of limited duration to improve the quality of instruction or meet special educational problems in elementary and secondary schools.

II. ASSISTANCE TO HIGHER EDUCATION

In the last ten days, both Houses of Congress have recognized the importance of higher education to the fulfillment of our national and international responsibilities. Increasing student enrollments in this decade will place a still greater burden on our institutions of higher education than that imposed on our elementary and secondary schools where the cost of education per student is only a fraction as much. Between 1960 and 1970 it is expected that college enrollments will double, and that our total annual operating expenditures for expanding and improving higher education must increase two and one-half times or by nearly \$10 billion.

In order to accommodate this increase in enrollments, the Office of Education estimates that nearly \$22 billion of college facilities will have to be built during the 1960's—three times the construction achieved in the last ten years. The extension of the college housing loan program—with a \$1.5 billion loan authorization for five years, enacted as part of the Housing Act of 1961—assures Federal support for our colleges' urgent residential needs. I am hopeful that the Congress will this month complete its action on legislation to assist in the building of the even more important and urgently needed academic facilities.

But I want to take this opportunity to stress that buildings alone are not enough. In our democracy every young person should have an equal opportunity to obtain a higher education, regardless of his station in life or financial means. Yet more than 400,000 high school seniors who graduated

in the upper half of their classes last June failed to enter college this fall. In this group were 200,000 who ranked in the upper 30 percent of their class, of whom $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ failed to go on to college principally because of a lack of finances. Others lack the necessary guidance, incentive or the opportunity to attend the college of their choice. But whatever the reason, each of these 400,000 students represents an irreplaceable loss to the nation.

Student loans have been helpful to many. But they offer neither incentive nor assistance to those students who, by reason of family or other obligations, are unable or unwilling to go deeper into debt. The average cost of higher education today—up nearly 90 percent since 1950 and still rising—is in excess of \$1,750 per year per student, or \$7,000 for a four year course. Industrious students can earn a part of this—they or their families can borrow a part of it—but one-half of all American families had incomes below \$5,600 in 1960—and they cannot be expected to borrow for example, \$4,000 for each talented son or daughter that deserves to go to college. Federal scholarships providing up to \$1,000 a year can fill part of this gap. It is, moreover, only prudent economic and social policy for the public to share part of the costs of the long period of higher education for those whose development is essential to our national economic and social well-being. All of us share in the benefits—all should share in the costs.

I recommend that the full five year Assistance to Higher Education proposal before the Congress, including scholarships for more than 200,000 talented and needy students and cost of education payments to their colleges, be enacted without delay.

III. SPECIAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

1. *Medical and Dental Education*

The health needs of our Nation require a sharp expansion of medical and dental edu-

cation in the United States. We do not have an adequate supply of physicians and dentists today—we are in fact importing many from abroad where they are urgently needed—and the shortage is growing more acute, as the demand for medical services mounts and our population grows. Even to maintain the present ratio of physicians and dentists to population we must graduate 50 percent more physicians and 90 percent more dentists per year by 1970, requiring not only the expansion of existing schools but the construction of at least 20 new medical schools and 20 new dental schools.

But here again more buildings are not enough. It is an unfortunate and disturbing fact that the high costs of the prolonged education necessary to enter these professions deprives many highly competent young people of an opportunity to serve in these capacities. Over 40 percent of all medical students now come from the 12 percent of our families with incomes of \$10,000 or more a year, while only 14 percent of the students come from the 50 percent of the Nation's families with incomes under \$5,000. This is unfair and unreasonable. A student's ability—not his parents' income—should determine whether he has the opportunity to enter medicine or dentistry.

I recommend that Congress enact the Health Professions Educational Assistance Act which I proposed last year to (a) authorize a ten-year program of matching grants for the construction of new medical and dental schools and (b) provide four-year scholarships and cost-of-education grants for one-fourth of the entering students in each medical and dental school in the United States.

2. *Scientists and Engineers*

Our economic, scientific and military strength increasingly requires that we have sufficient numbers of scientists and engineers to cope with the fast-changing needs of our time—and the agency with general responsibility for increasing this supply to-

day is the National Science Foundation. At the elementary and secondary school level, I have recommended in the 1963 Budget an expansion of the Science Foundation program to develop new instructional materials and laboratory apparatus for use in a larger number of secondary schools and to include additional subjects and age groups; an expansion of the experimental summer program permitting gifted high school students to work with university research scientists; and an expansion in the number of National Science Foundation supported institutes offering special training in science and mathematics for high school teachers throughout the country. The budget increase requested for this latter program would permit approximately 36,000 high school teachers, representing about 30 percent of the secondary school teachers of science and mathematics in this country, to participate in the program.

At the higher education level, I am recommending similar budget increases for institute programs for college teachers; improvement in the content of college science, mathematics and engineering courses; funds for laboratory demonstration apparatus; student research programs; additional top level graduate fellowships in science, mathematics and engineering; and \$61.5 million in grants to our colleges and universities for basic research facilities.

3. *Reduction of Adult Illiteracy*

Adult education must be pursued aggressively. Over eight million American citizens aged 25 or above have attended school for less than five years, and more than a third of these completely lack the ability to read and write. The economic result of this lack of schooling is often chronic unemployment, dependency or delinquency, with all the consequences this entails for these individuals, their families, their communities and the Nation. The twin tragedies of illiteracy and dependency are often passed on from generation to generation.

There is no need for this. Many na-

tions—including our own—have shown that this problem can be attacked and virtually wiped out. Unfortunately, our State school systems—overburdened in recent years by the increasing demands of growing populations and the increasing handicaps of insufficient revenues—have been unable to give adequate attention to this problem. I recommend the authorization of a five-year program of grants to institutions of higher learning and to the States, to be coordinated in the development of programs which will offer every adult who is willing and able the opportunity to become literate.

4. *Education of Migrant Workers*

The neglected educational needs of America's one million migrant agricultural workers and their families constitute one of the gravest reproaches to our Nation. The interstate and seasonal movement of migrants imposes severe burdens on those school districts which have the responsibility for providing education to those who live there temporarily. I recommend authorization of a five year Federal-State program to aid States and school districts in improving the educational opportunities of migrant workers and their children.

5. *Educational Television*

The use of television for educational purposes—particularly for adult education—offers great potentialities. The Federal Government has sought to further this through the reservation of 270 television channels for education by the Federal Communications Commission and through the provision of research and advisory services by the Office of Education. Unfortunately, the rate of construction of new broadcasting facilities has been discouraging. Only 80 educational TV channels have been assigned in the last decade. It is apparent that further Federal stimulus and leadership are essential if the vast educational potential of this medium is to be realized. Last year an educational television bill passed the Senate,

and a similar proposal was favorably reported to the House. I urge the Congress to take prompt and final action to provide matching financial grants to the states to aid in the construction of state or other non-profit educational television stations.

6. *Aid to Handicapped Children*

Another long-standing national concern has been the provision of specially trained teachers to meet the educational needs of children afflicted with physical and mental disabilities. The existing program providing Federal assistance to higher education institutions and to State education agencies for training teachers and supervisory personnel for mentally retarded children was supplemented last year to provide temporarily for training teachers of the deaf. I recommend broadening the basic program to include assistance for the special training needed to help all our children afflicted with the entire range of physical and mental handicaps.

7. *Federal Aid to the Arts*

Our Nation has a rich and diverse cultural heritage. We are justly proud of the vitality, the creativity and the variety of the contemporary contributions our citizens can offer to the world of the arts. If we are to be among the leaders of the world in every sense of the word this sector of our national life cannot be neglected or treated with indifference. Yet, almost alone among the governments of the world, our government has displayed little interest in fostering cultural development. Just as the Federal Government has not, should not, and will not undertake to control the subject matter taught in local schools, so its efforts should be confined to broad encouragement of the arts. While this area is too new for hasty action, the proper contributions that should and can be made to the advancement of the arts by the Federal Government—many of them outlined by the Secretary of Labor in his decision settling the Metropolitan Opera labor

dispute—deserve thorough and sympathetic consideration. A bill (H.R. 4172) already reported out to the House would make this possible and I urge approval of such a measure establishing a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts to undertake these studies.

IV. CONCLUSION

The problems to which these proposals are addressed would require solution whether or not we were confronted with a massive threat to freedom. The existence of that threat lends urgency to their solution—to the accomplishment of those objectives which, in any case, would be necessary for the realization of our highest hopes and those of our children. "If a nation," wrote

Thomas Jefferson in 1816, "expects to be ignorant *and* free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be." That statement is even truer today than it was 146 years ago.

The education of our people is a national investment. It yields tangible returns in economic growth, an improved citizenry and higher standards of living. But even more importantly, free men and women value education as a personal experience and opportunity—as a basic benefit of a free and democratic civilization. It is our responsibility to do whatever needs to be done to make this opportunity available to all and to make it of the highest possible quality.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

38 Remarks at Ceremony on the Signing of Equal Opportunity Agreements by Leading Employers. *February 7, 1962*

I WANT to express my thanks to all of you for taking part in this morning's effort, and particularly to express, I think, the country's great appreciation to the Vice President and the Secretary of Labor.

Beginning with the effort which was made by the Lockheed Company last May,¹ which in the last 6 months has made an intensive national company drive to improve the employment opportunities for members of minority groups at all levels, not only in percentage of those who might be at the manual labor capacity, but professional, supervisory, and all the rest, it has done a most impressive job. And since that effort, other companies have joined.

We really feel that this can be a tremendous factor in building our national strength. It is a voluntary effort by all of you. You are associating yourselves and your companies, by your own choice, with a tremendous cause—which means that everyone should have the right to develop his talents freely without regard to any other factor. That is

what all of us believe in. As leaders of the private enterprise system, you believe in freedom of choice and freedom of opportunity. And by this partnership, really, between yourselves and the National Government and the American people, I think we have a chance, through freedom, to really build a much stronger and more viable economy and society.

So I express my thanks to you all. This is really a national service, and I am hopeful that all of you, as the presidents of these companies, will follow the progress made month by month and see whether, at the end of the 6-month period—9 months or a year—we can really show in every classification substantial improvement.

I cannot imagine anything more helpful to the country and to your companies than an indication that through this freedom of choice you are able to make this great progress, and it will be an important blow in a whole variety of ways for progress in our private enterprise system and in the things in which we believe.

So I want to thank you all and I hope that

¹ See 1961 volume, this series, p. 396.

this will be a beginning and in a few months will really be able to show substantial improvement.

This is a matter which must also concern us in the Government. In some cases private companies have had better employment records in this regard than the National Government. So that this is a matter which we must concern ourselves with here, in every department and in every agency, to make sure that we all are making our contribution. I think together we can do the job.

I want to express my thanks to you once more, and I think the thanks of everyone in this country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House at a ceremony attended by representatives of 31 major defense contractors.

Prior to his remarks Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, spoke briefly commending the employers for their leadership in the equal employment opportunity field. He noted that with the signing of the agreements 52 "Plans for Progress" would then be in effect, involving plants employing more than 3½ million people.

At the conclusion of the President's remarks, Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, Vice Chairman of the Committee, reviewed the progress achieved in combating discriminatory employment practices.

The remarks of the Vice President and of Secretary Goldberg were also released.

39 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting a Communications Satellite Bill.

February 7, 1962

Dear Mr. ———:

This nation's space program has introduced a new dimension to progress. An increasing flow of peaceful benefits, both national and international, is materializing from our efforts to probe this new frontier. One of the most practical examples of our growing space competence is in the field of communications. Our intensive research and development in the field of communications satellites have brought us to the point where we are now certain of the technical feasibility of transmitting messages to any part of the world by directing them to satellites for relay. This will provide an alternative means to existing transoceanic cable and microwave radio systems, and, even more importantly, will permit ready communication among distant corners of the world. The proposed legislation which I am transmitting with this letter will enable us to translate this communications competence into actual performance. It is, therefore, a measure of immense long-range importance.

This bill provides for the establishment, ownership, operation, and regulation of a

commercial communications satellite system in accordance with the principles set forth in my statement of guidelines issued last July 24. In my judgment, a new Communications Satellite Act is required to provide an appropriate mechanism for dealing effectively with this subject—a subject which, by nature, is essentially private enterprise in character but of vital importance to both our national and international interests and policies.

Among the policy objectives pursued in the preparation of this measure have been the assurance of global coverage; cooperation with other countries; expeditious development of an operational system; the provision of service to economically less developed countries as well as industrialized countries; efficient and economical use of the frequency spectrum; nondiscriminatory access to the system by authorized users; maximum competition in the acquisition of equipment and services utilized by the system; and the strengthening of competition in the communications industry.

Within this policy framework, particular

attention has been given to the question of the ownership of the entity that will operate this system. Throughout our history this country's national communication systems have been privately owned and operated, subject to governmental regulation of rates and service. In the case of the communications satellite operation, our studies have convinced us that the national objectives outlined above can best be achieved in the framework of a privately owned corporation, properly chartered by the Congress. The attached bill authorizes the establishment of such a corporation, financed through the sale of stock to the public.

But a further question presented was whether the ownership should be limited to American companies currently operating in the international communications field, or be open to the public at large. The only argument advanced for the narrowly based ownership which I found to have some merit was the contention that an investment in this corporation could in this way be treated as the acquisition of additional facilities, and thus as part of the existing rate base, of those participating companies already in the business, thereby permitting the rate of return to be spread over a very broad base and resulting in lower service fees. Otherwise, it was reasoned, the expected unprofitable early years of the new corporation could well compel unduly high charges for the satellite services to provide investors a reasonable return.

While this is an important consideration, it must also be realized that such a system is by nature a government-created monopoly—and that we cannot in good conscience limit its ownership to a few existing companies and exclude automatically all other potential investors who have equal rights to own a part of this Federally-developed enterprise. To meet all of these objectives, the following arrangement was devised and incorporated in the draft bill: The common stock of the corporation will be in two classes. Holders of Class A stock, open to the public, will have voting rights and will earn dividends.

Class B stock, which may be purchased only by approved communication carriers, will not confer voting rights nor will it pay dividends; the amount of investment, however, will be included in the individual companies' rate base for other international communications services.

No investor would be permitted to own more than 15 percent of the total amount (\$1 billion) of the authorized Class A stock nor more than 25 percent of the Class A stock outstanding at any particular time, thereby preventing domination of the corporation by a single stockholder. There is, however, no limitation on the amount of Class B stock or securities which may be owned by any one investor. Further protection against undue domination by any one stockholder is the limitation that any individual stockholder or trustee may vote for only two out of the nine to thirteen members of the corporation's board of directors.

Purposes and powers of the new corporation would include: furnishing for hire channels of communication to authorized users, including the United States Government; acquiring and owning satellites, ground terminals, and other facilities necessary for the system's operation, management, and interconnection with terrestrial communications systems; conducting or contracting for research and development; and purchasing satellite launching and related services from the U.S. Government.

Adequate authority and responsibility is reserved for the President to ensure that the policies and objectives of the Act are carried out effectively. The draft legislation does not interfere with or limit the existing prerogatives of any government agency; but because of the existing overlapping of responsibilities and interests, it seeks to define and identify these responsibilities and expressly assign them in an orderly fashion. In coordinating the efforts of the various departments and agencies, I expect to rely heavily on the Director of Telecommunications Management, a new post to be established in the Office of Emergency Planning

to assist in planning for and managing the telecommunications resources of the United States.¹ In addition, I will look to the National Aeronautics and Space Council for assistance in coordinating this new communications satellite program with other aspects of our space efforts.

It is my firm conviction that the enactment of this legislation and the actual operation of such a system would provide a dramatic demonstration of our leadership in this area of space activity, our intention to share the benefits of space for peaceful use, and the ability of this nation and its economic and political system to keep pace with a changing

and complex world. The direct benefits—economic, educational, and political—of this improved world-wide communication will be invaluable. For these reasons I urge the Congress to give prompt and favorable attention to the enclosed bill.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

For the President's statement upon signing the Communications Satellite Act of 1962, see Item 355.

40 The President's News Conference of *February 7, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. I have two announcements to make.

[1.] In the next days and weeks, there will be a good deal said and written about two American policies, one in the field of disarmament, and the other in the field of preparations which have already been announced, to be in a position to test in the atmosphere if our national security indicates that it's desirable.

There is no inconsistency here in my judgment, because I think that we would be deeply irresponsible not to follow both courses. We are making necessary preparations for testing because of the wholly new situation created by the secretly prepared and massive series of 40 to 50 tests conducted by the Soviet Union last fall while active efforts for a test ban agreement were still going forward.

This Soviet action took place in the face of a whole series of actions and efforts on our side. In the last year we have made at least a dozen new moves in a search for an agreement, and we have restated again and again our willingness to sign an effective treaty.

We stated it before, during, and after the Soviet tests. The Soviet tests not only ended the moratorium; they presented us with grave questions as to the long range safety of avoiding all atmospheric tests while the U.S.S.R. remains able to prepare in secret, and then test at will.

We are amply strong for today and tomorrow, but we must consider the future, too. These questions are still being reviewed. And there will be no testing that is not clearly necessary, but I have ordered preparations because I shall not hesitate to order the tests themselves if it is decided that they are necessary to maintain the effective deterrent strength of the United States.

Any other course would imply unilateral disarmament, and would serve no true course of peace. But at the same time, and with equal energy, we shall go on seeking a path towards a genuine and controlled disarmament. What this means for atmospheric testing is methods of inspection and control which could protect us against a repetition of prolonged secret preparations for a sudden series of major tests. If and when effective agreements can be reached, no nation will be more ready than ours to see all testing brought under control, and nuclear weapons as well. The fact that we

¹ The position of Director of Telecommunications Management was established February 16, 1962, by Executive Order 10995 (27 F.R. 1519).

must prudently meet our defense needs in the meantime is only one more reason for working towards disarmament. So I repeat that these two courses are consistent with each other. We must follow both at once. It would be a great error to suppose that either of them makes the other wrong or unnecessary.

I wholly disagree with those who would put all their faith in an arms race and abandon their efforts for disarmament. But I equally disagree with those who would allow us neglect of our defensive needs in the absence of effective agreements for controlled disarmament.

[2.] Secondly, I want to take this opportunity to express my pleasure at the Senate's action yesterday, retaining in the college aid bill the provision for 212,000 college scholarships. It is urgent that this provision be retained in the conference and not dropped out or compromised by another student loan program. A loan of \$4,000 or \$5,600 would enable many bright but needy students to receive 4 years of college, working his way for the balance. But one-half of all American families earn less than \$5,600 a year, and they simply cannot take on that kind of debt. Colleges which are caught in financial squeezes themselves can afford to offer scholarships to only about 10 percent of their students. All American parents want their children to have an opportunity to go to college, but only a few are able to put aside the \$7,000 which the average 4-year course now requires. The cost has nearly doubled since 1950 and, as I said in my message, this Nation as a result loses each year the talents of hundreds and thousands of our most talented high school graduates who cannot afford to postpone earning a living for 4 more years. This is a real national and individual loss, and I hope the Congress will keep the scholarships in the bill.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with your public school bill, two points: As I understand it, last year's piece of legislation is, for all intents and purposes, dead in the Rules Committee, and Mr. Powell has

said he won't move unless urgently requested by you to do so. And now today, Cardinal Spellman said passage would bring an end to the parochial school system. Should your message be interpreted as that urging that Mr. Powell has talked about, and can the religious question be beaten?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, when the Rules Committee, by a vote of eight to seven, tabled the bill last year, the procedures would now require a two-thirds vote of the Rules Committee to send it to the floor. I wish we could get a two-thirds vote. If we cannot, then another bill would have to come out of the House Education and Labor Committee, and I am hopeful that members of the Labor Committee—Education Committee—who did send the previous bill to the Rules Committee in the hope it would go to the floor—I'm hopeful that they will take action again. And, because I think it is such an urgent matter, I will do everything I can to have the Congress take favorable action on this subject this year.

Now, in regard to the second part of the question, I took the oath to defend the Constitution. The position which I've taken on this matter I've taken after legal advice from the Attorney General, and from the counsel at the Department of HEW.

It is a—I said the maximum which I thought we could carry on under the United States Constitution, and as I take my oath to defend it, that would be my position, unless the Supreme Court decision should change the previous interpretation which had been made of that constitutional provision. So I am going to continue to take the position I now take, unless—based on constitutional grounds—unless there is a new judgment by the Supreme Court.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, there seems to be some doubt, at least on the local level and in the region where this is going on, as to the right of the American people and the rest of the world to know the extent of the battle in South Viet-Nam. Could you tell us, sir, what the situation there is? How deeply are we involved in what seems to be

a growing war and what are the rights of the people to know what our forces are doing?

THE PRESIDENT. There is a war going on in South Viet-Nam. I think that last week there were over 500 killings, assassinations, bombings. The casualties are high. It's a—I said last week—a subterranean war, guerrilla war of increasing ferocity. The United States, since the end of the Geneva accord setting up the South Vietnamese Government as an independent government, has been assisting Viet-Nam economically to maintain its independence and viability, and also had sent training groups out there, which have been expanded in recent weeks as the attacks on the government and the people of South Viet-Nam have increased.

We are out there on training and on transportation, and we are assisting in every way we properly can, the people of South Viet-Nam who with the greatest courage and under danger are attempting to maintain their freedom.

Now, this is an area where there is a good deal of danger and it's a matter of information. We don't want to have information which is of assistance to the enemy—and it's a matter which I think will have to be worked out with the Government of Viet-Nam, which bears the primary responsibility.

[5.] Q. My question concerns the impasse which has arisen between Secretary McNamara and the Senate subcommittee inquiring into the alleged muzzling of the military at the Pentagon. Do you support the Secretary, sir, in his refusal to identify the reviewers who have made specific changes in speeches, and have you any suggestion on how the impasse may be resolved?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I'd like to first review exactly what the Secretary of Defense has made available to the committee. He has made available every speech that was given; he has made available all the changes, in each speech, which was suggested by the 14 or 15 reviewers, two-thirds of whom are military officers, most of whom have had distinguished military records; he has made available the names of all of the reviewers.

He has made—he has told the committee that he will make all of the reviewers available.

He has also informed the committee that he will send an explanation for every change and the arguments for it. What he has not done, and what he, in my opinion, should not do, is attempt to subject each of these men to a long interrogation as to, personally, the reasons for which they might have taken on this word or that word. The responsibility is Secretary McNamara's and he is going to accept that responsibility and, in my opinion, that is the only way that a department can function. If he is going to get honest and loyal support from those who work for him in carrying out his policies, then Secretary McNamara must accept the responsibility, and he does accept it.

And I think he has been extremely cooperative with the committee, and I don't think that Mr. McNamara or I, however, can agree to a harassment of individuals who are only carrying out the policies dictated by their superiors. And I think that Mr. McNamara has cooperated very fully and will continue to do so in the areas which I've named.

Q. Well, sir, would you recommend that he invoke Executive privilege, if necessary?

THE PRESIDENT. If necessary, definitely.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, your statement that a wholly new situation has been created by the Soviet nuclear tests suggests, or might be interpreted to mean that they have made some breakthrough, perhaps even overtaken us in nuclear capability. Can you tell us what your estimate of our strength versus theirs is in the light of their tests?

THE PRESIDENT. My statement today indicates our feeling about our relative position today and tomorrow, but this is a matter, of course, which is of continuing concern. These tests were very intensive. They have been in preparation for many months. And we—we could see a period go by possibly of another year or year and a half—secret preparations being made—and, suddenly, a new series of tests. And then extrapolations

from those tests. And particularly when matters involving, for example, the anti-missile missile may be involved, you have to consider very carefully what the situation is going to be not today, not next year, but 3 years or 4 years from now. The United States went far along the road in an attempt to get an agreement, not only the previous administration, but this administration. As I've said before, it was obvious that these preparations had been going on for many months. Our preparations, which I have announced before, have taken many months since the Soviet tests. This is a long, drawn-out matter. And we cannot permit these tests to go on year after year, and at the same time expect that the security of the Western World is going to be protected. So I would say that my statement describes what I think is our present position, what our future risks are, and before any definite action is taken, any final decision is made, I will comment in detail to the American people for—the reasons for whatever decision we make.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, in the circumstances which you have now described and with the preparations which you have ordered presumably going forward, have we now reached agreement with the British on the use of Christmas Island?

THE PRESIDENT. A statement on that will be forthcoming very shortly, in the next 24 hours or 48 hours.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, Governor Rockefeller had some harsh things to say about you last Thursday. It was in connection with your urban affairs proposal. I think he accused you of political fakery. I'm sure you know what he said. Would you want to comment on it?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I was interested in the statement because, as you know, in 1956 and 1957, Governor Rockefeller recommended the exact proposal that we recommended. The only difference, and I was recently examining his recommendations to President Eisenhower, was that he recommended that civil defense be included, but as we have placed civil defense under the

military, that really is the only significant change. So he must have, for one reason or another, changed his point of view on it.

The second reason he criticized me was because I, in response to a question, said Mr. Weaver was going to be appointed. Now, obviously, the Governor has forgotten that on March 12, 1953, when President Eisenhower sent up the proposal for the reorganization of the establishment of the Department of HEW, on the 13th it came from the White House that he was going to appoint Mrs. Hobby to be the Secretary. And the only reason that I was astonished that the Governor then forgot it was that he then became her deputy. [Laughter] And—so that it seems to me that the situation is not altogether dissimilar. However, I did read that—Mr. Reston's column in the Times, where Mr. Fulton Lewis had said that no one could get to the right of Barry Goldwater, but now I'm not so sure. [Laughter]

[9.] Q. Mr. President, in the event the seemingly impossible task of a complete and checked to 100 percent disarmament could be arranged with the Soviets, some have speculated this would provide a very severe blow to our economy. Would you comment on that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the disarmament agency has made a study of that, and talked about some of the problems that might be forthcoming economically. But of course, we could never have a change comparable to the change we had in '45 when we went from a tremendously high expenditure, at a time when our gross national product was far less than it is today, into a terribly sharp drive, and had 3 very, very prosperous years of full employment, so that that would be the last reason, I think, that we would benefit. We can do so many more useful things from a social point of view with—if we had the funds that were available, so I don't think that's any argument against disarmament. The problem, of course, is to make sure our security is protected and that the inspection systems be adequate, and that's what's hung us up in the past.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, could I ask you to amplify your statement on nuclear tests. Did you mean to suggest that any decision taken by this Government to resume atmospheric tests will be contingent upon further or future Soviet tests?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it will be contingent upon our judgment as to the effects on our security of this series of tests, and the lessons and extrapolations that could be taken from them and what effect this might have on our security at a later date.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, last week in transmitting the report of the Disarmament and Arms Control Agency to Congress, you spoke not only of the hope but the expectation that significant progress toward workable disarmament would be made at Geneva. In the light of recent events, could you clarify this "expectation" part of it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I put more stress on our hope and our earnest desire and our feeling that this arms race is—in the long run really doesn't provide really very great security for the human race or for all of those who are involved in it. And it's our hope, and I'm sure that we're going to make a major effort at this disarmament conference to see if we can call a halt, because nuclear weapons are spreading to other countries, and if we try to look at what the world is going to look like in 1970 or 1975, with all of the dangers that we will have with weapons of this size in the hands of a good many nations, we're going to make a major effort. I was merely attempting to indicate why I did not feel that our situation in these two areas was necessarily paradoxical.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, a businessman and politician named George Romney has accused your administration of not doing enough for business and your party of being dominated by labor unions. Would you take this opportunity to reply to those charges?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think that I'll just let Mr. Romney—I saw the program and the statement. I think that he said that neither this administration nor the previous one had

done enough for business, and I think that we'll have to wait and see what—as Mr. Romney's positions evolve I think there may be a time for an appropriate comment—but I think it's still too early. [Laughter]

[13.] Q. Mr. President, the Democratic organization has been criticized as unfairly attaching the John Birch Society to the Republican Party, sort of guilt by association. Do you believe that such far right radical groups properly belong in the Republican Party? [Laughter] And since General Walker is running as a Democrat in Texas, do you believe he properly belongs in the Democratic Party?

THE PRESIDENT. That question must have taken some—work. I will say that President Eisenhower has been as vigorous in his denunciations of the John Birch Society as I have. I think that it certainly has no place in the Republican Party of President Eisenhower, and I'm sure that among the responsible heads of the Republican Party, it has no place in their party. I quite agree, it is totally alien, I think, to both parties.

Now, in regard to the second question, everybody is free to run, and the people will decide, in either party.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, I understand that our Congo airlift has now surpassed the Berlin airlift of 1948. Could you tell me just what these supplies consist of and are we footing the bill entirely, or are the other U.N. nations also helping?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the cost of the airlift is being paid for by the United Nations, to which we contribute. One of the ways in which we had hoped to lessen our contribution, as I have said, or to make our contribution more effective, rather, was through the bond issue. But they've been carrying—since the United Nations has assumed a responsibility in the Congo, we have been carrying supplies into that area for many months. And in order to fulfill the purposes of the United Nations which I think extremely important to the Congo, and I think that the support we've given to the operations in the Congo in my opinion

should be a source of satisfaction to us all.

Q. Mr. President, that U.N. bond issue proposal is meeting sharp criticism, at least vocally, on the Hill, one argument against it being that we are putting in more than our share, and another one that the interest rates are—there's a discrepancy. Mr. Stevenson, as you know, however, this morning, testified that it would be worth it if we just even had to give the \$100 million to the U.N. Will you comment on the subject with your own thoughts?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we have put a good many millions of dollars into support of the U.N., and we've done—we've put a lot of money in the support of a lot of operations which are designed to permit people to be free. I indicated we put a lot of money over the last 8 years into Laos. We have contributed a good deal in the effort in Viet-Nam. So that these efforts have all required expenditures of money. But we do it because we feel this is the only way that these countries can remain free. I think this bond issue represents a very sound investment for us. I am hopeful that other countries will match our effort.

The United States is carrying a heavy load, but not only in the United Nations; it's carrying a heavy load around the world. The United States is making a major effort, for example, in Berlin and Viet-Nam and in Latin America. The burdens that we carry are greater than any other free country. But I must say that if we did not carry them, in my opinion, the cause of freedom would collapse in a whole variety of ways. And, I'm hopeful as Western Europe is strengthened and the Common Market strengthened, that they will assume—not turn in, but rather out, and use the increased economic power of Western Europe to assist in maintaining the independence of these areas all around the globe, because we have been strained in our efforts to do so, although I think we ought to continue to do so, because the alternative will be a steady expansion of Communist power in all those areas, which

I think would be far more expensive in the long run.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, you have just concluded talks with the Secretary General of NATO, Mr. Stikker, and also talks with General Norstad, the Supreme Commander of NATO. Could you tell us, sir, if and how far advanced are the plans to convert NATO into an independent nuclear power?

THE PRESIDENT. I have no comment at this time. This is a matter, of course, coming from the proposal which was made by Secretary Herter and in which I stated again at Ottawa and which is a matter now of concern to the NATO Council. When the matter has proceeded to the point when decisions might be needed, then would be an appropriate time to discuss it.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, we have had several apparent setbacks and delays in our space field with the attempted moon shot, multiple satellite shot, and the postponement of the astronaut launching. What is your evaluation of our progress in space at this time? And have we changed our timetable for landing a man on the moon?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we—as I've said from the beginning, we've been behind and, of course, we continue to be behind. And we are running into the difficulties which come from starting late. We, however, are going to proceed. We're making a maximum effort, as you know, and the expenditures in our space program are enormous. And, to the best of my ability, the time schedule, at least I hope, has not been changed by the recent setbacks.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, stockpile information is no easier to come by than it was prior to your statement last week that a lot of this stuff ought to be declassified. Is there a disposition to hold this up for the Senate investigation or can you light a fire under some of these agencies?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I set up today a committee under Mr. McDermott, who is the head of the agency, with the Secretaries of Defense, State, Commerce, Labor, to look

into the needs, our national needs, in the event of an emergency and also to consider the declassification of various matters.

I think all this will be completed by the time the hearings begin, and then I think the hearings will make the information very complete.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, the nuclear test question has been under consideration for some months now. Could you give us some idea of the time schedule you perceive from here on with respect to completing the studies and making your decision?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we should know of—the studies and the examinations and the consideration by the Government should be, I would think, completed within the month.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, there have been reports that Mr. Gromyko, in Moscow, has adopted such a negative attitude in his discussions on Berlin with Ambassador Thompson that the administration has decided that if the talks are to continue, that the Soviets will have to take the initiative in seeking the next meeting. Could you tell us whether this is true and could you discuss your outlook and reaction to these talks?

THE PRESIDENT. No, we have not made very great progress in the talks. There has been a setting forth by each side of various positions. But I think the talks should continue and we are prepared to cooperate in continuing them—because the alternatives are not satisfactory—if we can possibly reach an accord. So we will continue to work even though the so-called probes have not produced any satisfactory common ground as yet.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, would the United States be willing, without further nuclear tests in the atmosphere, to sign a formal treaty with the Soviet Union banning such tests?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I've stated that our concern would be—we stated it before, since and, as I said, afterwards—that we would sign an agreement which provided for

adequate inspections system—that's correct. But adequate inspection in regard to preparations, as well as testing. Because, otherwise—

Q. My question was hinged on further tests in the atmosphere.

THE PRESIDENT. I understand that. We will support the passage of an effective treaty which provides for effective inspection, but we cannot take less in view of the fact of our experience of the past months, where it takes us many months to prepare for tests in the atmosphere. The Soviet Union could prepare in secret, and we would—unless we had adequate protection against a repetition of that incident. Any such test agreement obviously would be extremely vulnerable.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with your forthcoming statement on Christmas Island, I understand that the United Nations Trusteeship Council, particularly Russia and India, will attempt or has attempted to prohibit all atmospheric testing in the Central and South Pacific. My question is: Is this true? If it is true, how much does it weigh in your decision to resume this testing?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that one of the reasons that Christmas Island becomes a matter of importance is because of our special trustee relationship with Eniwetok and because we are anxious to maintain the spirit as well as the letter of the trustee agreement. But in my opinion, that would not inhibit any action we might take in Christmas Island because the situation is entirely different legally and the responsibilities are entirely different, and that's also true of Johnston Island.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, with regard to the steel contract negotiations, you've said that you neither want a strike, itself, and you would like to get the contract settled soon enough to prevent the ill effects of anticipation of a strike. Do you have a date in mind by which time you think it should be settled, and how are you keeping in touch with the parties?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don't have a date in mind, though I think the earlier the better because of the danger of stockpiling which will, in my opinion, produce later unemployment, if it is permitted to build up until June and July. Secretary Goldberg has been in contact with them, and I've indicated myself my strong feeling that the public interest and each of their private interests would be served by an early agreement.

Q. You have been in contact with them yourself, haven't you?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I have, yes.

[23.] Q. Mr. President, just a minute ago you expressed the hope that because of our burdens the other nations would match our purchases in the bond issue. Several Senators yesterday were suggesting that we match their purchases. Would you be willing, the administration be willing, to turn this around so that—

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think we have to wait and see what the legislative prospects are. I think we ought to buy the \$100 million worth. I think the other countries ought to buy \$100 million worth of bonds. We are prepared to meet our responsibilities. I hope they will be. I think we should take an affirmative attitude towards the prospects of this and also to recognize how essential it is. Now, if this fails, then the U.N. will be, as Secretary Rusk said yesterday, in dire financial circumstances. It would obviously mean a complete—the emergency operation taking place in the Middle East and in the Congo would, of course, come to an end, unless we put in bilaterally a subsidy which would cause other countries to do a bilateral action of their own, and you would have chaos in the Congo and a defeat of any attempts to set up a stable and free government. I must say that I think to—that the promise there is of success against this disaster, which both administrations have been

attempting to prevent, which is chaos and massive civil war and insurrections and all the rest in the Congo—I really feel we ought to go ahead on both sides. And I'm hopeful they will.

[24.] Q. Mr. President, on the test issue: if I understand what you've been saying correctly, you've introduced a new element into these negotiations—that is, inspection which would cover any possible secret preparations for tests. Is this in fact a new element that the United States is introducing and, if so, how might you meet that problem in an inspection system?

THE PRESIDENT. I think this is a matter which should be discussed at the disarmament conference. But I think that any agreement—if we're not to have an agreement whereby some time would go by and then, when the Soviets have exhausted the information they have acquired from this series of tests, suddenly overnight begin another series of tests, meanwhile 2 years have gone by and many scientists and others who might have been working on this may have gone into other occupations.

This is a—I think it's a deadly business, this competition. And I don't say that much security comes out of it. But less security would certainly come out of it if we permitted them to make a decisive breakthrough in an area like an ICBM. So that we would have to have some assurances against a repetition of this summer's incident before we would feel that the treaty was a satisfactory one. But it is a matter which should be discussed, I think, in March at the disarmament conference.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's twenty-third news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, February 7, 1962.

41 Joint Statement With the British Government Concerning Nuclear Tests. *February 8, 1962*

IT IS the joint view of the United States and the United Kingdom Governments that the existing state of nuclear development, in which the recent massive Soviet tests are an important factor, would justify the West in making such further series of nuclear tests as may be necessary for purely military reasons.

The United States and United Kingdom Governments have therefore decided that preparations should be made in various places, and as part of these the United Kingdom Government is making available to the United States Government the facilities at Christmas Island.

The two Governments are, however, deeply concerned for the future of mankind if a halt cannot be called to the nuclear arms race. The two Governments are, therefore,

determined to make a new effort to move away this sterile contest. They believe that a supreme effort should be made at the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee which will begin meetings on March 14 at Geneva, and that the Heads of Government of the United States, United Kingdom, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should assume a direct and personal interest in these negotiations. The President and the Prime Minister have, therefore, addressed a joint communication to Chairman Khrushchev proposing that this meeting be initiated at the Foreign Minister level and that their Foreign Ministers should meet before the Conference started and also be prepared to return as personal participants in the negotiations at appropriate stages as progress is made.

42 Joint Message With Prime Minister Macmillan to Chairman Khrushchev on the Forthcoming Disarmament Negotiations in Geneva. *February 12, 1962*

[Released February 12, 1962. Dated February 7, 1962]

Dear Mr. Chairman:

We are taking the unusual step of addressing this message to you in order to express our own views, as well as to solicit yours, on what we can jointly do to increase the prospects of success at the new disarmament negotiations which will begin in Geneva in March.

We are convinced that a supreme effort must be made and the three of us must accept a common measure of personal obligation to seek every avenue to restrain and reverse the mounting arms race. Unless some means can be found to make at least a start in controlling the quickening arms competition, events may take their own course and erupt in a disaster which will afflict all peoples, those of the Soviet Union

as well as of the United Kingdom and the United States.

Disarmament negotiations in the past have been sporadic and frequently interrupted. Indeed, there has been no sustained effort to come to grips with this problem at the conference table since the three months of meetings ending in June of 1960, over a year and a half ago. Before that, no real negotiations on the problem of general disarmament had taken place since negotiations came to an end in September 1957.

It should be clear to all of us that we can no longer afford to take a passive view of these negotiations. They must not be allowed to drift into failure. Accordingly, we propose that we three accept a personal responsibility for directing the part to be

played by our representatives in the forthcoming talks, and that we agree beforehand that our representatives will remain at the conference table until concrete results have been achieved, however long this may take.

We propose that our negotiators seek progress on three levels. First, they should be instructed to work out a program of general and complete disarmament which could serve as the basis for the negotiation of an implementing treaty or treaties. Our negotiators could thus build upon the common ground which was found in the bilateral talks between the United States and the USSR which took place this summer, and which were reflected in the Statement of Agreed Principles of September 20, 1961. Secondly, our negotiators should attempt to ascertain the widest measure of disarmament which would be implemented at the earliest possible time while still continuing their maximum efforts to achieve agreement on those other aspects which present more difficulty. Thirdly, our negotiators should try to isolate and identify initial measures of disarmament which could, if put into effect without delay, materially improve international security and the prospects for further disarmament progress. We do not believe that these triple objectives need conflict with one another and an equal measure of urgency should be attached to each.

As a symbol of the importance which we jointly attach to these negotiations, we propose that we be represented at the outset of the disarmament conference by the Foreign Ministers of our three countries, who would declare their readiness to return to participate personally in the negotiations as the progress made by our permanent representatives warrants. We assume, in this case, the

foreign ministers of other states as well will wish to attend. The status and progress of the conference should, in addition, be the subject of more frequent communications among the three of us. In order to give impetus to the opening of the disarmament negotiations, we could consider having the Foreign Ministers of our three countries convene at Geneva in advance of the opening of the conference to concert our plans.

At this time in our history, disarmament is the most urgent and the most complex issue we face. The threatening nature of modern armaments is so appalling that we cannot regard this problem as a routine one or as an issue which may be useful primarily for the scoring of propaganda victories. The failure in the nuclear test conference, which looked so hopeful and to the success of which we attached such a high priority in the Spring of 1961, constitutes a discouraging background for our new efforts. However, we must be resolved to overcome this recent setback, with its immediate consequences, and forego fruitless attempts to apportion blame. Our renewed effort must be to seek and find ways in which the competition between us, which will surely persist for the foreseeable future, can be pursued on a less dangerous level. We must view the forthcoming disarmament meetings as an opportunity and a challenge which time and history may not once again allow us.

We would welcome an early expression of your views.

JOHN F. KENNEDY
HAROLD MACMILLAN

[Nikita Khrushchev, Chairman, Council of Ministers, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, The Kremlin, Moscow, U.S.S.R.]

43 Remarks to the Members of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. *February 12, 1962*

Mr. Secretary, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my thanks to all of you for an important assignment. We have established this Commission for two reasons. One is for my own self-protection: every 2 or 3 weeks Mrs. May Craig asks me what I am doing for women!

The other reason is because this is a matter of great national importance—and of international importance. One-third of our working force are women. They have a primary obligation to their families and to their homes, but they also—their work makes it possible to maintain that home and that family in many cases. We want to make sure that they are able to move ahead and perform their functions without any discrimination by law or by implication. And we want that in the Government, and stimulus through Mrs. Peterson and the Secretary and the Civil Service Commission—we have attempted to make it possible for every woman to receive compensation and receive a response from her work completely in accord with the work which she does. We want that to be true legally. We think that this Commission could usefully examine laws across the country which may

adversely affect the rights of women. We want to examine this question of their compensation and whether they are receiving compensation in accordance with the service they render, whether they are being protected in their promotion rights, and all the rest. The Commission should examine the things that are right and things that are wrong. So they are very interdependent.

Mrs. Roosevelt has once again offered to serve the country in this important job, and I am glad that all of you here who are leaders in this country have been willing to give your time to it. I can't imagine any more important assignment—not merely for women, but for members of Congress, organized labor, women's organizations themselves, religious groups, and all the rest. I think that this is a job that we ought to do. So we look forward very eagerly to your results and I promise you that we are strongly behind you in all your work.

NOTE: The President spoke in the Fish Room at the White House. During his remarks he referred to Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, Mrs. Esther Peterson, Assistant Secretary of Labor for Women's Affairs, and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Chairman of the Commission.

44 Remarks of Welcome to King Saud of Saudi Arabia at Andrews Air Force Base. *February 13, 1962*

YOUR MAJESTY, I want to express on behalf of the people of the United States, on behalf of the Government, and on my own behalf, our great pleasure and satisfaction in welcoming you again to the United States.

You have been here on several occasions before, on the occasion of a state visit in 1957 during my predecessor's term of office, and it is a source of satisfaction to welcome you here again.

Relations between your country and this country have been close and cordial, and it

is my hope that as a result of your visit here to Washington on this occasion, that those relations will become even closer during the days and years to come.

So, Your Majesty, I can assure you of a warm welcome here in Washington and in the United States—to you—to the members of your family who accompany you—to the members of your government.

And we express the hope that this visit will be only one of a series which will mark ever increasingly intimate relations between

Saudi Arabia and the United States.

Your Majesty, you are most welcome here.

NOTE: King Saud responded (through an interpreter) as follows:

Mr. President, I wish to express to you my gratitude for both your kind invitation and your hearty welcome to your great Capital. Ever since my arrival in Boston for treatment, Your Excellency has on several occasions shown concern over my health

and wishes for a speedy recovery, these noble gestures culminating in your courtesy visit to my convalescent resort in Palm Beach. Your friendly sentiments will ever be remembered with deep recognition.

Although this visit is very short, yet I deem it of importance to the common interests of our two countries, and I am looking forward to our scheduled meeting this afternoon, which I am sure will strengthen our already existing good relations.

45 Joint Statement Following Discussions With King Saud.

February 13, 1962

ON FEBRUARY 13, His Majesty King Saud and President Kennedy held official conversations at the White House, during which Saudi Arabian-American relations and international affairs were discussed in a spirit of frankness and cordiality. King

Saud and the President are confident that this additional opportunity to become better acquainted personally can only result in greater mutual understanding between Saudi Arabia and the United States.

46 Toasts of the President and King Saud.

February 13, 1962

Gentlemen:

I know I speak for us all in welcoming you to this country, Your Majesty. I think that all of us remember the dramatic stage in the life of this country at the meeting between President Roosevelt and your father in the Red Sea during the great days of the Second World War. And we also know that you have been a vigilant and courageous defender of your country's sovereignty and independence. You yourself have had a distinguished military record, and come from a race which has been outstanding in the defense of its rights. So that we welcome you, and the members of your family, and the members of your government.

We are most anxious that the ties of friendship which have bound together two countries which are divided by so much water and land, Saudi Arabia and the United States, will remain strong. I can assure you that your visit here and the opportunity that I had to see you in Palm Beach I believe has

strengthened relations between us, and also between our countries, and I consider that to be in the security of both, in these very difficult and dangerous days.

So I hope that all of you will join with me in drinking to the people, the government, and to His Majesty the King of Saudi Arabia.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a state dinner at the White House. King Saud responded (through an interpreter) as follows:

Mr. President:

I would like to thank you for your kindness and hospitality. And as I said to you earlier today in our meeting, I wish to maintain and even consolidate and strengthen the existing friendly relations between our two countries.

We greatly cherish the friendship which exists between the United States of America and Saudi Arabia—a friendship which is based on principles which recognize the rights of peoples. This we shall seek to strengthen and further in the future.

[Then His Majesty offered a toast to President Kennedy.]

47 Remarks to the Policy Committee of the Communications Workers of America. *February 14, 1962*

I WANT to welcome you all here this morning. It is a great source of satisfaction to me. I am an old friend of your president, Joe Beirne. In 1947 he and I were 2 of the 10 outstanding young men, according to the Junior Chamber of Commerce. But I do also want to welcome you because yours is an outstanding union, and I am a great believer in the contribution which the union movement can make, not only in this country in maintaining a progressive economy, but also the contribution which the union movement can make around the world.

I stated to the AFL-CIO national convention that the efforts which the AFL-CIO have made around the world to strengthen the free democratic trade union movement, I believe, represented one of the great contributions in the struggle against the Communist advance which has been made in the last 15 to 20 years.

I want to commend you. I know that you are here in Washington taking part in one of the most important assignments which faces your union, to make a determination of what you should do in regard to collective bargaining. I know that Dr.

Heller had an opportunity to talk with you yesterday. I want to commend you for the responsible way that you are moving towards your assignment.

We are all concerned not only with advancing the public interest—you have a responsibility towards your members and towards the country, and I am sure that you are going to meet your responsibility to both of these—to your people and to all the American people in maintaining our economy in a way which protects our people, and makes it possible for them to participate more fully in our lives here.

I welcome you to the White House. It belongs to all of you. I welcome you here individually and also because you represent an outstanding American organization, and also because of your distinguished president, whom I regard as one of the outstanding leaders of the American labor movement today. Joe, we are glad to have you all here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. During his remarks he referred to Walter W. Heller, Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers.

48 Message to Chairman Khrushchev Concerning the Forthcoming Disarmament Negotiations in Geneva. *February 14, 1962*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In reading your letter of February 10, 1962 I was gratified to see that you have been thinking along the same lines as Prime Minister Macmillan and myself as to the importance of the new disarmament negotiations which will begin in Geneva in March. I was gratified also to see that you agree that the heads of government should assume personal responsibility for the success of these negotiations.

The question which must be decided, of course, is how that personal responsibility

can be most usefully discharged. I do not believe that the attendance by the heads of government at the outset of an 18-Nation conference is the best way to move forward. I believe that a procedure along the lines of that outlined in the letter which Prime Minister Macmillan and I addressed to you on February 7¹ is the one best designed to give impetus to the work of the conference.

I agree with the statement which you have made in your letter that there exists a better

¹ Item 42.

basis than has previously existed for successful work by the conference. The Agreed Statement of Principles for Disarmament Negotiations which was signed by representatives of our countries on September 20, 1961 and which was noted with approval by the 16th General Assembly of the United Nations represents a foundation upon which a successful negotiation may be built.

As you have recognized, there still exist substantial differences between our two positions. Just one example is the Soviet unwillingness so far to accord the control organization the authority to verify during the disarmament process that agreed levels of forces and armament are not exceeded.

The task of the conference will be to attempt to explore this and other differences which may exist and to search for means of overcoming them by specific disarmament plans and measures. This does not mean that the conference should stay with routine procedures or arguments or that the heads of government should not be interested in the negotiations from the very outset. It does mean that much clarifying work will have to be done in the early stages of negotiation before it is possible for Heads of Government to review the situation. This may be necessary in any case before June 1 when a report is to be filed on the progress achieved.

I do not mean to question the utility or perhaps even the necessity of a meeting of Heads of Government. Indeed, I am quite ready to participate personally at the Heads

of Government level at any stage of the conference when it appears that such participation could positively affect the chances of success. The question is rather one of timing. I feel that until there have been systematic negotiations—until the main problems have been clarified and progress has been made, intervention by Heads of Government would involve merely a general exchange of governmental position which might set back, rather than advance, the prospects for disarmament. It is for these reasons that I think that meetings at the highly responsible level of our Foreign Ministers as well as the Foreign Ministers of those other participating states who wish to do so would be the best instrument for the opening stages.

A special obligation for the success of the conference devolves upon our two Governments and that of the United Kingdom as nuclear powers. I therefore hope that the suggestion made in the letter of Prime Minister Macmillan and myself to you, that the Foreign Ministers of the three countries meet in advance of the conference in order to concert plans for its work, will be acceptable to the Soviet Government.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Chairman Khrushchev's letter of February 10 is published in the State Department Bulletin (vol. 46, p. 356). The Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations, referred to in the third paragraph, is also published in the Bulletin (vol. 45, p. 589).

49 Remarks at the Presentation of an Award to the National Association of Broadcasters. *February 14, 1962*

WELL, GENERAL, I want to second what you have said. The National Association of Broadcasters since 1955, in response to the request from the President and from the Committee, has given untiring support to a great national effort to hire handicapped people.

I think that in the last decade over \$50 million worth of time has been given by the television and radio industry. I think it is running at the rate of about \$5 million a year, with emphasis in every possible part of the country on the opportunity and the obligation on all of us to hire people who

may because of accident or because of nature be suffering from a handicap.

I want to emphasize today that we are changing the name of this Committee from "Physically Handicapped" to "Handicapped," because we do want to emphasize the great importance of hiring people who may have suffered some degree of difficulty mentally. And these people deserve our wholehearted support and cooperation in making it possible for them to live useful and fruitful lives.

So now, on behalf of the Committee, and with the General, I want to present to Governor Collins—and I will read the citation:

"The President of the United States cites with pleasure the National Association of Broadcasters for distinguished service in encouraging and promoting the employment of the physically handicapped."

I want to congratulate you, Governor, and express our appreciation to you for your efforts.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in the Fish Room at the White House following the remarks of Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, Chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped. LeRoy Collins, President of the National Association of Broadcasters and former Governor of Florida, accepted the Committee's Distinguished Award on behalf of the Association.

50 The President's News Conference of *February 14, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. I have one statement.

[1.] There have been a number of questions directed to the White House and other governmental agencies about our release of Col. Rudolf Abel, and the freeing of Francis Gary Powers and Frederic Pryor from detention in the Soviet Union and East Germany, respectively.

Let me say first that I'm deeply pleased that the pilot, Mr. Powers, and the student, Mr. Pryor, have been released and reunited with their families. I shall be doubly pleased if their release turns out to be a sign of possible significant progress in the lessening of world tensions.

As for the whereabouts of Mr. Powers, I can state at this time only that he's in this country, that he has seen his father and mother, and that his wife is with him. He is undergoing important interviews by appropriate officials of this Government. Mr. Powers is cooperating voluntarily with the Government in these discussions. At the conclusion of these discussions, the information derived from these interviews will be made available to appropriate committees of the Congress, and Mr. Powers will be free to testify before the Congress, should the Congress so wish. Mr. Powers will be made

available to the press at the earliest feasible moment.

Q. Mr. President, when Mr. Powers completes this interrogation and he's free to testify, what will his status be? Will the Government still have any claim on his services or will he be a free agent to go as he pleases?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, he's a free agent, as I've said at the present time, to go as he pleases. He is cooperating voluntarily with the Government, and at the conclusion of the present discussions, he will be free to carry on whatever work he should choose.

Q. Mr. President, is it possible to say now how Powers was brought down in Russia, whether he was shot down or whether it was mechanical trouble?

THE PRESIDENT. It would seem to me that this question and others relating to it really should wait until the interrogations have been completed, and until the Government has finished talking about all these matters with Mr. Powers. Then, as I say, he will be available, and will give whatever information would be in the national interest to give.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, can you comment on Prime Minister Macmillan's statement yesterday that there will be no testing on

Christmas Island before the opening of the Geneva conference, and have developments in the last week affected our plans?

THE PRESIDENT. No, that statement of the Prime Minister of course is correct, and nothing in the events of the last week—if you're referring to the exchange of communications with Chairman Khrushchev which we had and the letter back, and now our letter back to him—that has not changed our plans. As I've stated, by the end of the month we will have concluded our analysis of our relative positions and we will be in a position to make a decision. But in any case, whichever way the decision would go, there would be no testing, as the Prime Minister said, on Christmas Island before that date.

Q. Mr. President, to refer to your letter to Premier Khrushchev this morning, without meaning to exclude other examples, could you give us one example of the kind of progress in the disarmament talks that might lead you to participate personally in a summit conference?

THE PRESIDENT. If the discussions at Geneva indicated that genuine progress could be made which would provide for a responsible disarmament agreement, an effective disarmament agreement, with effective inspection which, of course, must be a part of any disarmament agreement, if it's going to be—truly meet the international needs, then of course, if we are moving ahead in that kind of area, and my presence at a meeting in Geneva would advance that cause, of course I would go. But our point is, in the letter, that what we want to do is try to make that progress in the negotiations. Then if we are making it and a meeting of heads of state would complete it or would materially advance it, then it would seem to me that every head of state would want to go.

Q. Mr. President, have you received any indication from the neutralist countries, particularly India, whether or not they would send foreign ministers or heads of state to the March 18th meeting?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I don't know what the decision will be of the heads of the other

governments to which Mr. Khrushchev addressed his letter.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, our Labor Department estimates that approximately 1.8 million persons holding jobs are replaced every year by machines. How urgent do you view this problem—automation?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it is a fact that we have to find, over a 10-year period, 25,000 new jobs every week to take care of those who are displaced by machines and those who are coming into the labor market, so that this places a major burden upon our economy and on our society, and it's one to which we will have to give a good deal of attention in the next decade. I regard it as a very serious problem. If our economy is moving forward, we can absorb this 1,800,000, even though in particular industries we may get special structural unemployment. We've seen that in steel, we've seen it in coal, we may see it in other industries. But if our economy is progressing as we hope it will, then we can absorb a good many of these men and women. But I regard it as the major domestic challenge, really, of the sixties, to maintain full employment at a time when automation, of course, is replacing men.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, do you agree with the view attributed to Ambassador Beam that any arms agreement the West reaches with Russia must ultimately include Red China to have real value?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I would think there would have to be an agreement that would cover the world, if it is going to be valuable.

Q. Mr. President, you have indicated you would like some priority to the nuclear test ban at the meetings that open on March 14. Would the United States be willing to stand by the draft treaty of last April, that was laid before the Soviet Union then?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I've stated that we will—that it may be necessary to bring that treaty up to date. But basically we have indicated that we would sign an agreement which would have as its basis certainly the April proposal. There might be some new

additions that could be made to it, but that is the basic thesis on which we've been acting since last April.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, in the past year you have had an experience with a whole variety of diplomacy and forms of diplomacy. Could you tell us what your thoughts are now on the practice of summitry?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, my view is the same as it has been, and that is that a summit is not a place to carry on negotiations which involve details, and that a summit should be a place where perhaps agreements which have been achieved at a lower level could be finally, officially approved by the heads of government, or if there was a major crisis which threatened to involve us all in a war, there might be a need for a summit. But my general view would be that we should climb to the summit after careful preparation at the lower levels.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, Nelson Rockefeller on Sunday said that in his view the results of Punta del Este amounted to a diplomatic failure for the United States. Is there anything you would have to say on that?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I disagree. I think that all of the countries of the hemisphere together made a finding that Cuba and the Communist system were not—should not be considered part of the inter-American system. And in my opinion that was a most important declaration, because it put the inter-American system squarely and unanimously against Communist infiltration. So that I do have a different view of the results, even though there's a division, of course, among countries as there is bound to be, as to the best methods of containing the expansion of communism. But on the general opposition to its expansion in this hemisphere, I think there was unanimity, and I regard that as most important.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, some Congressmen are again critical of the fact that they don't know how much they're voting for CIA or, due to the fact that the requests are hidden in other budgets, even when they're

voting on CIA. Does this have any validity, do you think?

THE PRESIDENT. The budget for the CIA is handled by the members of the Appropriations Committee of the House and Senate. It's bipartisan, and includes members who are the most senior and the most experienced in the area. They are fully informed. Quite obviously, there are some limitations on what we're able to reveal in the national interest, but in my judgment the budgetary procedures which have been followed in the past have combined congressional responsibility and also protection of our vital interests.

[8.] Q. This being Valentine's Day, sir, do you think it might be a good idea if you would call Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina down to the White House for a heart-to-heart talk—[*laughter*—]about the whole disagreement over the censorship of the military speeches and what he calls your defeatist foreign policy?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that that meeting should be probably prepared at a lower level—[*laughter*—]and then we could have a—

[9.] Q. Mr. President, the Republican National Committee publication has said that you have been less than candid with the American people as to how deeply we are involved in Viet-Nam. Could you throw any more light on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, as you know, the United States for more than a decade has been assisting the government, the people of Viet-Nam, to maintain their independence. Way back in December 23, 1950, we signed a military assistance agreement with France and with Indochina which at that time included Viet-Nam, Laos, and Cambodia. We also signed in December of 1951 an agreement directly with Viet-Nam.

Now, in 1954, the Geneva agreements were signed and while we did not sign those agreements nevertheless Under Secretary Bedell Smith stated that he would view any renewal of the aggression in Viet-Nam in violation of the aforesaid agreements with

grave concern, and as seriously threatening international peace and security. And at the time that the SEATO Pact was signed in 1954, September 8, though Viet-Nam was not a signatory it was a protocol state, and therefore this pact, which was approved by the Senate with only, I think, two against it, under article 4 stated that the United States recognized that aggression by means of armed attack against Viet-Nam would threaten our own peace and security. So since that time the United States has been assisting the Government of Viet-Nam to maintain its independence. It has had a military training mission there and it's also given extensive economic assistance.

As you know, during the last 2 years that war has increased. The Vice President visited there last spring. The war became more intense every month; in fact, every week. The attack on the government by the Communist forces with assistance from the north became of greater and greater concern to the Government of Viet-Nam and the Government of the United States. We sent—I sent General Taylor there to make a review of the situation. The President of Viet-Nam asked us for additional assistance. We issued, as you remember, a white paper which detailed the support which the Viet Minh in the north were giving to this Communist insurgent movement and we have increased our assistance there. And we are supplying logistic assistance, transportation assistance, training, and we have a number of Americans who are taking part in that effort.

We have discussed this matter—we discussed it with the leadership of the Republicans and Democrats when we met in early January and informed them of what we were doing in Viet-Nam. Mr. Rusk has discussed it with the House and Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. Mr. McNamara has discussed it with the Armed Services Committee. The leadership on both sides, Republicans and the Democrats have been—we have explained to them our concern about what is happening there, and they have been re-

sponsive, I think, and evidenced their concern. So that there's a long history of our effort to prevent Viet-Nam from falling under control of the Communists. That is what we are now attempting to do, and as the war has increased in scope, our assistance has increased as a result of the requests of the government. So that I think we should—as it's a matter of great importance, a matter of great sensitivity—my view has always been that the headquarters of both of our parties should really attempt to leave these matters to be discussed by responsible leaders on both sides, and in my opinion, we have had a very strong bipartisan consensus up till now, and I'm hopeful that it will continue in regard to the actions that we're taking.

Q. Mr. President, do you feel that you have told the American people as much as can be told, because of the sensitivity of the subject? Is that right?

THE PRESIDENT. I think I've just indicated what our role is. We have increased our assistance to the government—its logistics; we have not sent combat troops there, although the training missions that we have there have been instructed if they are fired upon to—they would of course, fire back, to protect themselves. But we have not sent combat troops in the generally understood sense of the word. We have increased our training mission, and we've increased our logistics support, and we are attempting to prevent a Communist takeover of Viet-Nam, which is in accordance with a policy which our Government has followed for the last—certainly since 1954, and even before then as I've indicated, and we are attempting to make all the information available that we can consistent with our security needs in the area. So that I feel that we are being as frank as we can be. I think what I have said to you is a description of our activity there.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, a couple of weeks ago you told us of your hope of sending Mr. Eugene Black of the World Bank to India and Pakistan to see what could be done about the Kashmir dispute. Apparently Prime

Minister Nehru doesn't like that approach, or feels it should be done another way. Do you have any present plan to try to move this issue off dead center through some other approach?

THE PRESIDENT. No, the United States did make an effort in this regard. We are giving assistance to both countries. We would like to see the assistance used most effectively, and anything that increases the tension between them or causes our aid to be turned into military channels as a result of tensions with each other makes our aid less effective, and therefore we suggested Mr. Black might be able to fill a useful role. The decision was made by the Indian Government that that would not be appropriate at this time, and therefore—there is an election going on in India—I'm hopeful at the conclusion of the election that the two parties can make some progress in settling it among themselves, which is evidently what they prefer at this time.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, on the question—there have been persistent reports that the Attorney General is still going to visit the Soviet Union, before he returns from his trip abroad. Is there any such possibility?

THE PRESIDENT. No, no.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, on the basis of your talks with King Saud, can you tell us what the prospects are on the renewal of our base rights at Dhahran?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we've never requested the renewal of our base rights. It's not a matter which is at issue between the two governments.

Q. You would expect it to lapse, then?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, we do, and we've made preparations for that, and that's what is the desire of both countries. So it has not been a subject, really, of discussion between us.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, a few moments ago I believe you said that on the joint British-American draft agreement on disarmament, that it should be brought up to date. I wonder if you could expand on that a little. Are you speaking of an in-

spection of preparations, specifically, for testing?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that my statement last week indicated our concern about that matter but—and I think that the positions that we would take at the conference will be presented at that time. I don't mean to—I don't think anything particularly significant should be read into my response. We have stated that we will be ready to sign an agreement which provides for effective inspection and that is our position, and our position is based upon our proposal of last April. I'm not aware that there would be any significant change in that. If there is, it will be presented by the time the disarmament conference begins.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, going back to the question of unemployment, some 13,000 workers in one plant on Long Island are facing layoffs as a result of the Defense Department's decision to phase out one type of aircraft. Do you see any need for new steps to offset the economic impact of changing defense requirements such as cases as this?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that the figures of the possible layoffs are not—are overstated in your question, because to the best of my information they would be substantially, very substantially, less than the figure that you gave, and that would be our—it is a matter of considerable concern, however, that anyone will be laid off at that particular factory, and we are concerned about it. In fact, I think that your publisher wrote me about the matter last week. We even heard from the Congressman and we are concerned about seeing if we can maintain employment at the highest possible level at that plant. The difficulty, of course, comes because the particular plane that they are manufacturing is not being continued and that presents us with a difficult decision at a number of areas. But we are very conscious of the problem that's faced at that plant and we are going to try to see if we can maintain employment as high as it's possible for us to do so, even though some cut, but of a much less figure

than you mentioned, will perhaps inevitably come.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, would you approve a bill which would increase the size of the House by three members to solve a Massachusetts political problem?

THE PRESIDENT. I would wait. It seems to me it's a decision which the House will have to make, and after the House has acted, the Senate has acted, and I see what the bill is, I'd make a judgment about whether it'd be approved or not.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, in the past it has been thought that the Russians might persuade the Red Chinese to agree to any nuclear test ban agreement that they might reach with the West. Now, it seems that the Russians' ability to persuade the Chinese to do very much is limited. How, then, do you see bringing the Red Chinese into any inspection and control system?

THE PRESIDENT. Well it's obviously very difficult, but there is really no use in having an inspection system agreed upon between, say, the Soviet Union and the United States and some other countries and then have another country—large—carrying on intensive armaments preparation. Quite obviously, that would not protect our security. So this problem of bringing them in is a problem that must be considered before we would be able to have confidence in any disarmament agreement.

I quite recognize the hazards and the difficulties of attempting to bring them in. But if we are making progress—and we have a good deal of hurdles to overcome before we come to this particular question—it is a question which waits for us before the end of the road is reached. And it would be a very difficult one, but one that we certainly should have in mind as we start on this conference.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, last week the Capitol Hill paper, *Roll Call*, published an interview with the leaders of the Soviet parliament, in which they urged establishment of ties and exchange of delegations between the United States Congress and the

Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. What is your personal opinion about the desirability of such contacts?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that—I am very interested in any exchanges. I think the matter of whether the Congress should go is really a decision which the Congress themselves should reach. As far as my general interest, of course, I think that exchanges are very useful; but on the matter of the Congress itself, I think that it's a matter which the Congress can make a judgment on as to whether the national interest would be served by their going.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, in view of the avowed solidarity of Communist Cuba with the Soviet Union, what is the present status of the Monroe Doctrine?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, in the first place, the—Mr. Salinger passed up a note saying that the OAS—the Organization of American States—has just excluded Cuba from its deliberations, which I think indicates the unanimity of the hemisphere in regard to this. We are attempting to carry out our policy through the Organization of American States, through the hemisphere. Quite obviously we have our own national interests to protect and our national security to protect, which we will do. And therefore, we attempt to accommodate the policies in a whole variety of ways, in order to serve the national interest.

[19.] Q. Sir, my question concerns the postponement of Colonel Glenn's flight today. This is the eighth time, I believe, that his flight has been postponed, and among other things there's been a considerable ordeal on Colonel Glenn himself.

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct.

Q. Do you think, sir, that it would have been better, that it would be better even now, to, say, move up the date much deeper in the spring to a point where we would be more certain of the weather, instead of running the risk of repeated delays?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it is unfortunate. I know it strains Colonel Glenn. It has delayed our program. It puts burdens on all

of those who must make these decisions as to whether the mission should go or not. I think it's been very unfortunate. But I have taken the position that the judgment of those on the spot should be final in regard to this mission, and I'll continue to take that judgment. I think that they would be reluctant to have it canceled for another 3 or 4 months because it would slow our whole space program down at a time when we're making a concentrated effort in space. But I am quite aware of the strain it's caused everyone, and it's been a source of regret to everyone, but I think we ought to stick with the present group who are making the judgment, and they are hopeful still of having this flight take place in the next few days. And I'm going to follow their judgment in the matter, even though we've had bad luck.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, what is your reaction to the proposal for a permanent summer White House at Newport, R.I.? Have you reached a decision on that?

THE PRESIDENT. No. Mr. Udall—the proposal was made by, I think, Senator Pell and Senator Pastore, and it went to Mr. Udall, and I have not discussed the matter with him, and—though he is looking at the matter and is going to reply to them, I'm sure I will discuss it with him before a final decision is made.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, there has been a notable lack of activity in the Senate on postal rate increases. There is some indication this is tied to efforts to tie together rate increases with postal wage increases. Do you have any comment on this?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we ought to move ahead on the postal rate increase bill. I am hopeful that the Senate will. The House met its responsibilities; I'm hopeful the Senate will. Then we can take up the question of pay increases. The administration has some recommendations in that area, but I think it would be a mistake to so intimately link them.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, could you evaluate the situation in Laos in light of continuing Communist attacks at Nam Tha?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it's—as I've said, the cease-fire is becoming increasingly frayed. It's my understanding that Souvanna Phouma has an audience with the King, and I'm hopeful that progress, which has been very slow in the last 30 days can be made in attempting to agree on a government. Obviously every day that goes by increases the dangers.

The Communist forces move forward. The government forces reinforce their people at the town. The town is very close to the Chinese border, so it's a very dangerous situation, because if the cease-fire should break down, we would have—be faced with the most serious decision. So I'm hopeful the cease-fire will continue to prevail, and that the various groups within the country will come to an agreement which will permit a neutral and independent Laos which has been the objective of our policy.

[23.] Q. Sir, you have already stated that it is our national policy to carry out the deletions that the censors were carrying out in the Defense Department, and State, and you said you did not want to divulge the names of these censors because they were carrying out your policy.

THE PRESIDENT. No, that isn't what I said. I said—the names have been revealed in the military and in the State Department of those who have been involved in reviewing speeches.

Q. But you said you did not want to divulge the name of the specific censor who did the specific censoring.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, that is correct.

Q. My question, sir, now is: Would you tell us why it has to be national policy to delete from the speeches of admirals and generals such phrases as "emerge victorious," "victorious," "beat the Communists," and phrases like that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, those particular phrases I am not familiar with and, therefore, I don't know whether or not they were deleted. But I would say that if the—the purpose of the review is the same purpose that I stated a month ago, and that is to make

sure that governmental policy is—that the government speaks with one voice. Now, to give an example of the kind of thing that makes these reviews necessary, there was a speech which was brought to the White House, I think on January 23, which was to be given by Admiral Burke. We had a new administration. Admiral Burke, himself, sent the speech over because he wanted to be sure that anything he said which would be interpreted as being the policy of the new administration was in accordance with the new administration.

Admiral Burke was not aware that we were then carrying on negotiations for the release of the RB-47 pilots. So that it indicates how desirable it is. As I said, it also applies to me. I sent, as I said before, the State of the Union Address to both Defense and to the State Department so that they could see if there were any parts in it which they would want to comment on.

The Admiral Burke example, I think, indicates clearly how desirable it is to have speeches gone over by those who represent the Secretary of State or the Secretary of Defense. Now there's no doubt that on some occasions those reviews may have been unwise. After all, 1200 speeches came in, in one year, and I would not attempt at all to defend every change that's been made. But I do state that they were acting in good faith in every occasion, even though their judgment may not be as good as other people's may be.

[24.] Q. Mr. President, in the light of the apparent easing of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, particularly with respect to Berlin, can you say with any precision now when the military reservists might be released?

THE PRESIDENT. No. The crisis continues and the reservists—the need for reservists continues until there is an easing of the crisis or until we've been able to replace them with other men. As you know, we are building two new permanent divisions which will be

ready in August—one division—and September, the other division. And, of course, that will then present us with an entirely different situation in regard to their need. But until we have an easing of the crisis in Berlin or these two new divisions, the need for the reservists, of course, will continue.

[25.] Q. Mr. President, a number of your rightwing critics say that your foreign policy is based on a no-win policy in the cold war. Would you address yourself to this charge?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, of course, every American whoever they may be, wants the United States to be secure and at peace and they want the cause of freedom around the world to prevail. Quite obviously that is our national objective. And what we are anxious to do, of course, is protect our national security, protect the freedom of the countries, permit what Thomas Jefferson called the disease of liberty to be caught in areas which are now held by Communists, and some areas where people are imprisoned. We want to do that, of course, without having a nuclear war. Now, if someone thinks we should have a nuclear war in order to win, I can inform them that there will not be winners in the next nuclear war, if there is one, and this country and other countries will suffer very heavy blows. So that we have to proceed with responsibility and with care in an age where the human race can obliterate itself. The objective of this administration, and I think the objective of the country, is to protect our security, keep the peace, protect our vital interests, make it possible for what we believe to be a system of government which is in accordance with the basic aspirations of people everywhere to ultimately prevail. And that is our objective and that's the one that we shall continue.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's twenty-fourth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 11 o'clock on Wednesday morning, February 14, 1962.

51 Remarks to a Group of Visiting Foreign Educators.
February 16, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to say how proud we have been that you chose to come to this country to examine our educational system, and I am sure that you taught us during your visit here more than you learned.

There is, I know, a great tendency in every country, including my own, to consider education important but perhaps not so vital. We are so concerned in so many parts of the world with the problems that are coming today, next year, and the year after—and it does take 5 or 10 or 15 years to educate a boy or girl—and therefore there is a tendency to concentrate available resources on the problems we face now, and perhaps ignore what the potentialities and capabilities will be of our people 10 or 15 years from now.

Thomas Jefferson once said that if you expect a people to be ignorant and free you expect what never was and never will be. And from the beginning of this country, in order to maintain a very difficult discipline which is self-government, we have placed a major emphasis on education.

My own feeling is, we have to do better—not only in quantity but also in quality, and I am hopeful that we can develop in this country a cult of excellence in regard to education and intellectual development, which will make this country more equipped to meet its problems. What is true of us I'm sure is true of you. In some of your coun-

tries your problems are entirely different, and that is, making it possible for, in the mass, to educate great numbers of your people who today do not have that advantage, and also making sure that at the higher level we can train and then usefully employ men and women to serve not only their own interests but that of their country.

I want you to know we are very proud to have you here. Our educational system has represented the devoted efforts of our citizenry, but I think we can always do better. And perhaps by your presence here, and your questions, and your concerns, you have been able to stimulate us to move more forward along what I consider to be the most vital function of society: educating our people—making it possible for them to realize their potentials, and by serving their own personalities and development, serving the national interest.

So we're glad to see you and we hope that when you go home you will be able to communicate to them not only things that you may have liked here, or disliked, but also the sense of a people desiring to improve themselves and their country.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The 325 educators from 62 foreign countries and territories were completing a 6-month stay in the United States under the educational program of the Department of State.

52 Message to President Kekkonen of Finland on the Occasion
 of His Reelection. *February 17, 1962*

[Released February 17, 1962. Dated February 16, 1962]

Dear Mr. President:

I congratulate you on your re-election as President of the Republic of Finland. It is my sincere wish and that of the people of the United States that you will enjoy a successful term of office. I look back with satisfaction

upon your visit to the United States, which did much to reinforce the traditional bonds of friendship between our two nations. May that friendship flourish and be strengthened still further during your presidency in these challenging years.

Please accept my warm greetings and best wishes.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: President Kekkonen visited the United States late in 1961 (see 1961 volume, this series, Items 421, 422, 424, and 451).

53 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting a Proposed Stand-By Capital Improvements Act. *February 19, 1962*

Dear Mr. ———:

All thoughtful citizens agree on the obvious desirability of avoiding or lessening the repeated downward turns in our economy which diminish both national strength and individual opportunity. Equally obvious is the importance of the Federal Government's role and responsibility—as an employer, a consumer, a source of credit, an example to State and local governments and a stimulus to the rest of the economy. This general responsibility was recognized by the Congress in the Employment Act of 1946; and it has been specifically exercised by a variety of Congressional actions and expenditure authorizations in the recessions which have continued to plague us since the enactment of that landmark legislation.

Experience has shown that the timing of these Federal actions, both Executive and Congressional, can make a substantial difference in the severity and duration of any particular recession. The authorization or acceleration of special programs or expenditures—including those for capital improvements or community facilities—implemented only after the normal legislative processes, may be too late to achieve an ameliorating effect on the recession sufficient to justify the increase in budget expenditures.

Despite the large number of people currently unemployed—a problem this Administration is attempting to meet through legislative proposals now before the Congress—recovery from the 1960–61 recession is proceeding in a satisfactory manner. This is, therefore, an appropriate time to prepare

our defenses against future economic fluctuations, with a view to benefiting from the lessons of the last recession and those that preceded it.

I am transmitting with this letter a draft bill—the Stand-by Capital Improvements Act of 1962—which is designed to provide the Federal Government with an invaluable anti-recession tool. This proposal would provide stand-by authority to the President to initiate a temporary expansion in Federal and Federally-aided public works programs, and to make Federal grants and loans for State and local capital improvements, whenever unemployment rises sharply and the standard indicators of economic distress reveal that extraordinary action is required to reverse a serious economic decline.

Recognizing the desire of the Congress to set the most precise guidelines for this kind of administrative action, the bill permits this stand-by authority to be exercised only when “triggered” by a formula suggested after the most careful consideration and reference to past unemployment statistics. This formula—which would have signalled, at a date early enough to make action helpful, each recession our Nation has suffered since World War II but would not have resulted in any false recession warnings—provides that the program would become operative when seasonally adjusted unemployment has risen in 3 out of 4, or 4 out of 6 consecutive months by a total of at least one percentage point, *and* after a determination by the President (in case this has resulted from a major strike or other special factor) that use of the stand-by authority is necessary to achieve

the objectives of the Employment Act of 1946.

This \$2 billion emergency program would, once put into effect, (1) permit a \$750 million increase in direct Federal expenditures for projects previously authorized by law including resource, conservation and other Federal public works; (2) authorize \$750 million matching grants to State and local governments for capital improvement programs; (3) authorize a \$250 million loan program to State and local governments otherwise unable to finance their share of the costs of projects for which Federal grants are authorized; and (4) provide an additional \$250 million to be allocated to each of the preceding three programs as circumstances warrant. All of these projects must meet essential public needs, must be capable of early initiation and of completion within 12 months, must contribute significantly to reducing unemployment, and must not merely replace existing public expenditures.

Virtually every community in the Nation has a backlog of needed capital improvement projects. Certainly that is true of the Federal Government. An acceleration of these projects—all worthwhile in their own

right—is a wise and proper method of increasing employment and expenditures at times when such action is urgently needed to help stabilize our economy.

Also enclosed is a section-by-section analysis of the proposed bill, prepared by the Housing and Home Finance Agency. A letter identical to this one is being transmitted today to the Speaker (President of the Senate).

As I pointed out in my State of the Union address last month, the time to repair the roof is when the sun is shining. I urge the Congress to give prompt attention to this vital legislation, as insurance against a rainy day that we can hope will not recur, but which experience teaches us we must be prepared to meet.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Later, on March 26, the President amended the proposal (see Item 111).

For the President's remarks upon signing the Public Works Acceleration Act of 1962, see Item 380.

54 Statement by the President Upon Meeting With Labor Minister Franco Montoro of Brazil. *February 19, 1962*

MR. MINISTER, on this occasion of your visit to the United States I want to extend through you my greetings and best wishes to the leaders and members of the democratic trade union movement of Brazil.

For many years the workers of Brazil have played an important and prominent role in the international labor organizations of the free world. I want to congratulate them and to express my confidence that they will continue to contribute their strength and their

knowledge to the free labor movement. The contribution of free labor to the achievement of our mutually held ideals and hopes is becoming daily more significant.

Under the Alliance for Progress the democratic labor movements of all our countries have an important part to play. By the combined effort of all sectors of our free society we shall reach the goal of a better life in freedom and dignity.

55 Special Message to the Congress on Federal Pay Reform.
February 20, 1962

To the Congress of the United States:

The success of this Government, and thus the success of our Nation, depend in the last analysis upon the quality of our career services. The legislation enacted by the Congress, as well as the decisions made by me and the Department and Agency heads, must all be implemented by the career men and women in the Federal service. In foreign affairs, national defense, science and technology, and a host of other fields, they face unprecedented problems of unprecedented importance and perplexity. We are all dependent on their sense of loyalty and responsibility as well as their competence and energy; and just as they have responsibilities to the Government, so does the Government have obligations to them.

We properly establish high standards for our public servants. We investigate their character and associations before considering them for employment. We hire them only after they have passed difficult examinations. We require them to abide by rigorous standards of conduct and ethics. We demand consistently high performance from them on the job. Accordingly, the salaries for the services they perform should be fixed under well-understood and objective standards, high enough to attract and retain competent personnel, sufficiently flexible to motivate initiative and industry, and comparable with the salaries received by their counterparts in private life. To pay more than this is to be unfair to the taxpayers—to pay less is to degrade the public service and endanger our national security.

Unfortunately these basic standards for Federal salary systems are not met today. Too many Federal employees are underpaid in proportion to their responsibilities. Too many receive smaller salaries than are paid by many private industries, and even by many state and local governments, for less responsible work. Too many top-grade or

supervisory Federal employees are paid little more, and sometimes even less, than their subordinates. Too many key career employees are unable to afford continued public service.

Existing statutory Federal pay structures cannot be justified as sound and equitable, either internally or externally. Internally, salaries between various levels of work should be enough to provide an incentive to undertake more responsible duties and to represent, dollar-wise, fair differences in work requirements. Over the years, piecemeal statutory revisions—with primary emphasis on bringing the lower pay levels abreast of changes in the cost of living—have severely compressed the spread between the top and bottom salaries. The 8.8 to 1 and 12 to 1 salary ratios between the highest and lowest Classification Act and Postal Field Service grades existing prior to World War II have shrunk to ratios of less than 6 to 1, making it impossible to offer pay increases consistent with the added responsibilities of grade to grade promotion, or to offer an appropriate range of incentives within a particular grade. There is little consistency or logic in the salary differences between existing grade levels. And employees paid under a wage board system, with wages based on the prevailing rates in industry, are frequently paid more than their supervisors whose salaries are fixed by the more rigid and less logical provisions of the Classification Act.

Externally, except for employees paid under wage board systems, Federal salaries generally do not compare favorably and cannot compete successfully with private industry. Every objective survey has demonstrated that salaried Government employees at almost every work level receive less compensation, on a national average basis, than private employees performing similar work—and the greater the level of difficulty

and responsibility, the greater the gap between Federal and private pay. A Federal employee beginning a professional or administrative career can look forward to a maximum salary increase of no more than four and one quarter times his entrance salary, whereas his counterpart in private industry can look forward to an increase of six or seven times his beginning salary. Moreover, the Federal employee's top salary, if he stays to reach it, will be less than half that of his private enterprise counterpart.

Even state and local governments have passed the Federal Government. The head of a Federal Cabinet Department receives less than the head of a New York State Department—less than the average salary paid to the superintendents of schools in cities over 500,000 population. The highest paid Federal employees under the Classification Act would obtain higher salaries if they were working in the state career service in Georgia, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan or California, for example—or for the cities of St. Louis, Denver, Detroit, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Philadelphia.

The difficulty has been the lack of both an accepted objective standard for determining Federal Salary levels and a consistent procedure for review and adjustment. The result has been a steady attrition of valued employees, an inability to attract many top quality college graduates and, in the long run, a waste of Federal funds—discouraging the initiative, efficiency and dedication that accompany recognition and stature, and requiring enormous expenditures each year to recruit and train new replacements for employees who leave the service for reasons of inadequate pay. We can no longer defer the necessary corrective measures or continue the existing lack of standards; and recent studies and measurement techniques now make possible the kind of wholly new approach that common sense requires.

A FEDERAL PAY REFORM PROGRAM

I am transmitting to the Congress with this message legislation designed to reform

the major statutory salary systems of the Federal Government, benefitting all of the 1,640,000 employees throughout the world who are paid under the various Federal statutory pay plans—the Classification Act, the Postal Field Service Compensation Act, the Foreign Service Act, and the Medicine and Surgery Salary System of the Veterans Administration. Although flat increases for lower-paid workers are included as a matter of equity, the essence of this bill's objectives is Federal pay reform, not simply a Federal pay raise. Where pay raises result from the establishment of objective pay standards, they are primarily a reflection of the extent to which Federal salaries have lagged behind the national economy.

This proposal has two principal features:

(1) It establishes a sound, objective and continuous standard for determining proper salary levels by following the concept of *comparability*—reasonable comparability with prevailing private enterprise salaries for the same levels of work insofar as this is possible, as determined from painstaking statistical surveys and careful job comparisons; and

(2) *It establishes realistic and appropriate salary relationships* both within and among the several statutory salary systems and each of their grade levels, by following the principle of equal pay for equal work, with distinctions in pay consistent with distinctions in responsibility and performance.

COMPARABILITY

Adoption of the principle of comparability will assure equity for the Federal employee with his equals throughout the national economy—enable the Government to compete fairly with private firms for qualified personnel—and provide at last a logical and factual standard for setting Federal salaries. Reflected in this single standard are such legitimate private enterprise pay considerations as cost of living, standard of living and productivity, to the same extent that those

factors are resolved into the "going rate" over bargaining tables and other salary determining processes in private enterprise throughout the country.

The principle has a history of wide acceptance. Within the Federal Government, it has been used for 100 years: first applied to Navy Yard workers, it is now applied to all Federal workers in trades and crafts, to employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and to work under Government contracts covered by the Walsh-Healy and Davis-Bacon Acts. Many state and local governments, as well as some other national governments (such as Canada and the United Kingdom) already rely on this principle.

It should be noted in this regard that, in marked contrast to the unfavorable situation of salaried employees, the Federal pay practices affecting over 660,000 workers in the skilled trades and crafts have functioned without serious conflict or confusion. Based on prevailing rates, and set on recommendation of wage boards, their pay has been continuously maintained at levels that are fair from the viewpoint of the Government, the taxpayer and the employee.

I have found no more sensible standard for determining Government salaries. The Advisory Panel on Federal Salary Systems, chaired by Mr. Clarence Randall, in its recent report ¹ to me called it "not only equitable but valid and eminently desirable." The application of this principle permits the Government to meet its difficult personnel needs without paying more than is necessary or less than is equitable. It was not feasible in earlier years; but now the recently introduced annual survey of professional, administrative, technical and clerical salaries conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics provides the objective comparative salary

data needed for setting Federal pay scales. Occupational rates paid by private employers at a given work level of difficulty, responsibility and required qualifications can be combined into a single national average private enterprise rate for work equivalent to a Classification Act grade. These Classification Act rates in turn can be used to establish rates for the corresponding grades in the specialized salary systems of the Postal Field Service, the Foreign Service and the Veterans Administration.

INTERNAL ALIGNMENT

The internal alignment principle rests on two basic concepts: equal pay for equal work, and distinctions in pay consistent with distinctions in work and performance. Although these concepts are stated in the present Classification Act and are implicit in the Postal Field Service Compensation Act, the regressive and flat percentage pay adjustments of the past seventeen years have gradually blotted out much of the meaning in the current pay differentials of all our salary systems.

The pay schedules I am recommending will regularize and generally enlarge the differences in salaries between successive grade levels, recognizing more appropriately the differences in responsibility involved, and providing a more uniform (not less than 10%) progression of salary levels between the entry rates of successive grades. This will furnish a greater incentive for employees striving to prepare themselves for higher responsibilities. At the same time, these new schedules will make more meaningful the within-grade promotions for competent performance of duties, and will provide better incentives for those who spend most of their careers within a single grade, by providing wider salary ranges (30% except for the top two grades) within each grade, more adequate and more numerous within-grade salary steps, and more flexible use of salary steps to recognize exceptional achievement.

¹ The report, in the form of a letter dated February 2 and released by the White House on February 14, is printed in House "Hearings Before the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 87th Congress, 2d sess., May 3-June 28, 1962," page 51 (Government Printing Office, 1962).

Other provisions aimed at improving flexibility will (1) facilitate the adjustment of salaries to meet critical needs by competing more equally with private industry in areas or in occupations in which a shortage exists; (2) permit the assignment of positions to the upper grades of the Classification Act on the basis of duties and responsibilities, instead of arbitrarily limiting the number of such positions; and (3) create new upper grades to bring within the salary provisions of the Classification Act all those with top administrative responsibilities who are not Cabinet or sub-Cabinet officers or heads of separate agencies.

The new salary ranges would provide a 30% range between the entry rate and the highest rate in the grade for most salaried employees under the Classification Act and a 40% range for the lower levels of the Postal Field Service. This is comparable to the private industry ranges, which vary between 30% and 50% for each position. The pay ranges in the lower levels of the Postal Field Service are somewhat broader than those in the Classification Act, in recognition of the pattern of long service in such positions in the Postal Field Service and the need for incentives for sustained performance during the entire period of service.

ANNUAL REVIEW

To maintain the comparability principle, and to assure that other features are improved with experience, the bill provides that the President shall submit an annual report to Congress on the relationship of Federal salaries to those reported by the BLS for private enterprise, recommending whatever adjustments in salary schedules, structure, and policy he finds advisable. Where adjustments are indicated, they would be accomplished by revision of the Classification Act pay scales and by linkage of the other statutory systems to the Classification Act. A systematic annual review of this kind is essential to prevent Federal salary sched-

ules from relapsing to their present conditions.

THE UPPER GRADES

Reform of the existing pay schedules necessarily involves immediate adjustment of salaries at almost all grade levels. But both our experience in the attrition of higher salaried men and women and all objective surveys have disclosed that the gap between private industry salaries and Government salaries is the widest at the upper levels. For example: the most recent Bureau of Labor Statistics survey shows that GS-14 and GS-15 employees receive 20 percent less than those employees in private industry in comparable positions. A 1960 survey of twenty-one large companies by the Civil Service Commission showed even more startling disparities at higher levels. Employees in these companies performing functions comparable to those of a GS-18 received twice as high a salary as their Federal Government employed counterpart.

Yet these are the very levels in the career service in which our need for quality is most acute—in which keen judgment, experience, and competence are at a premium. It is here that we face our most difficult personnel problems. It is at these grades that we employ our top scientists, doctors, engineers, experts, and managers. Surely if so many state and city governments, as earlier cited, are willing to compete with private industry for this talent, the Federal Government, with its urgent missions to perform, can face up to this problem as well. As a practical matter, the full principle of comparability cannot be applied to the higher salary levels of government; but I consider adequate adjustment in our top executive and professional positions to be the most vital single element of correction in this entire proposal.

This reform of top career salaries will, of course, boost the pay of many civil servants to a level above that paid to their chiefs in Cabinet, sub-Cabinet and similar positions.

I recognize, however, that the salary level of these top executives has been quite properly related in recent years with the salary level of the Congress; and, while both are, in my opinion, inadequate, it is neither customary nor appropriate to either provide such increases during current terms of office or specify Congressional increases in a Presidential message. Representatives of the Executive Branch stand ready, however, to cooperate with the Congress in determining what Executive and Congressional pay scales would be appropriate following the terms of the present incumbents.

TIMING AND COST

It is important for the Federal Government to adhere to its own precepts with respect to pay adjustments in the economy as a whole. Because of the salary lag that has developed over the past 17 years, full correction of the accrued inequities in one year would be unwise, involving the substantial cost of more than \$1 billion. This cost would come at a time when heavy budgetary demands have been placed upon us to meet great national security needs, and when the Government is urging private labor and management to exercise self-restraint to avoid the creation of inflationary pressures. Therefore, to reduce the impact in any one year on the affected \$10 billion Federal payroll, where each 1 percent increase costs \$100 million, the plan that I recommend provides that the full 10 percent be distributed over three annual stages, beginning prospectively on January 1, 1963. The increase scheduled to take effect next year is clearly well within

the national average productivity increase (in the private sector) which has taken place since the last Federal pay increase in July of 1960.

The substantial costs necessarily involved in achieving this pay reform make it especially important that these improvements in our pay systems take absolute priority over general percentage or dollar increases of the kind we have seen in the past—increases which make little if any contribution to efficiency or economy in Government.

CONCLUSION

As I stated in my Budget Message, the first requirement for efficiency and economy in Government is highly competent personnel. I believe that enactment of this plan for sound salary administration is fundamental to the maintenance of a standard of excellence in the Federal service. It is my belief that this measure, if enacted, will constitute the most important revision and reform in Federal personnel legislation in more than a decade. It is the most important proposal to improve the Federal service which has been presented by this administration; and I believe it is essential if we are to achieve and maintain proficiency in the Federal Government. If our civil servants are to fulfill with skill and devotion their obligations to the nation, the nation must fulfill its obligations to the career service.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The draft bill was released with the President's message.

For the President's statement upon signing the Federal pay reform bill, see Item 448.

56 Remarks Following the Orbital Flight of Col. John H. Glenn, Jr.
February 20, 1962

I KNOW that I express the great happiness and thanksgiving of all of us that Colonel Glenn has completed his trip, and I know that this is particularly felt by Mrs. Glenn and their two children.

A few days ago, Colonel Glenn came to the White House and visited me. And he is—as are the other astronauts—the kind of American of whom we are most proud.

Some years ago, as a Marine pilot, he raced the sun across this country—and lost. And today he won.

I also want to say a word for all those who participated with Colonel Glenn at Canaveral. They faced many disappointments and

delays—the burdens upon them were great—but they kept their heads and they made a judgment, and I think their judgment has been vindicated.

We have a long way to go in the space race. We started late. But this is the new ocean, and I believe the United States must sail on it and be in a position second to none.

Some months ago I said that I hoped every American would serve his country. Today Colonel Glenn served his, and we all express our thanks to him.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:27 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

57 Telephone Conversation With Colonel Glenn Aboard the
U.S.S. Noa. February 20, 1962

THE PRESIDENT. Hello?

Colonel Glenn: Hello, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Colonel?

Colonel Glenn: This is Colonel Glenn.

THE PRESIDENT. Listen, Colonel, we are really proud of you, and I must say you did a wonderful job.

Colonel Glenn: Thanks, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. We are glad you got down in very good shape. I have just been watching your father and mother on television, and they seemed very happy.

Colonel Glenn: It was a wonderful trip—almost unbelievable, thinking back on it right now. But it was really tremendous.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am coming down to Canaveral on Friday, and hope you will come up to Washington on Monday or Tuesday, and we will be looking forward to seeing you there.

Colonel Glenn: Fine. I will certainly look forward to it.

NOTE: The President spoke from his office at the White House at 4:10 p.m.

58 Remarks Upon Receiving a Progress Report on Area
Redevelopment in Southern Illinois. *February 21, 1962*

I AM PLEASED to receive the report of the Governor of Illinois and the Members of the Illinois congressional delegation on the heartening progress being made in the southern section of Illinois to solve the difficult economic problems that have beset that area for such a long period of time.

The first bill proposed by my administration (S. 1) represented an effort to marshal the efforts of Federal, State, and local governments to bring new hope and more importantly new jobs to those many sections of the country which had failed to share in the Nation's general economic growth and

prosperity. The results of the joint effort in Illinois provide eloquent justification for the program and demonstrate that renewed enthusiasm and combined efforts can indeed make the difference in any particular area.

I should note too that the Area Redevelopment Administration has demonstrated through its role in bringing together the various Federal departments and agencies as well as local and State authorities that it can perform the tasks assigned to it by the Congress. As important as the new spirit of southern Illinois is to that area it is even more significant as a source of encourage-

ment to other regions anxious to restore economic vitality and vigor to their section of the country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in his office at the White House. In his opening remarks he referred to Governor Otto Kerner, U.S. Senator Paul H. Douglas, and U.S. Representatives Sidney R. Yates, Kenneth J. Gray, George E. Shipley, Peter F. Mack, Jr., and Melvin Price, all of Illinois, who with William L. Batt, Jr., Administrator, Area Redevelopment Administration, and John E. Horne, Administrator, Small Business Administration, met with the President to discuss area redevelopment projects in southern Illinois.

59 The President's News Conference of *February 21, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] I have one statement. It is increasingly clear that the impact of Colonel Glenn's magnificent achievement yesterday goes far beyond our own time and our own country. The success of this flight, the new knowledge it will give us, and the new steps which can now be undertaken, will affect life on this planet for many years to come.

This country has received more than 30 messages of congratulations from other heads of state all over the world which recognize the global benefits of this extraordinary accomplishment. And I want to express my thanks to them and at the same time pay tribute to the international cooperation entailed in the successful operation of the Mercury tracking network, and express particular appreciation to those governments which participated in this international program by permitting the location of 18 such stations all around the world, including those in the Grand Canary Island, Nigeria, Zanzibar, Australia, Mexico, Bermuda, and the Canton Island in the Pacific.

One of the messages that I received was from Chairman Khrushchev in the Soviet Union, suggesting that it would be beneficial to the advance of science if our coun-

tries could work together in the exploration of space. I am replying to his message today, and I regard it as most encouraging, this proposal for international cooperation in space exploration, including specifically Soviet-American cooperation, which I spelled out in my State of the Union Message of last year, and in my address to the United Nations. You may recall that last year in January of 1961 in the State of the Union Address, I said, "Specifically, I now invite all nations—including the Soviet Union—to join with us in developing a weather prediction program, in a new communications satellite program and in preparation for probing the distant planets of Mars and Venus, probes which may someday unlock the deepest secrets of the universe."

Previous to that, under the previous administration, many suggestions were made for international cooperation. On one occasion, the Vice President, then Senator Johnson, acting on behalf of President Eisenhower, presented a proposal to the United Nations for the peaceful uses of outer space.

We believe that when men reach beyond this planet they should leave their national differences behind them. All men will benefit, if we can invoke the wonders of

science instead of its terrors. We look forward to visiting with Colonel Glenn on Friday and welcoming him to Washington next Monday.

It has been said that peace has her victories as well as war, and I think all of us can take pride and satisfaction in this victory of technology and the human spirit.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us the nature of your actual response to Mr. Khrushchev on this proposal?

THE PRESIDENT. We will indicate in the response our desire that space be explored peacefully and that we will be glad, in the United Nations and in any other forum, to discuss how this can best be done so that this new ocean which I referred to yesterday may be a peaceful one. I think it's particularly important now, before space becomes devoted to the uses of war. So we will be prepared to discuss this matter, as I say, at the United Nations, or bilaterally, or any other way in which this common cause can be advanced.

Q. Mr. President, on the same subject, do you think it would be wise, or can you conceive of a situation where we would have Russian observers at a space shot by this country without United States observers being allowed to view up close the Russian shot?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, today we permit observers from all countries, members of the press from all countries, to come and watch our shots, and this has been a very open procedure, and one of the reasons why I think we all take satisfaction is because we took our chances out in the open, and our delays, which were well publicized and which may have caused some satisfaction to those who were not our well-wishers—it seems to me we have a double pleasure when it goes well.

I do feel that, of course, if there's any cooperation it must be in the sense we are now discussing—it must be wholly bilateral, and I think that that, of course, would be one of the matters which we would discuss.

Q. Mr. President, pursuing this subject even further, do you have any indication beyond the rather nebulous but hopeful remarks of Mr. Khrushchev in his congratulatory message that they are really willing to get down to cases in cooperation in these areas?

One recalls that they did actually do something in this respect in the International Geophysical Year and I just wondered if between the time of the State of the Union Message and now any other tangible developments have come up beyond or in addition to his statement yesterday.

THE PRESIDENT. No, we have seen no evidence that we would be able to confidently expect in the last 12 months that this kind of cooperation would take place. But we, I might say, now have more chips on the table than we did some time ago. So perhaps the prospects are improving.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, can you say whether up to this day the international scientific community or American scientists have received any data from the Soviet space flights of Titov and Gagarin?

THE PRESIDENT. You mean other than those we might have picked up ourselves?

Q. Yes, I mean through the international scientific community or any published works in the Soviet?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, except for those that may have been published. I am not sure that we have. But before I give you a final answer perhaps I can ask Mr. Salinger and Mr. Hatcher to see if before the end of the press conference we could find out if there's been any more detailed information made available to us or to anyone else, so I'll come back to that.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, on a more local level, the Washington Daily News suggested today that since Colonel Glenn's achievements illustrate the ultimate in physical and scientific discipline, that all the schoolkids and all the surrounding schools in Maryland, Virginia, and Washington be let out to welcome him here Monday. Would you go

along with that suggestion?

THE PRESIDENT. We always follow the Washington Daily News—[*laughter*—]and I believe that that is being done. In this particular area, Washington, D.C., and perhaps those that may be nearby in Maryland and Virginia, we would be glad if they followed the example.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, there have been published reports to the effect that you have decided on a policy of disengagement in Laos after consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Could you clarify the situation as you see it in Laos and South Viet-Nam?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I would say that our policy has been quite consistent since last April, when we agreed to the cease-fire, and we have, since that date, been attempting to organize a government and secure agreements from the parties who are involved internally and externally for a neutral and independent Laos. That is our objective, and we're continuing to work for it.

Many months have passed, but that remains the star by which we guide our course there, and therefore, it would be improper at this time to talk about disengagement. We are engaged in the task of attempting to build a neutral and independent Laos, and it is to that end that we are directing our effort. And it would be, as I say, not precise to state that on the advice of the Joint Chiefs or for any other reason we are withdrawing our interest before that task has been accomplished.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, Chancellor Adenauer is reported to have said while talking with the parliamentary group of the CDU that possibly the time has come to break off the Thompson-Gromyko talks and throw the Berlin question into a Big Four foreign ministers conference. Do you have any comment on this?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I know that there was a newspaper report based on, supposedly, what the Chancellor said in a conversation, but I think there is some question as to whether that represented an accurate

description of his views. I will say that that is not the impression that we have received, and, in fact, we have received an opposite impression, and that is that these probes, or these talks, while they have not been productive so far, nevertheless the subject is not exhausted, and we should continue. If, and I've said this from the beginning, there is some evidence that by raising them to a ministerial level that we would be more successful, then I think we ought to do it. But I do think that the conversations at this level now at least permit us to see whether there is any ground for a hopeful negotiation. I presume that what you mean by four powers would be the Soviet Union, the British, the French and ourselves, and not West Germany, the British, French, and ourselves. As you know, General de Gaulle has been unwilling to have a four power foreign ministers conference, at least for France, until there is some evidence that such a conference might produce a useful result. So far the results have been comparatively minor, or minuscule.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, recalling your own interest in Algeria as a Senator, have you any comment on the cease-fire agreement that apparently has now been reached between the rebels and the French Government?

THE PRESIDENT. I'm hopeful that there is a cease-fire agreement, that it will permit an orderly and satisfactory solution, and we are, of course, most interested in the efforts that are being made to achieve that. I think that we should wait, as far as the United States is concerned, and watch the evolution with very concerned and friendly interest, which has been our policy for many months.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, no doubt you are aware as to what Congress has done on the urban affairs proposal. Would you care to comment, sir, on what your next step would be regarding the plight of the cities, and also what the future might hold for Mr. Weaver?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think there's going to be an urban department some time. There isn't going to be one now, but there's going to be sooner or later. You have too large a percentage of our population living in the city, 70 to 75 to 80 percent. They face many problems. The mayors of the country and others who are most concerned with them have supported this proposal. We're going to have an urban department. It may not come this year, but in my opinion it will become as necessary and inevitable as the Department of Agriculture or HEW. Now, the difficulty, of course, is that many of those who do not live in urban areas are opposed to it. But if we in this country began to adopt the system that everyone who lives in a city area voted against those things which were of assistance to the farmer, and everybody who comes from a rural area voted against those policies which provided a better life for people in the city, and everybody who lived outside the Tennessee Valley voted against the Tennessee Valley Authority, and everyone who lived in the East voted against the development in the Northwest, or the development of natural resources, this country would come to a grinding halt.

So I am hopeful that after a longer look is taken at this proposal, and it's analyzed on its merits, that in my judgment the Congress of the United States will support an urban program. I believe it's vitally important, and I regret that Congress did not see fit to adopt it. I don't think it is so much the administration's loss as it's a loss for the city and the country.

Now in regard to Dr. Weaver, he would have been admirably qualified as the head of the largest division which would have been included in the urban department. I see now that various people who opposed the urban department are now ready to support him for any Cabinet position he wishes, Defense, State, Treasury, or anything else. I consider him admirably quali-

fied for this particular position because he's had long experience in it, and while I'm sure he is grateful for those good wishes for a Cabinet position where there is no vacancy, I think he feels that he would have been—that this country would have been better served to have voted for an urban department, and permitted him to continue his service in that capacity. Mr. Weaver will get along all right, but I think the question is, the people in the cities are the ones who have been defeated.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, Soviet planes are continuing to fly through the Berlin air corridor despite our objections. This comes at a time when the Soviets are increasingly critical about the alleged lack of progress in the Berlin talks in Moscow. Do you think this could be a pressure move by the Soviets to force us to come up with additional concessions in Moscow?

THE PRESIDENT. I wouldn't attempt to draw any conclusions except to say that we've continued to fly the air routes into Berlin. And while those flights have not passed without some interference, I think the fact is that, of course, our rights in this area are being maintained. I'm hopeful that the Soviet Union and ourselves will be able, as I said from the beginning, to reach an accommodation, because obviously, any interference with these kinds of rights or rights which may be on the Autobahn, all these things carry with them hazards which none of us should welcome if we look to the possible end of the road.

So I would not make any judgment. I merely hope that it will be possible for them to desist.

[9.] In answer to Mr. Lisagor's questions, it says some exchange between the Soviet and U.S. scientists of informal nature, but only medical information. There was no technical information in regard to the exchanges which have taken place in space.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, could you give us any information on the present where-

abouts of U-2 pilot Powers and when he will be available for questioning by the press and Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. There is, as you know, a board of inquiry which is examining whether Mr. Powers completed his contract. That board of inquiry is under the leadership of Judge Prettyman and represents outstanding citizens. Mr. Powers has been cooperating fully. He will be available for the Congress—this inquiry will be completed by the middle of next week—and he would then be available to the Congress and to the press. And I must say that there is so far no evidence that he did not comply with his contract, but I think we could make a more precise judgment at the next press conference, or a more final judgment, I would say.

[11.] Q. In your view, Mr. President, is the South Vietnamese Government now carrying out the administrative reforms and creating the political conditions in which our increased assistance can be most effective?

THE PRESIDENT. We're working with them to accomplish both of these objectives. And these objectives, I must say, are hard to carry out. This country's been in the struggle now for a number of years. It has not—it had not many skilled administrators when it got its independence in '54, and it had been at war for really, in a sense, with the Japanese occupation and the war with the French, for almost 15 years before that, so that it's a very difficult assignment. It is a fact, however, that the gross national product, agricultural production, health, education, all these things materially increased in the last 6 years. But I think it's a matter for which the Vietnamese Government must be concerned about. We're prepared to offer every assistance we can in making that Government a more effective instrument for the people.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, concern has been voiced by church leaders that wives and children of servicemen cannot accom-

pany them to Europe and live with them. They are worried about moral implications, breakup of homes. Since the logistic requirements are no longer so urgent, it seems, is there a chance that this order may be changed soon?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, most of the servicemen in Europe have their—who are married—have their families with them. There may be some who may be there for a more limited time who do not. In addition, of course, we're concerned about the gold flow which comes because of our troop commitments to Europe. I've said before that we spend \$3 billion a year in maintaining our military forces around the world, and our bases. So if we are able to cut that somewhat, we shall do so. But to be more specific, most of the servicemen now in Europe have their families with them. There are some who do not, and the purpose of it, of course, is to limit this drain.

Q. Mr. President, may I ask, was there not a memorandum on September 6 by the Defense Secretary forbidding the travel, though, for wives and children?

THE PRESIDENT. We have attempted in recent weeks and months to limit the number of families going overseas, and the only reason for it has been that we are losing dollars and gold, and we have to attempt to bring it into balance, and this has been one of the ways which we've considered. We have left the families over there which were already there, but we're attempting to limit those that may go. This presents a hazard and a difficulty. But we're also very concerned about attempting to bring this flow into balance. And one of the ways is to try to cut that \$3 billion to \$2 billion or \$1.9 billion, and one of the ways in which we can do this is to attempt to limit family travel even though quite rightly it does present burdens to those involved.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, I hope this isn't repetitious, but the United States Air Force has a great reputation in Western Europe

for clearing the sky of interference. And it has been reported out of Germany that you are weighing a decision about giving fighter escorts to the transports in and out of Berlin. Would you want to comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. No. Every plane that has set out has completed its mission. Every plane that has set out to fly from West Germany to West Berlin has arrived.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, in considering the conditions under which the United States might refrain from a resumption of nuclear testing, I wonder if you would comment on the following suggestion contained in a recent letter to the editor of the New York Times: "Let both sides be allowed to maintain preparations at the ready for immediate tests should the other side be detected setting off a surprise explosion."

THE PRESIDENT. Well in the first place, that's part of the problem but not all of the problem. Part of the problem is the fact that the Soviet Union already had set off its tests, and—while the moratorium was in effect. And therefore we have to consider the effects upon our security of those tests. So that this suggestion does not meet the whole problem.

Secondly, it's more difficult for us to maintain ourselves at the ready to be prepared for tests. Some months have gone by since the Soviet tests. We have been making our preparations, as I have said. It takes many months, and we are concerned, that if we had another moratorium, that the Soviet Union would set a target date and be prepared and once again it would take us a period of time, perhaps not quite as long as this time, to carry out our own tests.

I would say the greater concern is the effect of the Soviet tests and the extrapolations which can be gained from them in making the judgment as to whether we should carry out our tests. But I did read the letter in the Times, and at least it is a suggestion which I considered and which others considered.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, the Attorney General, your brother, has encountered evidence of a certain amount of hostility from student groups in various countries. Inasmuch as this has happened before with other American visitors in the past administration, have you given any thought to what it is about us that students in particular seem to resent? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. Well, one of the reasons that I was anxious to have the Attorney General make the trip was because of this very—rather curious factor, because you would feel that students, who are intellectually curious, would be attracted by a free society which gives that intellectual curiosity a chance to develop, rather than a totalitarian society. And therefore, as you know, in the Attorney General's schedule, on nearly every occasion he has spoken at colleges and universities, so I'm sure he will have some views of that. What has also interested me is the stereotype of the United States. It is a view of the United States almost 50 years old, and there is no doubt that it is a—Marxist oriented, and the—even in those cases where they may not be Communist.

There are many explanations for it. In the first place these were colonial areas. They were held under subjugation in many cases by Western powers. The road of revolt was in many cases because the Communists were most active. They dominated the thinking. And I don't think that the students have caught up with the tremendous changes which have taken place in the United States in the last 50 years, or with the fallacies in the Marxist system which have become obvious in the last 20 years.

In addition, I don't think we are able to emphasize those facets of American life which should be most attractive. I said yesterday that the University of California has more Nobel prize winners than the Soviet Union. They find in this country, and there are 40 or 50 of them, a climate which permits them to function most effec-

tively. And all of the cultural efforts here, all of the intellectual efforts, all our great schools and universities, these are the part of the story we ought to tell.

I think the Attorney General attempted to communicate that, but of course, he is one voice. But he is attempting to—as you know, it's better to light a candle than curse the darkness. But I do agree with you that this is one of the most serious, and I think in many ways stimulating, problems we face—how to tell our story in a way that makes it new and exciting to young students and also have them examine objectively under the light of present circumstances the serious failures of the Marxist system, which can be told from the Wall to China. And I think that is our job, and I think the trip's been worthwhile for that purpose alone.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, there has been considerable discussion regarding possible tax reduction. Would you tell us what the prospects are for an income tax cut within the next few years?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, you were—I was set to answer that till you said "the next few years." I don't know what's going to be our economic situation in the next few years. Obviously, our present tax structure brings in, in good times, a tremendous revenue and if we do not have a recession and our present tax structure remains we would be in a position, obviously, where a tax reduction in a few years or in a period of time might be possible. The fact of the matter is that if we had not had the Berlin crisis, which required a \$3.5 billion additional expenditure last summer at the time when we were considering our tax reform bill, it might have been possible to make changes in some of the categories. That was denied to us.

Therefore, for the present there is not a chance of a tax reduction. The key will be whether we can have continued prosperity, and I therefore urge again that the Congress consider very carefully the proposals that we've made which we hope can keep the

economy moving ahead. I regard that as a problem which should engage our best efforts of both parties. And we sent up a number of proposals on which at least we have our ideas: capital expenditures, the income tax for a period of time if we begin to have a slump, retraining, youth employment, and all the rest. Now, if these aren't the proper means, I'd like to have other suggestions. But you can't look at '49 and '54 and '58 and '60, and say that nothing needs to be done. So I would hope that those who do not agree—and there seem to be some—with our suggestions, I think they're obligated to come forward with some of their own. And I can assure them we will look at them most carefully, because if we have another recession in '63 and '64, it will affect our gold problems, it will affect our problem of unemployment, and all the rest. So I think it's a matter we all ought to be looking at and it's the kind of dialogue to which both of our parties ought to be addressing themselves, rather than some of the rather ancient arguments which it seems to me were settled in the days of Franklin Roosevelt.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, in view of your remarks on the military dependents' travel, is it correct to believe, then, that such travel will not be resumed until the gold flow situation improves?

THE PRESIDENT. I would prefer to talk to the—have you talk with the Defense Department who can perhaps give us more up-to-date information than I'm able to do today. And I can perhaps supplement that after the press conference with Mr. Salinger.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, if we could go back to the space question, we have been talking about a race in space, for example a race between the United States and Russia to get to the moon. Suppose now we should get this international cooperation that you've been talking about. What form would it take? Would it go so far, for example, as a joint United States-Russia mission to the

moon? Would it go that far? Or just how would it work?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it would be premature to attempt to suggest, because all we have now, so far, is an indication of interest, and we know from long experience that it's more difficult to transform these general expressions into specific agreements. So I think that we should wait until we see what response we get from the Soviets to our answer to Mr. Khrushchev and then decide what it is we can do. We are spending billions of dollars in space, and if it's possible to insure that space is peaceful and that it can be used for the benefit of everyone, then the United States must respond to any opportunity we have to insure that it's peaceful. But I can't give you an answer until we see whether the rain follows the warm wind in this case.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, Secretary Goldberg is understood to be considering a plan to permit 100 percent set-asides for labor

surplus areas in selected civilian agency procurement contracts. If he indicates his approval of this plan, will you give yours in the form of an Executive order authorizing these increased set-asides?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I'd be very responsive to that, if we can do it. I think one of the great concerns—we have a rather limited amount of contracts, both defense and civilian, that go to areas of maximum unemployment. Partly that's because there aren't sufficient plants in those areas. But in answer to your question, if Mr. Goldberg suggests it, I would be inclined to approve it, though I'd like to—I'd first have to examine it in more detail than I have up to this time.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's twenty-fifth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, February 21, 1962.

60 Reply to Chairman Khrushchev's Message on the Flight of Colonel Glenn. *February 21, 1962*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I thank you warmly for your message of congratulations on Colonel Glenn's successful space flight, and I welcome your statement that our countries should cooperate in the exploration of space. I have long held this same belief and indeed put it forward strongly in my first state of the Union message.

We of course believe also in strong support of the work of the United Nations in this field and we are cooperating directly with many other countries individually. But obviously special opportunities and responsibilities fall to our two countries.

I am instructing the appropriate officers of this Government to prepare new and concrete proposals for immediate projects of common action, and I hope that at a very early date our representatives may meet to discuss our ideas and yours in a spirit of practical cooperation

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Mr. Khrushchev's message, dated February 21, is published in the State Department Bulletin (vol. 46, p. 411). For the proposals of joint action with the Soviet Union in the exploration of outer space, see Item 96.

61 Remarks at the Presentation of NASA's Distinguished Service Medal to Dr. Robert R. Gilruth and Col. John H. Glenn, Jr.
February 23, 1962

Mr. Vice President:

As Lieutenant Shepard and Major Grissom have learned, and as Colonel Glenn is now learning, the hazards of space flight only begin when the trip is over. And now that Colonel Glenn has been launched into public orbit, we are proud of him—as we are of all the astronauts and those who are connected with this great effort.

Two weeks ago, when Colonel Glenn came by the White House, I asked him how he enjoyed the public attention, and he said that he wished that they were paying more attention to the scientific part of the voyage rather than to his wife's hair. My own feeling is that both are equally important, in the sense that we are proud of this trip because of its scientific achievement and we are also proud of it because of the men and women that are involved in it. Our boosters may not be as large as some others, but the men and women are.

So it is my great pleasure to speak on behalf of all of our fellow Americans in expressing our pride and satisfaction to those so intimately involved in this effort. All of us remember a few dates in this century, and those of us who were very young remember Colonel Lindbergh's flight, and Pearl Harbor, and the end of the war—and we remember the flight of Alan Shepard and Major Grissom, and we remember the flight of Colonel Glenn.

I want to first express our thanks to Dr. Gilruth who headed the team which is represented by all of you here today, who led the Mercury project, who has been intimately connected with it, who represents the kind of American genius for organization, particularly in the scientific field, upon which we put so much of our hopes.

So, Doctor, if you will step forward, I would like to present you an award which is

highly merited and which comes from us all. It says:

"The President of the United States takes pleasure in awarding the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Distinguished Service Medal to Robert R. Gilruth for services as set forth in the following Citation: For his distinguished leadership of the team of scientists and engineers that carried Project Mercury, the United States' initial manned space flight program, from its inception to the successful accomplishment of manned flight in orbit about the earth. The achievements of this Project have considerably enhanced the prestige of the United States and reflect the greatest credit on him and upon his country."

It is signed by Mr. Webb and it is given to you by all of us here and around the country.

Now, Colonel Glenn, will you step forward. Seventeen years ago today, a group of Marines put the American flag on Mount Suribachi, so it is very appropriate that today we decorate Colonel Glenn of the United States Marine Corps, and also realize that in the not too distant future a Marine or a Naval man or an Air Force man will put the American flag on the moon.

I present this citation:

"The President of the United States takes pleasure in awarding the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Distinguished Service Medal to Lieutenant Colonel John H. Glenn, Jr., United States Marine Corps, for services set forth in the following: For exceptionally meritorious service to the Government of the United States in a duty of great responsibility as the first American Astronaut to perform orbital flight. Lieutenant Colonel Glenn's orbital flight on February 20, 1962, made an outstanding contribution to the advancement of human

knowledge of space technology and in demonstration of man's capabilities in space flight.

"His performance was marked by his great professional knowledge, his skill as a test pilot, his unflinching courage, and his extraordinary ability to perform most difficult tasks under conditions of great physical stress and personal danger. His performance in fulfillment of this most dangerous assignment reflects the highest credit upon himself and the United States."

Colonel, we appreciate what you have done!

We have Mr. and Mrs. Glenn, who launched Colonel Glenn originally—they are

right here in the front row—and also Mrs. Glenn and David and Lynn.

And we would like to have you say a word to everybody.

[Colonel Glenn expressed his appreciation for the award. He stressed the team effort in Project Mercury and said that the accomplishment of the orbital flight represented the combined efforts of many thousands of people all over the country.]

NOTE: The President spoke in Hangar S at Cape Canaveral, Fla. In his opening words he referred to Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson who had gone to Grand Turk Island, where Colonel Glenn had been staying since the orbit, to accompany him back to the United States.

62 Message to Chairman Khrushchev Concerning the Forthcoming Disarmament Negotiations in Geneva. *February 25, 1962*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I regret that in your message of February 21, you seem to challenge the motivations of Prime Minister Macmillan and myself in making our proposal of February 7 that the forthcoming Disarmament Conference open at the Foreign Minister level. I believe that there can be a legitimate difference of opinion on the most effective and orderly way to make progress in the vitally important field of disarmament. You have presented your own views and I do not wish to imply that they are motivated by anything other than your own conviction that the way you suggest is the best way to proceed. However, I must say that even though I have given the most careful thought to the considerations you advance, I continue to hold to my view that the personal participation in Geneva by the Heads of Government should be reserved until a later stage in the negotiations when certain preliminary work has been accomplished.

Indeed some of the statements you make reinforce my view in this respect. Your discussion of the control problem, for example, is based, in my view, on a funda-

mental misconception of the United States position that can probably best be clarified in the light of discussion of specific verification requirements for specific disarmament measures. It is not true, as you allege, that the United States is seeking to establish complete control over national armaments from the beginning of the disarmament process. Our position is a quite simple one and it is that whatever disarmament obligations are undertaken must be subject to satisfactory verification. For example, if, as we have both proposed, there is an agreement to reduce the level of armed forces to a specified number, we must be able to ensure through proper verification mechanisms that this level is not exceeded. I do not propose here to discuss this subject at length. I wish merely to point out that this is the type of issue on which more work should be done before it can usefully be dealt with at a Heads of Government meeting.

If it were not for the existence of the Statement of Agreed Principles which was worked out so laboriously between representatives of our two countries last year, there might be greater force to your reason-

ing that Heads of Government should meet at the outset to set directions for the negotiations. In my view the Statement of Agreed Principles constitutes just the type of framework which would be the most that could be expected at this point from a meeting of the Heads of Government. Since this has already been done, I believe now we need to have our representatives do further exploratory work of a more detailed nature.

As I have said and as I now repeat, I think it is of the utmost importance that the Heads of Government of the major nuclear powers assume a personal responsibility for directing their countries' participation in and following the course of these negotiations. I can assure you that the Secretary of State would present my views with complete authority. Even so, I hope developments in the Conference and internationally would make it useful to arrange for the personal participation of the Heads of Government before June 1. I do not, however, believe that this should be done at the outset and I must say frankly, Mr. Chairman, that I believe this view is well founded. I believe that to have such a meeting at this point would be to begin with the wrong end of the problem. The Heads of Government should meet to resolve explicit points of disagreement which might remain after the issues have been carefully explored and the largest possible measure of agreement has been worked out at the diplomatic level.

I continue to hope that you will agree to the proposed procedure which was set forth in Prime Minister Macmillan's and my initial letter of February 7. I believe that the replies which have been made by other prospective participants to your messages indicate a general support for this approach and I trust that you will give a favorable response.

I cannot conclude this letter without mentioning briefly the problem of nuclear testing. Since I assumed the Office of President of the United States, the conclusion of a nuclear test agreement has been a primary

objective of mine. The record of American participation in the negotiations on this subject has demonstrated fully the creative effort we made to achieve agreement. It must be understood that in the absence of an agreement which provides satisfactory assurance that all States will abide by the obligations they undertake, there is no real basis for securing a safe end to the competition in the development of nuclear weapons. It is strange for the Soviet Union, which first broke the truce on nuclear testing, now to characterize any resumption of testing by the United States as an aggressive act.

It was resumption of testing by the Soviet Union which put this issue back into the context of the arms race and that consequently forced the United States to prepare to take such steps as may be necessary to insure its own security. Any such steps could not be characterized now as "aggressive acts." They would be a matter of prudent policy in the absence of the effectively controlled nuclear test agreement that we have so earnestly sought.

In our February 7 message, the Prime Minister and I attempted to lay a further framework for the conduct of the negotiations. We believe that in a preliminary meeting among the Foreign Ministers of the United States, United Kingdom and USSR views could be exchanged and agreement reached on the three parallel approaches we suggested and on some of the procedural aspects which we might jointly recommend to guide the Committee's work. Such a discussion, together with the Statement of Agreed Principles, could give a valuable direction and impetus to the Committee's work.

Mr. Chairman, I think you agree that we must approach this meeting with utmost seriousness and dedication if we are to avoid a gradual drift to the same kind of aimless and propaganda-oriented talk which has characterized so much of past disarmament negotiations. This can be best achieved if we who are ultimately responsible for the

positions we take, and our chief diplomatic officials, concern ourselves directly, as we are now doing, with this subject. I believe we should consider most carefully as we proceed when and how our actual participation at the conference table could be of most benefit.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Chairman Khrushchev's message of February 21 is published in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 46, p. 466). For the February 7 joint message of the President and Prime Minister Macmillan, see Item 42.

The Statement of Agreed Principles is published in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 45, p. 589).

63 Remarks on the 20th Anniversary of the Voice of America.

February 26, 1962

OCCUPYING as I do a rather secondary status these days, I am very appreciative to you all for waiting. I think that this meeting is tied up with the common American interest in Colonel Glenn, and I feel that in addition to being dry, we are also contributing a little to telling the story of which he is a great part—as are Alan Shepard and the others.

I was most anxious to come here personally today, because I put such great importance in the work that you are doing. The Voice of America occupies, I believe, a key part in the story of American life. What we do here in this country, and what we are, what we want to be, represents really a great experiment in a most difficult kind of self-discipline, and that is the organization and maintenance and development of the progress of free government. And it is your task, as the executives and participants in the Voice of America, to tell that story around the world.

This is an extremely difficult and sensitive task. On the one hand you are an arm of the Government and therefore an arm of the Nation, and it is your task to bring our story around the world in a way which serves to represent democracy and the United States in its most favorable light. But on the other hand, as part of the cause of freedom, and the arm of freedom, you are obliged to tell our story in a truthful way, to tell it, as Oliver Cromwell said about his portrait, "Paint us with all our blemishes and warts, all those things about us that may not be so immediately attractive."

We compete with other means of communication, of those who are our adversaries who tell only the good stories. But the things that go bad in America, you must tell that also. And we hope that the bad and the good is sifted together by people of judgment and discretion and taste and discrimination, that they will realize what we are trying to do here.

This presents to you an almost impossible challenge, and it is a source of satisfaction to me that in the last 20 years you have met that challenge so well. I know that there are those who are always critical of the Voice, but I believe that over the years, faced with this very difficult challenge, far more difficult than that of an American editor or a newspaperman, or a commentator on an American radio or television station, you have been able to tell our story in a way which makes it believable and credible. And that is what I hope you will continue to do in the future.

The first words that the Voice of America spoke were 20 years ago. They said, "The Voice of America speaks. Today America has been at war for 79 days. Daily at this time we shall speak to you about America and the war, and the news may be good or bad. We shall tell you the truth." And so you have, for 20 years—and so you shall for 20 years more.

In 1946 the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution reading in part, "Freedom of information is a fundamental human right, and the touchstone of all the freedoms to which the United Nations is

consecrated." This is our touchstone as well. This is the code of the Voice of America. We welcome the views of others. We seek a free flow of information across national boundaries and oceans, across iron curtains and stone walls. We are not afraid to entrust the American people with unpleasant facts, foreign ideas, alien philosophies, and competitive values. For a nation that is afraid to let its people judge the truth and falsehood in an open market is a nation that is afraid of its people.

The Voice of America thus carries a heavy responsibility. Its burden of truth is not easy to bear. It must explain to a curious and suspicious world what we are. It must tell them of our basic beliefs. It must tell them of a country which is in some ways a rather old country—certainly old as republics go. And yet it must make our ideas alive and new and vital in the high competition which goes on around the world since the end of World War II.

In the last 20 years the Voice of America and its parent organization have grown in strength and in stature, but in the next 20 years our opportunities to tell our story will expand beyond belief. The advent of the communications satellite, the modernization of education of less-developed nations, the new wonders of electronics and technology, all these and other developments will give our generation an unprecedented opportunity to tell our story. And we must not only be equal to the opportunity, but to the challenge as well.

For in the next 20 years your problem and ours as a country, in telling our story, will grow more complex. The choices we

present to the world will be more difficult, and for some the future will seem even more empty of hope and progress. The barrage upon truth will grow more constant, and some people cannot bear the responsibility of a free choice which goes with self-government. And finally, shrinking from choice, they turn to those who prevent them from choosing, and thus find in a kind of prison, a kind of security.

We believe that people are capable of standing the burdens and the pressures which choice places upon them, and it is because of this strong conviction that this organization functions, and it is because there is this commitment to this view that you continue to serve in it.

None of you are interested in serving in an agency which merely reflects a line which the Government from time to time may set down. You serve in it—and you all could serve in different agencies or in different parts of life—because you believe, I am sure, that this is a vital part of telling our story around the world.

And as you tell it, it spreads. And as it spreads, not only is the security of the United States assisted, but the cause of freedom.

So I salute you on your 20th birthday and say that in the next 20 years when these choices will become more vital to us, I believe that the Voice of America will be fulfilling its function, as it did that first day when it committed itself to truth.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke to the Voice of America employees at 12:15 p.m. in the auditorium of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

64 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting a Bill To Continue and Expand the Peace Corps. *February 26, 1962*

Dear Mr. ————:

The Peace Corps is now one year old. Twelve months ago I asserted that only through the most careful planning and negotiation could its success be assured. Today I am pleased to report to the Congress that its early successes have fulfilled expectations.

Careful preparation and sound training have assured the selection of qualified men and women and minimized health and other hazards. Economy of operation has held actual expenditures for each volunteer recruited, selected, trained and supported overseas to an admirably low level. Careful selection of administrative personnel, both at home and abroad, has resulted in maximum efficiency with minimum staff.

I am transmitting herewith, for the consideration of the Congress, legislation to enable continuation of the current Peace Corps program, and to make possible a further expansion of its work. This legislation will permit the Peace Corps to have 6,700 volunteers in the field by June 30, 1963, compared to the maximum of 2,400 permitted under the present appropriation. While this number will still not permit us to meet all requests from foreign countries, it will enable us to make the most of an historic opportunity to achieve better understanding among nations.

By June 30th of this year there will be 2,400 Peace Corps Volunteers in service or in training. Another 2,700 are scheduled to enter training in July or August of this year. But the overwhelming response to this program in actual operation abroad makes further expansion both necessary and desirable. Volunteers have been welcomed with friendliness and affection in every one of the villages, towns, schools, factories and hospitals to which they have gone to share their skills with the peoples of less developed nations.

In many instances Peace Corps Volunteers are working where no American has ever lived or even travelled. The enthusiasm with which they are received is perhaps best reflected in this statement on the Peace Corps by President Alberto Lleras Camargo of Colombia: “. . . the finest way in which the United States could prove to the humble people of this and other lands that the primary purpose of its international aid program is to build a better life in all of the free world's villages and neighborhoods.”

The reception accorded the Peace Corps is underscored by the fact that every one of the twelve countries in which volunteers are now at work has requested additional volunteers. In most cases the Peace Corps has been asked to triple and quadruple the number of men and women already supplied. Nigeria, for example, has requested 400 additional teachers.

Equally heartening has been the enthusiasm for the Peace Corps in our own country. More than 20,000 Americans have volunteered to serve—a convincing demonstration that we have in this country an immense reservoir of dedicated men and women willing to express by their actions and convictions the highest values of our society. Although the average age is 24½ for men and 25 for women, many of the volunteers are in their thirties and forties—and three are in their sixties. Approximately 1/3 are women—nurses, home economists, social workers and teachers. These volunteers are from every part of the Nation and represent every segment of American life. As an extra bonus to our own country, Peace Corps graduates will constitute an invaluable addition to the very limited pool of trained manpower in our own country with this kind of constructive overseas experience; and I have no doubt that many of them will go on to make still further con-

tributions to their country in the Foreign Service and other posts.

The Peace Corps has successfully weathered its experimental period, and has enjoyed widespread bi-partisan support. I urge prompt consideration of the legislation authorizing an increase in the authorization to 63.75 million dollars for Peace Corps programs in fiscal year 1963. This legislation will also effect a small number of other changes designed to make it more effective.

I urge the Congress to give prompt consideration and approval to this clearly justified measure.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

On April 27 the President approved an act providing for an extension of the Peace Corps Act (Public Law 87-442, 76 Stat. 62).

65 Special Message to the Congress on National Health Needs.

February 27, 1962

To the Congress of the United States:

The basic resource of a nation is its people. Its strength can be no greater than the health and vitality of its population. Preventable sickness, disability and physical or mental incapacity are matters of both individual and national concern.

We can take justifiable pride in our achievements in the field of medicine. We stand among the select company of nations for whom fear of the great epidemic plagues is long past; our life expectancy has already reached the biblical three score and ten; and, unlike so many less fortunate peoples of the world, we need not struggle for mere survival. But measured against our capacity and capability in the fields of health and medical care, measured against the scope of the problems that remain and the opportunities to be seized, this nation still falls far short of its responsibility.

Many thousands needlessly suffer from infectious diseases for which preventive measures are available. We are still tenth among the nations of the world in our infant mortality rate. Prolonged and costly illness in later years robs too many of our older citizens of pride, purpose and savings. In many communities the treatment of the mentally ill and the mentally retarded is totally inadequate. And there are increasingly severe shortages of skilled personnel in all the vital health professions.

Basically, health care is a responsibility of individuals and families, of communities and voluntary agencies, of local and state governments. But the Federal Government shares this responsibility by providing leadership, guidance and support in areas of national concern. And the Congress last year recognized this responsibility in important ways.

PROGRESS DURING 1961

Our states and communities have responded quickly and with impressive vigor to the invitation to cooperate action extended by the Community Health Services and Facilities Act passed by the Congress and signed into law only four months ago. As a result, better care for the chronically ill and the aged will soon be available in many parts of the Nation, both inside and outside the hospitals and other institutions in this program.

There is also visible progress in the effort to control water pollution, resulting from the expanded legislation passed by the Congress in 1961. Last year construction was begun on more waste treatment plants than ever before in our history—30 percent above the calendar year 1960 level.

There were, in addition, other important forward thrusts taken, with Federal help, in the protection of our nation's health. Medical research advanced at an accelerated pace.

We are now better equipped than ever before to evaluate and deal with radiation perils. The incidence of polio has been reduced to the lowest levels ever recorded. We have engaged our most talented doctors and scientists in an intensified search for the cause and cure of cancer, heart disease, mental illness, mental retardation, environmental health problems and other serious health hazards.

But, of the four basic improvements in the Federal health program I recommended to the Congress last year, two urgent needs—health insurance for the aged and assistance to education for the health professions—have not yet been met. The passage of time has only served to increase their urgency; and I repeat those requests today, along with other needed improvements.

I. HEALTH INSURANCE FOR THE AGED

Our social insurance system today guards against nearly every major financial setback: retirement, death, disability and unemployment. But it does not protect our older citizens against the hardships of prolonged and expensive illness. Under our social security system, a retired person receives cash benefits to help meet the basic cost of food, shelter and clothing—benefits to which he is entitled by reason of the contributions he made during his working years. They permit him to live in dignity and with independence—but only if a serious illness does not overtake him.

For, compared to the rest of us, our older citizens go to the hospital more often—they have more days of illness—and their stays in the hospital are thus more costly. But both their income and the proportion of their hospital bill covered by private insurance are, in most cases, substantially lower than those of younger persons.

Private health insurance has made notable advances in recent years. But older people, who need it most but can afford it least, are still unable to pay the high premiums made necessary by their dispropor-

tionately heavy use of health care services and facilities, if eligibility requirements are to be low and the scope of benefits broad. Today, only about half of our aged population has any health insurance of any kind—and most of these have insufficient coverage.

To be sure, welfare assistance, and Federal legislation to help the needy or “medically indigent,” will provide health services in some instances. But this kind of help is not only less appealing, coupled as it is with a means test, it reaches very few of those who are not eligible for public assistance but are still not able to afford the care they need.

I therefore recommend again the enactment of a health insurance program for the elderly under the Social Security system. By this means the cost of health services in later years can be spread over the working years—and every worker can face the future with pride and confidence. This program, of course, would not interfere in any way with the freedom of choice of doctor, hospital or nurse. It would not specify in any way the kind of medical or health care or treatment to be provided. But it would establish a means to pay for the following minimum levels of protection:

First—Inpatient hospital expenses for up to 90 days, in excess of \$10 per day for the first 9 days (with a minimum payment by each person of \$20), and full costs for the remaining 81 days.

Second—the cost of nursing home services up to 180 days immediately after discharge from a hospital. By providing nursing home care for twice as long as that in the hospital, the patient is encouraged to use the less expensive facilities when these will satisfy his requirements.

Third—the cost of hospital outpatient clinic diagnostic services in excess of \$20. These benefits will reduce the need for hospital admissions and encourage early diagnosis.

Fourth—the cost of community visiting nurse services, and related home health services, for a limited number of visits. These

will enable many older people to receive proper health care in their own homes.

It should be emphasized that we are discussing a gap in our self-financed, contributory social insurance system. These are all insurance benefits which will be available to everyone over 65 who is eligible for Social Security or Railroad Retirement benefits. They would be entirely self-financed by an increase in Social Security contributions of one quarter of one percent each on employers and employees, and by an increase in the maximum earnings base from \$4800 a year to \$5200 a year. No burden on the general revenues is involved. I am not unmindful of the fact, however, that none of our social insurance systems is universal in its coverage—and that direct payments may be necessary to provide help to those not covered for health insurance by Social Security. But the two problems should not be confused—and those who have made no contribution toward such a fund should not be regarded as in the same category as those who have—and because a minority lacks the protection of social security is no reason to deny additional self-financed benefits to the great majority which it covers.

II. HEALTH PROFESSIONS PERSONNEL

The nation's health depends on the availability and efficient use of highly trained and skilled professional people. These people are in very short supply. Unless we take steps to train more physicians and more dentists, the promise of modern medicine can not be fully realized.

In an earlier message this year, I repeated my recommendation for Federal aid for the construction and expansion of schools of medicine, osteopathy, dentistry and public health, and for helping talented but needy students pursue their professional education. I recommended: (1) A 10-year program of grants to plan and construct such professional schools in order to increase the nation's training capacity; and (2) a program of Federal scholarship aid for talented stu-

dents in need of financial assistance, plus cost-of-education payments to the schools.

The urgency of this proposal cannot be repeated too often. It takes time to construct new facilities and many years for doctors to be trained. A young man entering college this fall will not be ready to start his practice until 1972—and even later if he plans to enter a specialty. The costs of construction and operation are mounting. Only six schools of medicine have been opened in the last decade; and the number of graduates has risen only 15 percent. Over the same period, student applications to medical schools have declined sharply. Our ratio of active physicians to population is less today than it was 10 years ago, and growing worse, and in the next 10 years we shall need to expand existing medical and dental school facilities, and to construct 20 new medical and 20 new dental schools.

We must also provide financial help to talented but needy students. I have previously expressed concern over the fact that medicine is increasingly attracting only the sons and daughters of high income families—43 percent of the students in our nation's medical schools in 1959 came from the 12 percent of the United States families with an annual income of \$10,000 or more.

A survey has shown that four years in medical school cost each student of the 1959 graduating class an average of \$11,600. More than half of them had to borrow substantial sums to complete their education, and one-third of the group had an average debt of \$5,000. Many of these students still have from one to seven years of additional professional training, at low stipends, still facing them. Obviously further loans and further debts are not the answer.

Also: modern health care is extremely complex. It demands the services of a skilled and diversified team of specialists and technical personnel.

But there are shortages in almost every category—and the shortages are particularly severe in nursing. Last year I authorized the Surgeon General of the Public Health

Service to set up a consultant group on nursing, and a comprehensive study of this field is well underway. I expect to receive their report in the near future.

III. IMMUNIZATION

There is no longer any reason why American children should suffer from polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, or tetanus—diseases which can cause death or serious consequences throughout a lifetime, which can be prevented, but which still prevail in too many cases.

I am asking the American people to join in a nationwide vaccination program to stamp out these four diseases, encouraging all communities to immunize both children and adults, keep them immunized, and plan for the routine immunization of children yet to be born. To assist the States and local communities in this effort over the next 3 years, I am proposing legislation authorizing a program of Federal assistance. This program would cover the full cost of vaccines for all children under five years of age. It would also assist in meeting the cost of organizing the vaccination drives begun during this period, and the cost of extra personnel needed for certain special tasks.

In addition, the legislation provides continuing authority to permit a similar attack on other infectious diseases which may become susceptible of practical eradication as a result of new vaccines or other preventive agents. Success in this effort will require the whole-hearted assistance of the medical and public health professions, and a sustained nationwide health education effort.

IV. HEALTH RESEARCH

The development of these immunization techniques was made possible by medical research, just as it has made possible the new drugs, surgical techniques and other treatments which have virtually conquered many of the leading killers of a generation ago—

tuberculosis, pneumonia, rheumatic fever and many others.

But conquest of the infectious diseases, by increasing our life span has made us more vulnerable to cancer, heart disease and other long-term illnesses. Today, two persons die from heart disease and cancer in the United States every minute. Last year, more than one million Americans fell victim to these merciless diseases.

They are not merely diseases of old age. Cancer leads all other diseases as the cause of death in children under age 15. Of the ten million Americans who suffer from heart disease, more than half of them are in their most productive years, between 25 and 64.

Fortunately, medical research, supported to an increasing degree over the past 15 years by the Federal Government, is achieving exciting breakthroughs against both cancer and heart disease as well as on many other fronts. We can now save one out of every three victims of cancer, compared to only one out of four saved less than a decade ago. Our nationwide cancer chemotherapy program is saving many children and adults who would have been considered hopeless cases only a few years ago. And advances in heart surgery have restored to productive lives many thousands, while full prevention of many forms of heart disease seems increasingly within our reach.

We must, therefore, continue to stimulate this flow of inventive ideas by supporting medical research along a very broad front. I have proposed substantially increased funds for the National Institutes of Health for 1963, particularly for research project grants, and the training of specialists in mental health. Expenditures by the Institutes in 1963 are estimated to exceed \$740 million, an increase of more than \$100 million from the current year and a four-fold increase in the last 5 years. I am also renewing my recommendation that the current limitation on payment of indirect costs by the National Institutes of Health in connection with

research grants to universities and other institutions be removed.

In keeping with the broadening horizons of medical research, I again recommend the establishment of a new Institute for Child Health and Human Development within the National Institutes of Health. Legislation to create this new Institute was introduced in the last session of Congress.

We look to such an Institute for a full-scale attack on the unsolved afflictions of childhood. It would explore prenatal influences, mental retardation, the effect of nutrition on growth, and other basic facts needed to equip a child for a healthy, happy life. It would, in addition, stimulate imaginative research into the health problems of the whole person throughout his entire life span—from infancy to the health problems of aging.

As a parallel action I am requesting authorization for contracts and cooperative arrangements for research related to maternal and child health and crippled children's services. This legislation, introduced in the last session of Congress, would strengthen the programs of the Children's Bureau in these areas, and foster effective coordination between the research activities of this Bureau and those of the proposed new Institute.

I also recommend that the present Division of General Medical Sciences at the National Institutes of Health be given the status and title of an Institute. This program supports fundamental research in biology and other sciences, and strengthens the research capabilities of universities and other institutions.

Last year, Congress enacted legislation temporarily extending and expanding the program of Federal matching grants for the construction of health research facilities. This program has been very successful, and it should be further extended.

In these and other endeavors, including our new National Library of Medicine, we must take steps to accelerate the flow of scientific communication. The accumula-

tion of knowledge is of little avail if it is not brought within reach of those who can use it. Faster and more complete communication from scientist to scientist is needed, so that their research efforts reinforce and complement each other; from researcher to practicing physician, so that new knowledge can save lives as swiftly as possible; and from the health professions to the public, so that people may act to protect their own health.

V. MENTAL HEALTH

While we have treated the physically ill with sympathy, our society has all too often rejected the mentally ill, consigning them to huge custodial institutions away from the heart of the medical community. But more recently, the signs of progress toward enlightened treatment have been increasing. The discovery and widespread use of tranquilizing drugs over the past six years has resulted in an unprecedented reduction of 32,000 patients in the census of our State mental hospitals. But one-half of our hospital beds are still occupied by the mentally ill; and hundreds of thousands of sufferers and their families are still virtually without hope for progress.

I want to take this opportunity to express my approval, and offer Federal cooperation, for the action of the Governors of the 50 States at a special National Governors Conference called last November. In accepting the challenge of the report of the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health, they pledged a greater State effort—both to transfer treatment of the majority of mental patients from isolated institutions to modern psychiatric facilities in the heart of the community, and to provide more intensive treatment for hospitalized patients in State institutions.

But this problem cuts across state lines. Since the enactment in 1946 of the National Mental Health Act, the Federal Government has provided substantial assistance for the support of psychiatric research, training of personnel and community mental health

programs. The Government is currently spending over \$1 billion annually for mental health activities and benefits. The National Institute of Mental Health alone will use approximately \$100 million this year. Approximately \$350 million is budgeted by Federal agencies for the care of the mentally ill; over \$500 million is spent annually in the form of pensions and compensation for veterans with neuro-psychiatric disorders; and additional sums for similar benefits are paid by the social security and other Federal disability programs.

But far more needs to be done. Adequate care requires a supply of well trained personnel, working both in and out of mental hospitals. In 1946, there were only 500 psychiatric outpatient clinics in the nation. Today, there are more than 1500. More than 500,000 people received treatment in these clinics last year. We are making progress—but the total effort is still far short of the need. It will require still further Federal, State and local cooperation and assistance.

I have directed the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Secretary of Labor and the Administrator of Veterans Affairs, with the assistance of the Council of Economic Advisers and the Bureau of the Budget, to review the recommendations of the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health and to develop appropriate courses of action for the Federal Government. They have been instructed to consider such questions as the desirable alignment of responsibility among Federal, State and local agencies and private groups; the channels through which Federal activities should be directed; the rate of expansion possible in the light of trained manpower availabilities; and the balance which should be maintained between institutional and non-institutional programs.

Meanwhile, we must continue our vigorous support of research to learn more about the causes and treatment of mental illness. We must train many more mental health

personnel. We must continue to strengthen treatment programs for Federal beneficiaries through our many existing Federal institutions, including St. Elizabeth's Hospital. And I have recommended added funds for the National Institute of Mental Health to increase its program for the training of professional mental health workers and physicians.

VI. MENTAL RETARDATION

The nature and extent of mental retardation is often misunderstood. It is frequently confused with mental illness. While mental illness disables after a period of normal development, mental retardation is usually either present at birth or underway during childhood. It is not a disease but a symptom of a disease, an injury, or some obscure failure of development. It refers to a lack of intellectual ability, resulting from arrested mental development, and manifesting itself in poor learning, inadequate social adjustment, and delayed achievement. Its causes are many and obscure. We are encouraged with each new discovery—but present knowledge of this condition is still so fragmentary that its prevention and cure will require continued and persistent research over an extended period of time. The present limitations of knowledge make diagnosis extremely difficult, particularly since it involves the very young. And a major obstacle to progress is the lack of personnel trained in the special skills required to work effectively with the mentally retarded.

Thus, in spite of the progress made in recent years, mental retardation remains one of our most serious health and education problems. Approximately 5 million people in the United States are mentally retarded; and each year more than 126,000 more babies are born who will suffer from this tragic affliction.

I have asked the Panel on Mental Retardation which I appointed last year to appraise the adequacies of existing programs and the

possibilities for greater utilization of current knowledge. It will review and make recommendations with regard to: (1) the personnel necessary to develop and apply new knowledge; (2) promising avenues of investigation, and the means to support and encourage research along these lines; and (3) improvement and extension of present programs of treatment, education and rehabilitation.

I expect the Panel's report before the end of this year; and we should then be ready for the next phase of the attack upon this problem. I am confident that the work of this Panel will help us chart the path toward our ultimate goal of preventing this tragic condition.

VII. TOWARD A MORE HEALTHY ENVIRONMENT

There is an increasing gap in our knowledge of the impact upon our health of the many new chemical compounds and physical and biological factors introduced daily into our environment. Every year 400 to 500 new chemicals come into use. Many of them will improve the public health. Others, regardless of every safeguard, present potential hazards. Each year there are 2 million new cases of intestinal disease. Hepatitis is at an all-time high. We need to apply additional protection against every new hazard resulting from contamination of the air we breathe or the water we drink.

As I already mentioned, the water pollution control legislation passed by the Congress last year has permitted us to step up our efforts to purify our water. We should make a similarly accelerated effort in parallel fields. I am therefore recommending:

1. Legislation to strengthen the Federal effort to prevent air pollution, a growing and serious problem in many areas. Fresh air cannot be piped into the cities, nor can it be stored for future use. Our only protection is to prevent pollution.

Under the existing Air Pollution Act, the

Federal Government is conducting badly needed research on the biological effects of air pollution; developing improved methods for identifying, measuring, analyzing, and controlling pollution; and working with State and local officials to accelerate necessary control programs.

I recommend that the Congress enact legislation to provide:

- (a) authority for an adequate research program on the causes, effects, and control of air pollution,

- (b) project grants and technical assistance to State and local air pollution control agencies to assist in the development and initiation or improvement of programs to safeguard the quality of air, and

- (c) authority to conduct studies and hold public conferences concerning any air pollution problem of interstate nature or of significance to communities in different parts of the Nation.

Legislation along these lines has already passed the Senate, and I urge final favorable action in this Congress.

2. In order to provide a central focal point for nationwide activities in the control of air pollution, water pollution, radiation hazards, and occupational hazards, I recommend the establishment of a National Environmental Health Center. This center will serve as the base laboratory for research and training activities, and as headquarters for Public Health Service personnel concerned with health hazards in the environment. It will facilitate regular and frequent collaboration between Public Health Service scientists and those with whom they should consult in other Federal agencies. The center will serve also to encourage closer cooperation with industrial research and control groups, with universities and private foundations, and with State and local agencies.

3. Finally, I have recommended an increase in the appropriations for the study and control of water and air pollution and

for research into protection against radiation peril.

VIII. ENCOURAGEMENT OF GROUP PRACTICE

Akin to the problem of increasing our overall supply of professional and technical health personnel is the problem of making more effective use of the personnel we already have. Experience in many communities has proven the value of group medical and dental practice, where general practitioners and medical specialists voluntarily join to pool their professional skills, to use common facilities and personnel, and to offer comprehensive health services to their patients. Group practice offers great promise of improving the quality of medical care, of achieving significant economies and conveniences to physician and patient alike, and of facilitating a wider and better distribution of the available supply of scarce personnel.

A major obstacle to the development of group practice, however, particularly in our smaller communities, is a lack of the specialized facilities needed. I therefore recommend legislation which will authorize a 5-year program of Federal loans for construction and equipment of group practice medical and dental facilities, with priority being given to facilities in smaller communities and to those sponsored by non-profit or cooperative organizations.

IX. HEALTH OF DOMESTIC AGRICULTURAL MIGRANT WORKERS

Domestic agricultural migrants and their families—numbering almost one million persons—have unmet health needs far greater than those of the general population. Their poor health not only affects their own lives and opportunities, but it is a threat to the members of the permanent communities through which they migrate. The poverty of these migrants, their lack of health knowledge, and their physical isolation and mobility, all tend to limit their access to community health services. To help im-

prove their health conditions, I recommend—in addition to expanding the special Public Health Service activities directed to them—the enactment of legislation to encourage the states to provide facilities and services for migrant workers.

X. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE REORGANIZATION

Changes in recent years have greatly increased the responsibilities of the Public Health Service. Some major organizational changes are necessary in order to help this agency carry out its vital tasks more effectively. I will shortly forward to the Congress a proposal which will make these reorganizational changes possible. It will permit more effective administration of community health programs and those dealing with the health hazards of the environment.

OTHER HEALTH GOALS

The struggle for improved health is never-ending. While we are pressing new attacks in sectors of past neglect and present urgency, we must continue to advance along the entire front.

Health Facilities Construction. I have asked the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to review the program of federally aided medical facility construction, to evaluate its accomplishments and future course. Through the Federal support provided by this very successful program, general medical care facilities have been constructed in most of the areas of greatest need. There are, however, large and urgent unmet requirements for facilities to provide long-term care, especially for the elderly, and short-term mental care at the community level. In addition, a growing number of existing urban hospitals require modernization so that they may continue to serve the needs of the people dependent upon them.

Health of Merchant Seamen. Over the past several years funds for the operation of the Public Health Service hospitals have

been substantially increased to improve the quality of medical care for merchant seamen and other beneficiaries. A start has also been made on enabling these hospitals to conduct medical research. I have directed the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop a plan for providing more readily accessible hospital care for seamen and for improving the physical facilities of those Public Health Service hospitals which are needed to provide such care.

Physical Fitness. The foundation of good health is laid in early life. Yet large numbers do not receive necessary health care as infants and school children. The alarming rate of correctible health defects among selective service registrants highlights the problem. In all 50 States there has been a gratifying response to my call of last year for vigorous programs for the physical development of our youth. Pilot projects stimulated by the President's Council on Youth Fitness proved that basic programs, within the reach of every school, can produce dramatic results. Our children must have an opportunity for physical development as well as for intellectual growth. Our increased national emphasis on physical fitness, based on daily vigorous activity and sound nutritional and health practices, should and will be continued.

International Health. Finally, it is imperative that we help fulfill the health needs and expectations of less developed nations, who look to us as a source of hope and strength in fighting their staggering problems of disease and hunger. Mutual efforts toward attaining better health will help create mutual understanding. Our foreign assistance program must make maximum use of the medical and other health resources, skills and experience of our nation in helping these nations advance their own knowledge and skill. We should, in addition, explore every possibility for scientific exchange and collaboration between our medical scientists and those of other nations—programs which are of benefit to all who participate and to all mankind.

CONCLUSION

Good health is a prerequisite to the enjoyment of "pursuit of happiness." Whenever the miracles of modern medicine are beyond the reach of any group of Americans, for whatever reason—economic, geographic, occupational or other—we must find a way to meet their needs and fulfill their hopes. For one true measure of a nation is its success in fulfilling the promise of a better life for each of its members. Let this be the measure of our nation.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

66 Statement by the President Upon Receiving Report of the Presidential Railroad Commission. *February 28, 1962*

IN DECEMBER 1960, President Eisenhower established, at the joint request of the nation's railways and the five unions representing the some 250,000 workers who operate the trains, a Presidential Railroad Commission. This Commission was composed of representatives of the railway unions and carriers, designated by them, and public members appointed by the President. On March 5, 1961, I appointed Judge Simon H. Rifkind to be chairman of the Commis-

sion. By the mutual and voluntary agreement of the parties, the Commission was charged with the duty to study the dispute in the railroad industry over work rules and practices and to submit to the President and to the parties a report of its findings and recommendations for the amicable settlement of the dispute.

Today, I have received the report of the Commission. It represents more than a year's work, during which, I am informed,

over 15,500 pages of oral testimony was given before the Commission, and more than 300 exhibits filed with it. In addition, special studies were made for the Commission by its staff and by outside experts. The work of the Commission represents an exhaustive study of the relations between the railroads and their operating employees.

As provided for in the memorandum of agreement entered into between the parties in October 1960, the report is remanded to them for their appropriate consideration. Under the terms of their agreement, this report is not an arbitration award. Rather it is a study by men who have conscientiously tried to ascertain the facts as they exist and to make recommendations based on these facts. It is now up to the parties themselves to consider these recommendations and, as they have agreed, to enter into immediate and expeditious collective bargaining over the issues which remain in dispute. I believe the report will be useful in this task.

The good offices of the National Mediation Board and the Secretary of Labor are available to help the parties reach agreement.

I cannot point out too strongly that while the carriers and the unions have great responsibilities to their respective interests they have an overriding responsibility to the national interest to provide the most efficient and safe rail transportation possible. I know that both sides agree with me that in serving the national interest first they serve their own interest best.

The railroads and their employees are important national assets which we must conserve. Their survival as a healthy industry and an outstanding work force vital to our economy depends to a large extent upon their cooperative ability to modernize and improve their services and practices in the face of increasing competition from other

means of transportation. In doing this, the human aspect of the equation must not be overlooked.

The railroad industry is a conspicuous illustration of the problem of changing technology. While seeking ways in which to reap the benefits of advancing technology, it is necessary at the same time to preserve basic human interests.

These demands—service to the public, modernization of the industry, protection of the legitimate rights of the workers—are the basic issues that lie on the bargaining table. I am sure that the mature wisdom of both parties, experienced as they are through many years of labor-management relations, can resolve these issues sensibly and amicably.

I commend the members of the Commission for their diligent efforts on the report they have submitted. The report contains the unanimous views of the public members, the dissenting views of the labor members and the supplemental views of the carriers. I am sure that it represents the sincere views of the various parties. I especially wish to extend my personal thanks and appreciation to Judge Simon H. Rifkind, the Commission chairman, for devoting his time and energies to the work of the Commission and for bringing his great competence and integrity to bear on its operation. Judge Rifkind has rendered another fine contribution to his already outstanding record of public service.

NOTE: The Presidential Railroad Commission was established by Executive Order 10891 of November 1, 1960 (25 F.R. 10525). Appointment of the 15 members of the Commission was announced by President Eisenhower on December 22, 1960 (see 1960-61 vol., this series, p. 880).

The Commission's report, dated February 1962 (Government Printing Office, 1962, 576 pp.) and a summary fact sheet (18 pp.) were released with President Kennedy's statement.

67 Statement by the President Recorded for the Opening of the
Red Cross Campaign. *February 28, 1962*

AS PRESIDENT of the United States and in accordance with custom, I am proclaiming the month of March as Red Cross Month. And, as Honorary Chairman of the Red Cross, I earnestly ask your help for this great cause. All of us are familiar with the work of the Red Cross, what it does for our servicemen, their families here and overseas, what it does for those who have been struck by disaster, whether by hurricanes, tornadoes, floods, what it does in collecting blood for the thousands of people in our hospitals,

whose lives might be lost without this assistance. Voluntary giving has been part of our American tradition since our earliest days and I hope, this year, in these difficult times that the American people will once again respond as they have so often in the past, generously and with a full heart. We have much to be thankful for and one of the ways we can indicate our support for this country, our support for this work, is to respond generously.

Thank you very much.

68 Remarks at the 10th Annual Presidential Prayer Breakfast.
March 1, 1962

Senator, Judge, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Justice, Governor, gentlemen:

I want to, as President, express my appreciation to all those whose efforts make this breakfast possible. This is only one of a worldwide effort, I believe, to build a closer and more intimate association among those of different faiths in different countries and in different continents, who are united by a common belief in God, and therefore united in a common commitment to the moral order—and as Governor Daniels said, the relationship of the individual to the state.

The effort made in New Delhi among the World Council of Churches, the efforts that have been made in Europe to build better understanding among men and women of different faiths, the effort made in this country, I believe are most important and most essential.

I do not suggest that religion is an instrument of the cold war. Rather it is the basis of the issue which separates us from those who make themselves our adversary. And at the heart of the matter, of course, is the position of the individual—his importance,

his sanctity, his relationship to his fellow men, his relationship to his country and his state. This is in essence the struggle, and it is necessary, therefore, that in these difficult days, when men and women who have strong religious convictions are beleaguered by those who are neither hot nor cold, or by those who are icy cold, it is most important that we make these common efforts—as we do this morning. So I congratulate you all, and express appreciation to you and hope that it will serve as an inspiration to others in other parts of our country.

I believe yesterday we saw an interesting contrast in the response which Colonel Glenn made as to whether he had prayed, and he said that he had not, that he had made his peace with his Maker many years before, and the statement made by Titov in which during his flight, as he flew over the Soviet Union he realized, he said, the wonders of the Communist system.

I preferred Colonel Glenn's answer because I thought it was so solidly based, in his own life, in his activities in his church, and I think reflects a quality which we like to

believe and I think we can believe is much a part of our American heritage. So I congratulate you.

In our program this morning there is a quotation from Lincoln which I think is particularly applicable today. He said, "I believe there is a God. I see the storm coming and I believe He has a hand in it. If He has a part and place for me, I believe that I am ready."

We see the storm coming, and we believe He has a hand in it, and if He has a place and a part for us, I believe that we are ready.

[The President spoke first to the gentlemen in the hotel's main ball room and then to the ladies in the state and east rooms.]

Ladies:

Last year I expressed some concern that instead of having been separated at these breakfasts—the pharisees and the publicans and the sinners and the saints—that the separation occurred on the basis of sex and not on those who should have been in the front room and those who were in the back room.

I do want to say, however—express my appreciation to you for the effort that you are making, to tell you how valuable I think it is that in this Capital of this most important country, upon which so much depends, that these breakfasts should be held, and that this demonstration of our commitment should be made.

We bear great responsibilities and great burdens not only to ourselves in this country but to so many around the world whose future hangs in the balance and depends so much on us.

We may not feel that our efforts are always appreciated, and I am not sure that that is so

important, but we want to make sure that our efforts are effective, and that this generation—which faces the greatest challenges that any country, any free people, have ever faced, and moves in the midst of the greatest of opportunities and the greatest of dangers—that we shall meet our responsibility, which carries with it an obligation to our country, but I think in a larger sense carries with it an obligation to all those who desire to live a life of freedom and a life which permits them to participate with their neighbors and with God in the way they choose.

So I commend you for the example you set to us all. Upon your conviction and your effort so much depends, and it is a source of satisfaction to be here with Mrs. Johnson, the Vice President's wife, and with the Governor of Texas—and Senator Carlson—Senator Stennis—most importantly, I think, of Reverend Billy Graham, who has served this cause about which I speak so well here and around the world. He has, I think, transmitted this most important quality of our common commitments to faith in a way which makes us all particularly proud.

So we are glad to see you this morning, and we appreciate what you are doing.

NOTE: The prayer breakfast of International Christian Leadership, Inc., a nondenominational group of laymen, was held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington. In his opening words the President referred to Frank Carlson, U.S. Senator from Kansas, who served as chairman of the breakfast; Boyd Leedom, a member of the National Labor Relations Board and a former justice of the South Dakota Supreme Court; John W. McCormack, U.S. Representative from Massachusetts and Speaker of the House of Representatives; Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States; and Price Daniel, Governor of Texas.

69 Special Message to the Congress on Conservation.

March 1, 1962

To the Congress of the United States:

As our population expands, as our industrial output increases, and as rising productivity makes possible increased enjoyment of

leisure time, the obligation to make the most efficient and beneficial use of our natural resources becomes correspondingly greater. The standard of living we enjoy—greater

than any other nation in history—is attributable in large measure to the wide variety and rich abundance of this country's physical resources. But these resources are not inexhaustible—nor do they automatically replenish themselves.

We depend on our natural resources to sustain us—but in turn their continued availability must depend on our using them prudently, improving them wisely, and, where possible, restoring them promptly. We must reaffirm our dedication to the sound practices of conservation which can be defined as the wise use of our natural environment; it is, in the final analysis, the highest form of national thrift—the prevention of waste and despoilment while preserving, improving and renewing the quality and usefulness of all our resources. Our deep spiritual confidence that this nation will survive the perils of today—which may well be with us for decades to come—compels us to invest in our nation's future, to consider and meet our obligations to our children and the numberless generations that will follow.

Our national conservation effort must include the complete spectrum of resources: air, water, and land; fuels, energy, and minerals; soils, forests, and forage; fish and wildlife. Together they make up the world of nature which surrounds us—a vital part of the American heritage. And we must not neglect our human resources—the Youth Conservation Corps, proposed as a part of the Administration's Youth Employment Opportunities Bill, should be established to achieve the dual objectives of conserving and developing the talents of our youth and of conserving and developing our outdoor resources.

In the second month of this Administration I sent to the Congress a message summarizing our plans for the development of our natural resources.¹ In the year which followed, heartening progress was made, including the following:

—a full scale attack on one of the most destructive forms of waste—water pollution—has been mounted under the 1961 amendments to the Water Pollution Control Act.

—the saline water program to find cheaper means of converting salt water to fresh water was given new impetus by legislation enacted last year; three demonstration plants have begun operation and two more will shortly be under construction.

—flood plain studies were initiated under a new nationwide program to provide the States and local governments with information needed to regulate the use of flood plains, thereby minimizing frightful flood losses.

—work was started on 74 major water resources projects and 79 small watershed projects, and planning for water resources development has been intensified.

—under recently issued regulations, sufficient land can now be acquired in the construction of Federally-financed reservoirs to preserve the recreational potential of those areas.

—our urban areas can now guide their growth and development through the acquisition of open space for recreation and other purposes under the Housing Act of 1961—a landmark in conservation effort.

—the great outer beach of Cape Cod is now a National Seashore Area, protected for the present and future enjoyment of all Americans, the first major addition to the National Park System in 14 years.

—a long-range duck stamp program has been launched to acquire additional lands for waterfowl so that they may grow and thrive.

—a 10-year projection of needs and plans for the development of our national forests was sent to the Congress last September—a major step forward in the management of publicly-owned forests.

—the Delaware River Basin Compact was approved, providing a new basis for cooperative and coordinate development.

¹ See 1961 volume, this series, Item 49.

—the Tennessee Valley Authority is giving new emphasis to tributary watershed development.

This progress is gratifying. But much remains to be done—our renewed interest and momentum must not wane. To provide an opportunity for the exchange of further ideas—and to permit those who have dedicated their efforts to the principles of conservation to participate in evaluating the progress that has been made—and to seek the best possible advice in prescribing what must be done in the future—I propose to convene a White House Conference on Conservation this year.

I. OUTDOOR RECREATION RESOURCES

Adequate outdoor recreational facilities are among the basic requirements of a sound national conservation program. The increased leisure time enjoyed by our growing population and the greater mobility made possible by improved highway networks have dramatically increased the Nation's need for additional recreational areas. The 341 million visits to Federal land and water areas recorded in 1960 are expected to double by 1970 and to increase fivefold by the end of the century. The need for an aggressive program of recreational development is both real and immediate.

The Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, after a three-year study of our Nation's recreational demands and opportunities, has submitted a series of recommendations deserving the attention of governments at all levels and of the citizenry at large. Many of the Commission's suggestions have already been explored and developed to the point where we are prepared to recommend legislation implementing them. Others will be carefully considered and, where appropriate, put into effect by Executive action; where additional legislation is required, recommendations will be made to the Congress.

1. More than 20 different Federal Depart-

ments and Agencies have responsibilities of one sort or another in the field of recreation. It is essential that there be close coordination among these different groups and that all plans be fitted into a basic national policy. Accordingly, as recommended by the ORRRC Report, I shall appoint an Outdoor Recreation Advisory Council made up of the heads of Departments and Agencies principally concerned with recreation—to provide a proper forum for considering national recreation policy and to facilitate coordinated efforts among the various agencies.¹

2. Another organizational recommendation of the ORRRC Report to be adopted is the creation within the Department of the Interior of a Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.² This Bureau will carry out planning functions already assigned to the Department of the Interior and will administer the program of Federal assistance for State agencies I am proposing below. This new Bureau will serve as a focal point within the Federal Government for the many activities related to outdoor recreation, and will work and consult with the Departments of Agriculture, Army, and Health, Education, and Welfare, the Housing and Home Finance Agency and with other governmental agencies in implementing Federal outdoor recreation policies.

3. The interest and investment in recreational development by the various States have been irregular and uneven. Some have demonstrated outstanding organizational skills with corresponding benefits. The ORRRC recommendation that the States should be encouraged and aided in their efforts to understand and realize the full potential that lies within their boundaries rests on sound ground. Accordingly, I urge the Congress to enact legislation which

¹ On April 27 the President issued Executive Order 11017 "Providing for Coordination With Respect to Outdoor Resources and Establishing the Recreation Advisory Council" (27 F.R. 4141).

² Established by the Secretary of Interior on April 2.

will shortly be transmitted to establish a program of matching grants for the development of State plans for outdoor recreational programs. This program will supplement that enacted last year which authorized assistance to State and local governments in planning and acquiring open space lands in urban areas for recreation, conservation and other purposes.

4. In most cases the magnificent national parks, monuments, forests and wildlife refuges presently maintained and operated by the Federal Government have either been donated by States or private citizens or carved out of lands in the public domain. No longer can these sources be relied upon—we must move forward with an affirmative program of land acquisition for recreational purposes. For with each passing year, prime areas for outdoor recreation and fish and wildlife are pre-empted for suburban growth, industrial development or other uses. That expenditures for land resources is also a sound financial investment is clear from the multiplied value of those lands now devoted to parks, forests, and wildlife refuges which were acquired decades ago by the great conservationists—moreover, steadily rising land prices can in some cases serve to foreclose public acquisition. Expansion of our permanent recreational land base can best be achieved by investments in our future in the form of modest user payments from those who now enjoy our superb outdoor areas and from recreation and land related receipts.

To meet our national needs for adequate outdoor recreational lands, I propose creation of a "Land Conservation Fund" to be financed by (1) proceeds from entrance, admission, or user fees and charges at Federal recreation areas; (2) annual user charges on recreation boats; (3) diversion from the Highway Trust Fund of refundable, but unclaimed, taxes paid on gasoline used in motor boats; and (4) receipts from the sale of surplus Federal nonmilitary lands.

To prevent costly delay in beginning an

acquisition program, I recommend authorization be granted to include advances from the Treasury not to exceed \$500 million over an eight-year period in the proposed "Land Conservation Fund" which will be repaid from the regular revenue sources of the Fund. Money would be made available from the Fund for land acquisition by annual appropriations by the Congress.

5. Last year's Congressional approval of the Cape Cod National Seashore Area should be regarded as the path-breaker for many other worthy park land proposals pending before the Congress. I urge favorable action on legislation to create Point Reyes National Seashore in California; Great Basin National Park in Nevada; Ozark Rivers National Monument in Missouri; Sagamore Hill National Historic Site in New York; Canyonlands National Park in Utah; Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in Michigan; Prairie National Park in Kansas; Padre Island National Seashore in Texas; and a National Lakeshore Area in Northern Indiana. Acquisition of these park lands would be financed through the "Land Acquisition Fund."

6. In some sections of the United States—notably the East—available public lands do not meet the large recreational demands. These pent-up demands can be met in some instances through the disposal of lands surplus to Federal needs. I recommend that the Federal Surplus Property Disposal Act be amended to permit States and local governments to acquire surplus Federal lands for park, recreation or wildlife uses on more liberal terms. Furthermore as the ORRRC report pointed out, fishing, hiking, picnicking, riding, and camping activities on private lands can—and should be intensified and encouraged. One important step in this direction is the recommendation made in my Message on Agriculture which would permit the orderly movement of millions of acres of land not needed to produce food and fibers to recreational and other uses.

7. The special urgent recreation needs of

our urban dwellers, first recognized by Congress in the Housing Act of 1961, are evident from the dramatic response to this Administration's open-space land programs on the part of States and cities throughout the Nation. In view of the known backlog of need for recreational lands, and the remarkable rate at which urban and suburban lands are being put to other uses, I have recommended that the present open-space grant authorization be increased by \$50 million.

8. The fast-vanishing public shorelines of this country constitute a joint problem for the Federal Government and the States requiring a carefully conceived program of preservation. I recommend approval of legislation along the lines of S. 543, as approved by the Senate, to authorize a study of the ocean, lake and river shorelines of the Nation to develop a Federal-State shoreline preservation program.

9. Finally, we must protect and preserve our Nation's remaining wilderness areas. This key element of our Conservation program should have priority attention.

I therefore again strongly urge the Congress to enact legislation establishing a National Wilderness preservation system along the lines of S. 174, introduced by Senator Anderson.

II. WATER RESOURCES

Our nation's progress is reflected in the history of our great river systems. The water that courses through our rivers and streams holds the key to full national development. Uncontrolled, it wipes out homes, lives and dreams, bringing disaster in the form of floods; controlled, it is an effective artery of transportation, a boon to industrial development, a source of beauty and recreation, and the means for turning arid areas into rich and versatile cropland. In no resource field are conservation principles more applicable. By 1980, it is estimated, our national water needs will nearly double—

by the end of the century they will triple. But the quantity of water which nature supplies will remain almost constant.

Our goal, therefore, is to have sufficient water sufficiently clean in the right place at the right time to serve the range of human and industrial needs. And we must harmonize conflicting objectives—for example, irrigation vs. navigation, multiple-purpose reservoirs vs. scenic park sites. Comprehensive and integrated planning is the only solution of this problem, requiring cooperative efforts at all levels of government.

I, therefore, again urge the Congress to enact the Water Resources Planning Act which I transmitted to the Congress last July which would

- authorize Federal grants-in-aid to assist the States in water resource planning;

- authorize the establishment of river basin commissions representing State and national views to prepare and keep up to date coordinated and integrated basin plans; and

- establish a Water Resources Council of key Cabinet officers to coordinate Federal river basin planning and development activities.

This Administration adheres to the policy enunciated in my Natural Resources message of last year that our available water supply will be used to provide maximum benefits for all purposes—hydroelectric power, irrigation and reclamation, navigation, recreation and wildlife, and municipal and industrial water supply. These diverse uses and our future needs require thoughtful preservation and full development of our national water resources.

The lead time is long in the development of water resources. Years are required to plan and build sound projects. Time should not be lost on those projects which have already been transmitted to the Congress for authorization: San Juan-Chama, Fryingpan-Arkansas, Burns Creek, Garrison Diversion and Auburn-Folsom South. Federal plan-

ning efforts have been intensified and studies and recommendations for authorization of additional water developments accelerated. These plans and recommendations will be submitted to the Congress as they are completed.

III. PUBLIC LANDS

One hundred and fifty years ago the vacant lands of the West were opened to private use. One hundred years ago the Congress passed the Homestead Act, probably the single greatest stimulus to national development ever enacted. Under the impetus of that Act and other laws, more than 1.1 billion acres of the original public domain have been transferred to private and non-Federal public ownership. The 768 million acres remaining in Federal ownership are a valuable national asset.

Although the acres set aside for national parks, forests, and wildlife refuges are contributing increasingly to the national welfare, we must take action to assure that the full potential is realized from the vacant unused areas in the public domain (180 million acres, exclusive of Alaska). More intensive management is now being applied to the public domain lands, but still more needs to be done. For example, we plan to establish a realistic schedule of fees and charges for use of Federal range lands, to replace the peculiar patchwork schedule now in effect.

As a basis for making the public domain lands more productive, a comprehensive inventory has been initiated. Although most public domain lands must be retained in Federal ownership for defense and conservation purposes, there are numerous tracts which can be utilized best through private ownership. We are currently updating procedures for land exchanges to provide more orderly patterns of land tenure on both public and private lands. But unfortunately, the laws governing the transfer of public lands

to other ownerships are antiquated and new procedures are sorely needed. I urge enactment of a new general land-sale law along the lines of H.R. 7788, as introduced by Congressman Aspinall.

IV. SOIL, WATERSHED AND RANGE RESOURCES

For a quarter of a century, we have recognized that a major responsibility for resources conservation rests with the farmers, ranchers, and others who own three-fourths of the Nation's land area. Today, 29,000 soil conservation districts provide leadership in the conservation effort with Federal technical and financial assistance.

Much progress has been made—by land terracing, strip cropping, and other erosion prevention and water conservation measures—but nearly three-fourths of private crop and range lands still need improved conservation practices. Joint action to conserve this basic resource—the land—must be continued and intensified for the benefit of future generations.

During 1961 more watershed projects were approved for construction than in any previous year. This accelerated pace must be continued, on both public and private lands. These projects, while comparatively small, are of vital importance to rural areas and should be as broadly beneficial to the watershed area as possible. I urge, therefore, that the Congress enact legislation which will shortly be transmitted to clarify certain provisions of the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act and to allow deferred repayment of municipal and industrial water supply costs.

A special problem of land conservation calling for immediate attention is the serious erosion and river pollution created by surface mining practices. Techniques must promptly be devised to prevent or minimize this despoilment if we are not to abandon great areas of scenic beauty and create difficult silting problems in many sections of the

country. I have directed the Secretary of the Interior, working with appropriate Federal agencies and with the States, to recommend a program of research and action.

V. TIMBER RESOURCES

Timber growth, particularly in softwoods, must be increased significantly if we are to meet the Nation's projected future requirements for wood products. The growing of timber is a long-term project, requiring concerted public and private efforts, and considerable advance planning.

A major advance in Federal forestry efforts was the 10-year development program established for the national forests and announced last September. The Secretary of the Interior is currently preparing a comparable program for the forests under the jurisdiction of his Department.

To implement these, I recommend approval of legislation to be sent to the Congress shortly to accelerate the development of national multiple-purpose forest roads and trails.

Although management of public forests and the large private forests rests on a sound basis, there is opportunity for further improvement. For example, one step that can and will be taken is the establishment of a policy permitting the Federal Government to condition its granting of rights-of-way to private timber land owners within National Forests upon the receipt of corresponding rights to cross their private lands in order to harvest timber from National Forests. For an effective national timber resources conservation effort, however, we must depend upon the quarter-billion acres of private timber lands, consisting primarily of small tracts in more than four million ownerships.

Improved timber management practice on these small tracts is difficult because of such problems as nonresident ownership, short tenure, owner's lack of knowledge or interest in forestry, limited economic incentives, and the inefficient size of forest units. Existing technical and financial assistance

programs have proven inadequate, and I have therefore directed the Secretary of Agriculture to intensify the efforts of his Department to develop a program for improving the management of those small forests.

VI. MINERALS

During the last 30 years, this nation has consumed more minerals than all the peoples of the world had previously used. Twice in those 30 years we have doubled the rate of mineral production. Current demands are being met without difficulty primarily because of the immense technical and exploratory efforts of the 1940's and early 1950's. But present availability of raw materials must not blind us to tomorrow's requirements.

Conservation of mineral resources benefits from the fact that, for practical purposes, they are not fixed in quantity—the useable volume and variety of minerals increase as technology advances. We have learned to use a host of materials which had no previous value or had value only in limited uses.

Technical research is obviously the critical element in a program of conserving and strengthening both our mineral resources and our minerals industries. To assure us of adequate quantities of minerals in the future, and to enable our minerals industries to compete in world markets, we must find more effective means of discovering and extracting mineral deposits, learn to refine materials of lower quality, and find both new uses for minerals which are relatively abundant, and substitutes for those which are scarce or difficult to procure.

A possible breakthrough for one of the hardest-hit minerals industries is the recent development of a coal slurry—a mixture of coal and water—which can be fed directly into great boilers for producing steam to generate electricity. This slurry, capable of being transported through pipelines similar to those used for oil, holds great promise and merits governmental and industrial consideration. I will shortly send to the Con-

gress proposals to facilitate the construction of pipelines to transport coal slurry in interstate commerce.

VII. POWER

One of the major challenges in resource conservation lies in the orderly development and efficient utilization of energy resources to meet the Nation's electric power needs—needs which double every decade. The goal of this Administration is to ensure an abundance of low cost power for all consumers—urban and rural, industrial and domestic. To achieve this, we must use more effectively all sources of fuel, find cheaper ways to harness nuclear energy, develop our hydroelectric potential, utilize presently unused heat produced by nature or as a by-product of industrial processes, and even capture the energy of the tides where feasible.

The ability to make long-range plans for the expansion of our Nation's electric power supply required by constantly growing power needs will be enhanced by a comprehensive nationwide survey to be undertaken by the Federal Power Commission. Under existing authority contained in the Federal Power Act, the Commission will project our national power needs for the 1970's and 1980's and suggest the broad outline of a fully interconnected system of power supply for the entire country. This information will encourage the electric power industry—both private and public—to develop individual expansion programs and intertie systems permitting all elements of the industry—and more importantly the consumers—to benefit from efficient, orderly planned growth. I urge favorable action on the request for adequate funds to initiate this study of the Nation's power needs for the next 20 years.

Advantageous arrangements and technological improvements for power generation and transmission are being developed by the Department of the Interior. Experimentation in extra high-voltage, direct-current transmission over long distances

promises to enable us to send major blocks of low-cost off-peak electricity—that which is generated when the demand is low—as far as a thousand miles to areas where such energy can be put to higher and more valuable use because of their different patterns of electricity demands. Similarly, investigation is continuing on possibilities for using cheap off-peak power to pump water to storage reservoirs permitting the water to be used to generate power when demands are great and power sells at a premium.

VIII. RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY

Implicit in the conservation thesis of wise use, improvement, preservation and restoration of our resources is the basic requirement of greater scientific knowledge and improved resources management. The catalog of resource problems set forth in this message demonstrates the importance of intensive research in the resources field. In response to the demonstrated need for concentrated and coordinated research, this Administration has

—requested the National Academy of Sciences to undertake a thorough evaluation of the potentials and needs for research underlying the development and use of natural resources.

—directed the Federal Council for Science and Technology to coordinate the wide-ranging research programs of participating agencies to strengthen and unify our total governmental research effort in the natural resources field.

—directed the Council of Economic Advisers to stimulate research in the economics of resource use.

Coordinated research programs already underway and worthy of special note are the following:

Oceanography—Our intensified effort to expand our knowledge and understanding of the vast resources held by the oceans through basic research and surveys of geologic and living resources will surely result in extending our known resource base, with

encouraging prospects for improving our standard of living and adding protein-rich marine products to the diets of the hungry people of the world.

Sports Fisheries and Wildlife—Studies of diseases and pesticides are continuing and efforts to solve the problems of passing migratory fish over high dams are being accelerated. A new laboratory has been opened on the Atlantic coast to study the management of salt-water sport fish—the basis of a growing industry.

Agriculture and Forestry—The Secretary of Agriculture will soon appoint an advisory panel of outstanding scientists to appraise and propose changes in the Department's research programs. The emphasis will be shifted from increasing production to problems of soil and water, forest resources, forage production, watershed protection, and protection of plants and animals against pests and diseases. Economic studies to provide the bases for sound land and water resources policies and optimum land use adjustments will be further intensified.

Water—An Institute of Water Research participated in by all water resource agencies, to be established in the Department of the Interior, will conduct basic research on surface and ground waters to develop fundamental principles and facilitate improved translation of scientific information into water management practices. Concentrated and coordinated research programs in a number of agencies are being directed to such specific problems as desalinization of water, improving water quality and flood

forecasting and preventing water evaporation.

Just as our investment of scientific talent, money, and time is better utilized in well coordinated and complementary programs within the Federal Government and by the closest working relationships with state and local governments, the academic community and industry, so our efforts should be meshed with those of the other countries of the world. Resource conservation problems are world-wide; efforts to solve them should be equally universal. This nation will continue to cooperate in international scientific and research undertakings; and the useful information and specific technological applications we develop—economically feasible desalinization of sea water, for example—will be made available immediately, as has always been our practice, to advance the welfare of all peoples of the world.

CONCLUSION

In the work of conservation, time should be made our friend, not our adversary. Actions deferred are frequently opportunities lost, and, in terms of financial outlay, dollars invested today will yield great benefits in the years to come. The progress made in the resources field in the first year of this Administration is encouraging; implementation of the new recommendations made today will maintain the momentum, enabling us to repay our debt to the past and meet our obligations to the future.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

70 Remarks at the White House to Members of the American Legion. *March 1, 1962*

Commander:

I want to express my thanks to you and to the Legion. I understand that the Commander had the impression here that none of us wore coats around—and I drove up to

the White House and was just getting ready to put my coat on and I saw this demonstration of courage, so we're all here.

I want to tell you how welcome you are to the White House, which belongs to all of

us, and which I hope you will visit while you are here in Washington. This is a source of the greatest satisfaction. I can think of no group in the United States who is more entitled to stand in front of the White House and on the lawn than the members of the American Legion.

As you know, this house was burned once by the British. During my visit in Bermuda, this matter came up in the conversation, I don't know how, but it did. And Prime Minister Macmillan told me about a British general who visited the Pentagon in 1945—and this is not as well known a fact, evidently, in Britain as it is over here—and he saw this plaque which commemorated the burning of Washington by the British, and the general said, "Joan of Arc, yes, but not Washington."

In any case, I want to tell you how welcome you are as members of the American Legion, as former servicemen, as those particularly interested in the well-being and the strength of our country.

A free society is a critical society, and therefore I know you are constantly concerned about our position here and around the world. I think you should take some satisfaction, though, as Americans, in realizing how great are the burdens which this country has borne since, really, 1941—and in many ways since 1945. We carry the major share of the responsibility and the burdens for the defense of Europe—in Berlin itself—we bear the major share of the burden in the defense of southeast Asia, in the other side of the world. The United States contributes of its wealth and resources to the fight for freedom in our own hemisphere, in the countries to the south of us. We bear a major burden in Africa itself—in the Middle East—in India and Pakistan. We assist countries stretching all the way from Berlin around to Saigon to maintain their independence under great pressure—Greece and Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Thailand, Vietnam, the Republic of China, South Korea, the Philippines, and others.

This is a tremendous burden which falls upon the United States and the people of this country. We are only 6 percent of the world's population and yet we carry this struggle in all parts of the globe. So no American citizen should feel in any way that this country is not making a major effort to maintain the cause of freedom around the globe.

This is a heavy burden which falls upon all of us, but I don't think that there is any citizen of this country, and certainly no member of the American Legion, who wishes to relax that burden, who feels that we have carried it long enough, who feels that now others should pick it up.

We want others to bear their proportionate share of the burden but we do not suggest that we in the United States should fail or flinch or become fatigued.

There is no easy solution. There is no step we can take which can immediately bring an end to our burdens and struggle. But over the time, and those of you who served in the First War and the Second War know that what really counts is not the immediate act of courage or of valor, but those who bear the struggle day in and day out—not the sunshine patriots but those who are willing to stand for a long period of time.

That is what constitutes, in my opinion, the real courage, and I am sure that those of you in the Legion who have been devoted to the interests of your country over a long time share that conviction.

So as I said a year ago in assuming the Presidency, no generation has ever borne a greater responsibility than this generation, and as a member of it I welcome that responsibility—because it puts us in the front line of the most important fight in the world, and that is the fight for the maintenance of the security of the United States and to assist others who also want to be free.

So I welcome you to Washington. You are standing on ground which is your own—and on which you have every right to stand. I am honored by the Legion, and I appreciate

very much this chance to extend the hand of welcome and of friendship to my comrades of the Legion.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke on the South Lawn at the White House following the presentation to him of the American Legion's Distinguished Service Medal by Charles L. Bacon, National Commander of the American Legion.

71 Radio and Television Address to the American People: "Nuclear Testing and Disarmament." March 2, 1962

[Delivered from the President's office at 7 p.m.]

Good evening:

Seventeen years ago man unleashed the power of the atom. He thereby took into his mortal hands the power of self-extinction. Throughout the years that have followed, under three successive Presidents, the United States has sought to banish this weapon from the arsenals of individual nations. For of all the awesome responsibilities entrusted to this office, none is more somber to contemplate than the special statutory authority to employ nuclear arms in the defense of our people and freedom.

But until mankind has banished both war and its instruments of destruction, the United States must maintain an effective quantity and quality of nuclear weapons, so deployed and protected as to be capable of surviving any surprise attack and devastating the attacker. Only through such strength can we be certain of deterring a nuclear strike, or an overwhelming ground attack, upon our forces and our allies. Only through such strength can we in the free world—should that deterrent fail—face the tragedy of another war with any hope of survival. And that deterrent strength, if it is to be effective and credible when compared with that of any other nation, must embody the most modern, the most reliable and the most versatile nuclear weapons our research and development can produce.

The testing of new weapons and their effects is necessarily a part of that research and development process. Without tests—to experiment and verify—progress is limited. A nation which is refraining from

tests obviously cannot match the gains of a nation conducting tests. And when all nuclear powers refrain from testing, the nuclear arms race is held in check.

That is why this Nation has long urged an effective worldwide end to nuclear tests. And this is why in 1958 we voluntarily subscribed, as did the Soviet Union, to a nuclear test moratorium, during which neither side would conduct new nuclear tests, and both East and West would seek concrete plans for their control.

But on September first of last year, while the United States and the United Kingdom were negotiating in good faith at Geneva, the Soviet Union callously broke its moratorium with a two month series of tests of more than 40 nuclear weapons. Preparations for these tests had been secretly underway for many months. Accompanied by new threats and new tactics of terror, these tests—conducted mostly in the atmosphere—represented a major Soviet effort to put nuclear weapons back into the arms race.

Once it was apparent that new appeals and proposals were to no avail, I authorized on September fifth a resumption of U.S. nuclear tests underground, and I announced on November second—before the close of the Soviet series—that preparations were being ordered for a resumption of atmospheric tests, and that we would make whatever tests our security required in the light of Soviet gains.

This week, the National Security Council of the United States has completed its review of this subject. The scope of the Soviet tests

has been carefully reviewed by the most competent scientists in the country. The scope and justification of proposed American tests have been carefully reviewed, determining which experiments can be safely deferred, which can be deleted, which can be combined or conducted underground, and which are essential to our military and scientific progress. Careful attention has been given to the limiting of radioactive fallout, to the future course of arms control diplomacy, and to our obligations to other nations.

Every alternative was examined. Every avenue of obtaining Soviet agreement was explored. We were determined not to rush into imitating their tests. And we were equally determined to do only what our own security required us to do. Although the complex preparations have continued at full speed while these facts were being uncovered, no single decision of this Administration has been more thoroughly or more thoughtfully weighed.

Having carefully considered these findings—having received the unanimous recommendations of the pertinent department and agency heads—and having observed the Soviet Union's refusal to accept any agreement which would inhibit its freedom to test extensively after preparing secretly—I have today authorized the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Defense to conduct a series of nuclear tests—beginning when our preparations are completed, in the latter part of April, and to be concluded as quickly as possible (within two or three months)—such series, involving only those tests which cannot be held underground, to take place in the atmosphere over the Pacific Ocean.

These tests are to be conducted under conditions which restrict the radioactive fallout to an absolute minimum, far less than the contamination created by last fall's Soviet series. By paying careful attention to location, wind and weather conditions,

and by holding these tests over the open seas, we intend to rule out any problem of fallout in the immediate area of testing. Moreover, we will hold the increase in radiation in the Northern Hemisphere, where nearly all such fallout will occur, to a very low level.

Natural radioactivity, as everyone knows, has always been a part of the air around us, with certain long-range biological effects. By conservative estimate, the total effects from this test series will be roughly equal to only 1 percent of those due to this natural background. It has been estimated, in fact, that the exposure due to radioactivity from these tests will be less than $\frac{1}{50}$ of the difference which can be experienced, due to variations in natural radioactivity, simply by living in different locations in our own country. This will obviously be well within the guides for general population health and safety, as set by the Federal Radiation Council; and considerably less than $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1 percent of the exposure guides set for adults who work with industrial radioactivity.

Nevertheless, I find it deeply regrettable that any radioactive material must be added to the atmosphere—that even one additional individual's health may be risked in the foreseeable future. And however remote and infinitesimal those hazards may be, I still exceedingly regret the necessity of balancing these hazards against the hazards to hundreds of millions of lives which would be created by any relative decline in our nuclear strength.

In the absence of any major shift in Soviet policies, no American President—responsible for the freedom and the safety of so many people—could in good faith make any other decision. But because our nuclear posture affects the security of all Americans and all free men—because this issue has aroused such widespread concern—I want to share with you and all the world, to the fullest extent our security permits, all of the facts and the thoughts which have gone into this decision.

Many of these facts are hard to explain in simple terms—many are hard to face in a peaceful world—but these are facts which must be faced and must be understood.

II.

Had the Soviet tests of last fall merely reflected a new effort in intimidation and bluff, our security would not have been affected. But in fact they also reflected a highly sophisticated technology, the trial of novel designs and techniques, and some substantial gains in weaponry. Many of these tests were aimed at improving their defenses against missiles—others were proof tests, trying out existing weapons systems—but over one-half emphasized the development of new weapons, particularly those of greater explosive power.

A primary purpose of these tests was the development of warheads which weigh very little compared to the destructive efficiency of their thermonuclear yield. One Soviet test weapon exploded with the force of 58 megatons—the equivalent of 58 million tons of TNT. This was a reduced-yield version of their much-publicized hundred-megaton bomb. Today, Soviet missiles do not appear able to carry so heavy a warhead. But there is no avoiding the fact that other Soviet tests, in the 1 to 5 megaton range and up, were aimed at unleashing increased destructive power in warheads actually capable of delivery by existing missiles.

Much has also been said about Soviet claims for an anti-missile missile. Some of the Soviet tests which measured the effects of high altitude nuclear explosion—in one case over 100 miles high—were related to this problem. While apparently seeking information on the effects of nuclear blasts on radar and communication, which is important in developing an anti-missile defense system, these tests did not, in our judgment, reflect a developed system.

In short, last fall's tests, in and by themselves, did not give the Soviet Union superiority in nuclear power. They did, however,

provide the Soviet laboratories with a mass of data and experience on which, over the next two or three years, they can base significant analyses, experiments and extrapolations, preparing for the next test series which would confirm and advance their findings.

And I must report to you in all candor that further Soviet tests, in the absence of further Western progress, could well provide the Soviet Union with a nuclear attack and defense capability so powerful as to encourage aggressive designs. Were we to stand still while the Soviets surpassed us—or even appeared to surpass us—the Free World's ability to deter, to survive and to respond to an all-out attack would be seriously weakened.

III.

The fact of the matter is that we cannot make similar strides without testing in the atmosphere as well as underground. For, in many areas of nuclear weapons research, we have reached the point where our progress is stifled without experiments in every environment. The information from our last series of atmospheric tests in 1958 has all been analyzed and re-analyzed. It cannot tell us more without new data. And it is in these very areas of research—missile penetration and missile defense—that further major Soviet tests, in the absence of further Western tests, might endanger our deterrent.

In addition to proof tests of existing systems, two different types of tests have therefore been decided upon. The *first* and most important are called "effects tests"—determining what effect an enemy nuclear explosion would have upon our ability to survive and respond. We are spending great sums of money on radar to alert our defenses and to develop possible anti-missile systems—on the communications which enable our command and control centers to direct a response—on hardening our missiles sites, shielding our missiles and warheads from defensive action, and providing them with

electronic guidance systems to find their targets. But we cannot be certain how much of this preparation will turn out to be useless: blacked out, paralyzed or destroyed by the complex effects of a nuclear explosion.

We know enough from earlier tests to be concerned about such phenomena. We know that the Soviets conducted such tests last fall. But until we measure the effects of actual explosions in the atmosphere under realistic conditions, we will not know precisely how to prepare our future defenses, how best to equip our missiles for penetration of an anti-missile system, or whether it is possible to achieve such a system for ourselves.

Secondly, we must test in the atmosphere to permit the development of those more advanced concepts and more effective, efficient weapons which, in the light of Soviet tests, are deemed essential to our security. Nuclear weapons technology is a constantly changing field. If our weapons are to be more secure, more flexible in their use and more selective in their impact—if we are to be alert to new breakthroughs, to experiment with new designs—if we are to maintain our scientific momentum and leadership—then our weapons progress must not be limited to theory or to the confines of laboratories and caves.

This series is designed to lead to many important, if not always dramatic, results. Improving the nuclear yield per pound of weight in our weapons will make them easier to move, protect and fire—more likely to survive a surprise attack—and more adequate for effective retaliation. It will also, even more importantly, enable us to add to our missiles certain penetration aids and decoys, and to make those missiles effective at high altitude detonations, in order to render ineffective any anti-missile or interceptor system an enemy might some day develop.

Whenever possible, these development tests will be held underground. But the larger explosions can only be tested in the atmosphere. And while our technology in

smaller weapons is unmatched, we now know that the Soviets have made major gains in developing larger weapons of low-weight and high explosive content—of 1 to 5 megatons and upward. Fourteen of their tests last fall were in this category, for a total of 30 such tests over the years. The United States, on the other hand, had conducted, prior to the moratorium, a total of only 20 tests within this megaton range.

IV.

While we will be conducting far fewer tests than the Soviets, with far less fallout, there will still be those in other countries who will urge us to refrain from testing at all. Perhaps they forget that this country long refrained from testing, and sought to ban all tests, while the Soviets were secretly preparing new explosions. Perhaps they forget the Soviet threats of last autumn and their arbitrary rejection of all appeals and proposals, from both the United States and the United Nations. But those free peoples who value their freedom and their security, and look to our relative strength to shield them from danger—those who know of our good faith in seeking an end to testing and an end to the arms race—will, I am confident, want the United States to do whatever it must do to deter the threat of aggression.

If they felt we could be swayed by threats or intimidation—if they thought we could permit a repetition of last summer's deception—then surely they would lose faith in our will and our wisdom as well as our weaponry. I have no doubt that most of our friends around the world have shared my own hope that we would never find it necessary to test again—and my own belief that, in the long run, the only real security in this age of nuclear peril rests not in armament but in disarmament. But I am equally certain that they would insist on our testing once that is deemed necessary to protect free world security. They know we are not deciding to test for political or psychological reasons—and they also know that we cannot

avoid such tests for political or psychological reasons.

v.

The leaders of the Soviet Union are also watching this decision. Should we fail to follow the dictates of our own security, they will chalk it up, not to goodwill, but to a failure of will—not to our confidence in Western superiority, but to our fear of world opinion, the very world opinion for which they showed such contempt. They could well be encouraged by such signs of weakness to seek another period of no testing without controls—another opportunity for stifling our progress while secretly preparing, on the basis of last fall's experiments, for the new test series which might alter the balance of power. With such a one-sided advantage, why would they change their strategy, or refrain from testing, merely because we refrained? Why would they want to halt their drive to surpass us in nuclear technology? And why would they ever consider accepting a true test ban or mutual disarmament?

Our reasons for testing and our peaceful intentions are clear—so clear that even the Soviets could not objectively regard our resumption of tests, following their own resumption of tests, as provocative or preparatory for war. On the contrary, it is my hope that the prospects for peace may actually be strengthened by this decision—once the Soviet leaders realize that the West will no longer stand still, negotiating in good faith, while they reject inspection and are free to prepare for further tests. As new disarmament talks approach, the basic lesson of some three years and 353 negotiating sessions at Geneva is this—that the Soviets will not agree to an effective ban on nuclear tests as long as a new series of offers and prolonged negotiations, or a new unspectored moratorium, or a new agreement without controls, would enable them once again to prevent the West from testing while they prepare in secret.

But inasmuch as this choice is now no longer open to them, let us hope that they will take a different attitude on banning nuclear tests—that they will prefer to see the nuclear arms race checked instead of intensified, with all the dangers that that intensification brings: the spread of nuclear weapons to other nations; the constant increase in world tensions; the steady decrease in all prospects for disarmament; and, with it, a steady decrease in the security of us all.

vi.

If the Soviets should change their position, we will have an opportunity to learn it immediately. On the 14th of March, in Geneva, Switzerland, a new 18-power conference on disarmament will begin. A statement of agreed principles has been worked out with the Soviets and endorsed by the U.N. In the long run, it is the constructive possibilities of this conference—and not the testing of new destructive weapons—on which rest the hopes of all mankind. However dim those hopes may sometimes seem, they can never be abandoned. And however far-off most steps toward disarmament appear, there are some that can be taken at once.

The United States will offer at the Geneva conference—not in the advance expectation they will be rejected, and not merely for purposes of propaganda—a series of concrete plans for a major “breakthrough to peace.” We hope and believe that they will appeal to all nations opposed to war. They will include specific proposals for fair and enforceable agreements: to halt the production of fissionable materials and nuclear weapons and their transfer to other nations—to convert them from weapon stockpiles to peaceable uses—to destroy the warheads and the delivery systems that threaten man's existence—to check the dangers of surprise and accidental attack—to reserve outer space for peaceful use—and progressively to reduce all armed forces in such a way as ultimately

to remove forever all threats and thoughts of war.

And of greatest importance to our discussion tonight, we shall, in association with the United Kingdom, present once again our proposals for a separate comprehensive treaty—with appropriate arrangements for detection and verification—to halt permanently the testing of all nuclear weapons, in every environment: in the air, in outer space, under ground and under water. New modifications will also be offered in the light of new experience.

The essential arguments and facts relating to such a treaty are well-known to the Soviet Union. There is no need for further repetition, propaganda or delay. The fact that both sides have decided to resume testing only emphasizes the need for new agreement, not new argument. And before charging that this decision shatters all hopes for agreement, the Soviets should recall that we were willing to work out with them, for joint submission to the United Nations, an agreed statement of disarmament principles at the very time their autumn tests were being conducted. And Mr. Khrushchev knows, as he said in 1960, that any nation which broke the moratorium could expect other nations to be “forced to take the same road.”

Our negotiators will be ready to talk about this treaty even before the Conference begins on March 14th—and they will be ready to sign well before the date on which our tests are ready to begin. That date is still nearly two months away. If the Soviet Union should now be willing to accept such a treaty, to sign it before the latter part of April, and apply it immediately—if all testing can thus be actually halted—then the nuclear arms race would be slowed down at last—the security of the United States and its ability to meet its commitments would be safeguarded—and there would be no need for our tests to begin.

But this must be a fully effective treaty. We know now enough about broken negotiations, secret preparations, and the advan-

tages gained from a long test series never to offer again an uninspected moratorium. Some may urge us to try it again, keeping our preparations to test in a constant state of readiness. But in actual practice, particularly in a society of free choice, we cannot keep top-flight scientists concentrating on the preparation of an experiment which may or may not take place on an uncertain date in the undefined future. Nor can large technical laboratories be kept fully alert on a stand-by basis waiting for some other nation to break an agreement. This is not merely difficult or inconvenient—we have explored this alternative thoroughly, and found it impossible of execution.

In short, in the absence of a firm agreement that would halt nuclear tests by the latter part of April, we shall go ahead with our talks—striving for some new avenue of agreement—but we shall also go ahead with our tests. If, on the other hand, the Soviet Union should accept such a treaty in the opening month of talks, that single step would be a monumental step toward peace—and both Prime Minister Macmillan and I would think it fitting to meet Chairman Khrushchev at Geneva to sign the final pact.

VII.

For our ultimate objective is not to test for the sake of testing. Our real objective is to make our own tests unnecessary, to prevent others from testing, to prevent the nuclear arms race from mushrooming out of control, to take the first steps toward general and complete disarmament. And that is why, in the last analysis, it is the leaders of the Soviet Union who must bear the heavy responsibility of choosing, in the weeks that lie ahead, whether we proceed with these steps—or proceed with new tests.

If they are convinced that their interests can no longer be served by the present course of events, then it is my fervent hope that they will agree to an effective treaty. But if they persist in rejecting all means of

true inspection, then we shall be left with no choice but to keep our own defensives arsenal adequate for the security of all free men.

It is our hope and prayer that these grim, unwelcome tests will never have to be made—that these deadly weapons will never have to be fired—and that our preparations for war will bring about the preservation of

peace. Our foremost aim is the control of force, not the pursuit of force, in a world made safe for mankind. But whatever the future brings, I am sworn to uphold and defend the freedom of the American people—and I intend to do whatever must be done to fulfill that solemn obligation.

Thank you—and good night.

72 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker
of the House Proposing To Amend the Small Business Act.
March 5, 1962

Dear Mr. ———:

I am transmitting herewith for appropriate reference a bill to amend section 4(c) of the Small Business Act, as amended. This section deals with the revolving fund of the Small Business Administration, out of which are financed that agency's programs of financial assistance to the small business community.

This bill would place the fund on a more permanent basis and eliminate unnecessary duplication, by removing the statutory limitation on authorizations to appropriate to the fund and the separate limitations on the amounts of appropriated funds which may be utilized for each of the Small Business Administration's financial assistance programs. Utilization of funds for these programs would of course continue to be controlled by the Congress through the normal appropriation process, and the House and Senate Appropriations, Banking and Currency, and Small Business Committees would continue to exercise the same degree of cognizance as they do now regarding the operations of the Small Business Administration.

By making the Small Business Administration a permanent agency of the Government in 1958, the Congress wisely recognized the important role that this agency has played in assisting the small business sector of our economy, which comprises by far the

greatest number of businesses in the United States and plays a key part in the economic life of our nation. Under the current administration, that agency has vigorously expanded its assistance to the small business community by increasing significantly the number of small businesses assisted by its programs of business loans, loans to small business investment companies and State and local development companies, procurement and technical assistance, and management assistance.

It is now time to remove the unnecessary statutory limitation on appropriations and on usage of appropriated funds which has resulted in uncertainty regarding the future of these programs and necessitated a double congressional review of funds.

In no respect would the proposed amendment diminish the controls which the Congress presently exercises over the size and character of the programs administered by the Small Business Administration, pursuant to the Small Business Act and the Small Business Investment Act of 1958. These two statutes and the operations of the agency are under frequent study in Congress. Since 1953, when the agency was established, amendments have been made to either or both of basic statutes in every year except two. Indeed, each has undergone numerous and substantial revisions. There is no reason to expect that this legislative activity

with its attendant scrutiny of the agency's operations by the Banking and Currency Committees will diminish.

Moreover, the progress of the Small Business Administration in discharging its statutory duties is under the continuing observation of the Senate and House Small Business Committees. At least once a year each of these committees holds hearings at which the Administrator of the Small Business Administration testifies in detail concerning the operations of his agency. The resulting reports issued by the committees contain thorough reviews of the agency's programs and evaluations of its success in conducting them.

Finally, in the course of the budgetary process, the agency's activities are reviewed annually by the Appropriations Committees and the Congress to determine the amount of additional capital for the revolving fund which the agency will require to carry out its financial assistance programs.

However, the necessity for obtaining statutory authorization for additional appropriations virtually every year before Congress can appropriate funds in the regular appropriation act creates unnecessary duplication and confusion. During the last session of the Congress four separate statutes provided

increased authorizations to appropriate to the SBA revolving fund, in addition to the actual appropriations themselves contained in the regular appropriation act and a supplemental appropriation act. Sound budgetary procedures argue against this type of duplication and repetitive review over an agency which the Congress has declared to be a permanent one and over programs which serve such an important purpose in assisting our small business community.

The proposed legislation would also simplify the method of computing the interest payable from the revolving fund to the Treasury, and would effect a number of clarifications in the language of the Act. A detailed analysis of the bill is attached.

It is my hope that the Congress will consider this proposal promptly and that the bill will be enacted into law.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

On July 25, the President approved an amendment to the Small Business Act providing for an increase in the revolving fund of the Small Business Administration (Public Law 87-550, 76 Stat. 220).

73 Message to Chairman Khrushchev Concerning the Opening of the Geneva Disarmament Negotiations. *March 6, 1962*

[Released March 6, 1962. Dated March 5, 1962]

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have received your message of March 3, and I am glad to know of your agreement that the meeting in Geneva on March 14 should be opened by Foreign Ministers. I am particularly glad that Mr. Gromyko will be able to join with Lord Home and Secretary Rusk before the meeting for preliminary discussions; our hope is that these conversations might begin on March 12. It will be the purpose of the representatives of the

United States, headed by Secretary Rusk, to make every possible effort to find paths toward disarmament.

Our object now must be to make real progress toward disarmament, and not to engage in sterile exchanges of propaganda. In that spirit, I shall not undertake at this time to comment on the many sentiments in your letter with which, as I am sure you know, the United States Government cannot agree. Let us, instead, join in giving our

close personal support and direction to the work of our representatives, and let us join in working for their success.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Chairman Khrushchev's letter of March 3 is published in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 46, p. 494).

74 Remarks at the 18th Annual Washington Conference of the Advertising Council. *March 7, 1962*

Gentlemen, Mr. Webb, Mr. Bundy:

I want to express my great appreciation to you on behalf of the people of this country for your being here, and also for the effort that you are putting in, in the Advertising Council, in a very high form of public service.

This effort was started 18 years ago, during the wartime administration of Franklin Roosevelt, and I am sure that there is no one here who would suggest that the need for your services are less critical today than they were then.

This is a free society and a free economy, and we do believe that freedom and, really, progress is best served by permitting people to advance their private interests, and the combination of this great effort, we believe, advances the public interest. But I don't think that there's any American who would stop there and feel that the public interest is served alone by serving one's private interest.

I think all of us have a public obligation, all of us owe some of our lives and some of our effort to the advancement of the interests of our society, particularly when our society bears such heavy burdens as it does here and around the world. And therefore, your willingness—as advertisers, as businessmen, as publishers, as television owners and producers—your willingness to devote, as you did last year, \$100 million to the advancement of public causes is greatly appreciated. It is a real service. You have every reason to feel that it performs a worthy national purpose. The fact that so many members of

this administration, I think the entire Cabinet, have come here indicates, I hope, in some degree our appreciation of what you are trying to do.

I hope this year you will devote yourselves especially as private citizens and also as members of this Council to the program that we have suggested for advancing our trade program, particularly our ties with Western Europe. We have a great story to tell, and I am hopeful that as Western Europe, which has really come out of the ashes in such a short time, and the tremendous vitality of the United States, and that of Japan, if tied closer and closer together, can serve as a valuable base from which we can expand the cause of freedom around the world.

None of us who believes in freedom can help but be impressed and convinced more than ever of the essential vigor of our cause than to compare West Germany and East Germany, Japan and China, West Berlin and East Berlin. The story is very clearly told. Chairman Khrushchev made a long speech and has difficult agricultural problems. And so do we. But I certainly would not exchange ours. With 8 percent of the population of our country on agriculture, our problem is overproduction. With a much larger percentage of the population on his farms, his problem is underproduction.

So that this is a great system and a great cause with which we are identified, and I am especially anxious, both from our own economic interests—agriculture, labor and

business—that we become more intimately associated with the great effort which is being made in Europe.

We, after all, played a large role in building that economy. We have, as you know, talked a good deal about the Alliance for Progress, but in the short space of 3 or 4 years we put over thirteen and a half billion dollars into building Europe. And now Europe is becoming stronger. Its economic growth rate is almost double ours, in Germany, France, and Italy.

We want to maintain, both for economic and political reasons, the closest association with Europe, and stretching the other way with Japan. And therefore, this program is important. It is a bipartisan program. It has had the support of men like Christian Herter and Will Clayton. It has had the general endorsement of men like President Eisenhower and Henry Cabot Lodge, and others. It is not a matter which should separate us on the basis of party, but is a matter which I think concerns us all as Americans and as people who believe in the development of our country.

So that I hope that you will, after analyzing it, recognizing that there are disadvantages to every proposal, recognize that in this case the advantages far outweigh any disadvantages, and that it is a method of strengthening our country, strengthening it in the fight to preserve it, and also strengthening our opportunities.

And it is, I believe, a most vital matter in the coming year. It is not a matter which has great political appeal, perhaps, to either party, but it is a matter which is of basic importance to the United States and, as influential leaders of the United States, deserves your interest and I hope will merit your support.

We live in a difficult time, and our problems are difficult, and I know many Americans get discouraged, and also are concerned with whether we are doing enough in many

areas of the world. My strong feeling is that the people of this country are not fully aware of what a tremendous burden we really carry, and really how pleased we should be and proud of the tremendous effort which we make to sustain freedom in so many places.

We make a tremendous contribution, even today, to the defense of Western Europe—even at great cost to ourselves. Our balance of payments problem would disappear overnight if it were not for the effort which we are making in Europe and other places around the world to permit those areas to maintain their freedom.

When we are on occasions lectured to by others about getting our house in order, I would remind them that if the United States had been concerned only with that problem and not with the defense of freedom, that the balance of trade has been in our favor every year with the exception of 1 year in the last 10 or 15 years, and gold could pour into our coffers—and what we do in Western Europe which is a prosperous area—we are carrying a load in Latin America—we carry a great load in Africa—we carry a great load in Asia—Greece, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India, Thailand, Viet-Nam, the Republic of China—all the way up to South Korea. And even in those areas where we are joined by others in a consortium, it is the United States that bears by far the major burden. So that we need apologize to none.

What we hope is that our example of effort over the period of 15 years since the Marshall plan will inspire others to join with us, particularly those who are now prosperous, in an effort to permit newly independent states to develop and maintain their independence.

So that as an American I am proud of the effort that this country has made. It is almost unprecedented. We don't seek satellites but friends. None of our efforts, really, in the area I was just talking about, is di-

rected to an economic advantage to us. We seek the association of others. We welcome them. We hope that all will recognize what we recognized 15 years ago, that if a few are prosperous and many are poor, the stability of the world will be endangered.

I want to express my thanks to you again. You are performing a public service, and in these days it is an obligation on us all to do that. And I only wanted you to know that your efforts are appreciated—are known—

and that you can feel satisfaction that you have lifted your hand on behalf of your country at a time when it needed your help.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the District Red Cross Building. His opening words "Mr. Webb, Mr. Bundy" referred to James E. Webb, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, who also addressed the conference, and to McGeorge Bundy, Special Assistant to the President, who served as moderator.

75 The President's News Conference of *March 7, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you. I have two announcements.

[1.] I have today sent the following telegram to the chief executive officers of the major steel companies and to the president of the Steelworkers Union, and I quote:

"I appreciate your willingness to commence negotiations early and I share your regrets that the parties to the steel labor negotiations were unable to conclude a settlement in their negotiations of the past few weeks, despite earnestness and good will on both sides. The present temporary recess should enable both parties to reappraise their position. The best way to achieve a desirable settlement in the public interest is through free and responsible collective bargaining. An early labor settlement consistent with price stability in steel would be in the public interest, as well as in the interest of the parties themselves. The Nation as a whole I am sure shares my conviction that such an agreement would materially strengthen our economy and country. To this end I am requesting the parties to resume collective bargaining at an early date. I hope they will be able to meet together by next Wednesday, March 14."

[2.] The second announcement is that I want to comment on the tariff and trade agreements which have just been concluded at Geneva with the European Common Market, the United Kingdom, and 24 other

countries following the largest and most complex negotiations in history. The specific details of the agreements we reached in the negotiations will be available this afternoon.

In summary, we obtained from the Common Market and other countries tariff reductions and commitments not to increase duties on \$4.3 billion worth of annual exports. In return we granted similar concessions or gave up concessions previously accorded us on \$2.9 billion of annual imports. These agreements were very satisfactory and very important. We obtained new concessions, both industrial and agricultural, on those very items which are most essential to the maintenance and expansion of our foreign trade, our export markets, and our effort to sell abroad to offset our balance of payments losses.

This was a good indication, moreover, that the United States and the Common Market will be able to work together and bargain together. Due to the limited bargaining authority we had under the present law, it was necessary to breach the peril points in a number of cases to avoid a complete breakdown in negotiations and to obtain worthwhile concessions for our own businessmen and farmers, but every effort was made to restrict such breaches to items that would not have significant impact upon the American economy.

These agreements, however, are as far as we can go until new legislation is enacted. The real opportunities offered us by the Common Market, and to the people of Europe, and the competitive challenge it presents to our enterprise system—all this is still ahead, and will always be beyond our reach, with all of the adverse effects it will have on our economy, unless a strong trade expansion act gives our negotiators the authority they need to speak for our country in these most important matters.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with your speech last week on nuclear test resumption and the forthcoming negotiations in Geneva, do you think the American public and the public of the world is justified in attaching to the Geneva negotiations any particular hope or expectation that these negotiations will be more fruitful than similar meetings with the Russians in the past?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am sure they attach hope. Expectations is perhaps another matter. But hope should certainly be attached because these—this meeting is extremely important. I am not making optimistic predictions about its success, but I could make pessimistic predictions about its failure.

So that we go to the conference trying to get an accord. That is our interest. We believe it's in the best interest of the United States, the security interests of the United States as well as the security interests, really, of the entire world. So we just have to wait and see. But we're going there with a genuine effort because we believe it's most desirable to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union. Anyone who has read the history of the 20th century knows that increases of tensions, especially those which are worldwide, which engage great powers, are always dangerous, and when new and unprecedented weapons are thrown into this mix it makes anyone hopeful about Geneva, and the consequent easing of the tensions which would come from an accord.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, Mr. Khrushchev has recently stated in meetings at Moscow

that his country is suffering quite a bit from a lack of food. Now, regardless of whether they ask or not, have you considered the possibility of loaning, selling, or giving the Soviet people any of our surplus food stocks?

THE PRESIDENT. No, we do send food to Poland, as you know, and have sent a substantial quantity to Yugoslavia. There is no evidence that the Soviet Union has ever asked for it and my judgment is they do not want it. I think what Mr. Khrushchev addressed himself to was how they could improve domestic production. And therefore, in answer to your question, there has been no discussion of it, no consideration of it, and I do take some satisfaction from our difficulties which are overproduction under our free agricultural economy, even though it is a problem which has haunted good men.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, as you know, our rate of economic recovery has been very low indeed, and much less than anticipated. What further actions do you believe the administration should take now to speed up the slowdown in our recovery?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it's premature to suggest. I can't accept all the premise of your question. Mr. Goldberg, the Secretary of Labor, I believe this afternoon announced some figures, which said that the seasonal adjusted unemployment rate of 5.6 percent is the lowest level in 19 months and total employment which is 65,789,000 set a new alltime February record. And I think that we should wait till—let the winter go, and let's see what happens in February and March, then we can make a judgment as to whether there is a recovery.

You will recall that in August and September we had a leveling out, and then the economy took off again in October, November, and December. In addition, there's—I saw, as a matter of fact, reading the other day in the Wall Street Journal, that profits were up for companies—22 percent, I think the highest in history. There's our price—in the last 12 months, prices only increased

one-half of 1 percent, I think, which has only happened in this decade once, in 1955.

There's not an excessively high level of inventory buildup. I think that Mr. Heller, who has spoken on this matter, who I do not consider a natural optimist—I think he's been speaking what he believes. And therefore I think that this economy has more vitality in it than some of its premature mourners.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, now that you have seen all the available evidence in the Powers case, do you agree with Representative Vinson that Mr. Powers' U-2 was shot down at 68,000 feet by a ground launched rocket?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that the report of the CIA and the comments—the statements which Mr. Powers made, it seems to me, dealt with this matter. I have no other information beyond what you have seen in those two matters.

Q. Sir, I meant that Representative Vinson said the CIA believes that he was shot down by a rocket fired from the ground. I was wondering if you have any comment on that.

THE PRESIDENT. I don't have any comment beyond what the CIA has said and what Mr. Powers himself has said.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, could you define for us what might be acceptable at Geneva as a safeguard against secret preparations for testing, and specifically whether this would include an increase in onsite inspections?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that the American negotiators at Geneva will have some suggestions to make in that area, and as this conference is going to begin in a week, I believe it would be preferable to let them make their proposals at that time.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, you have said, and I think more than once, that heads of government should not go to the summit to negotiate agreements, but only to approve agreements negotiated at a lower level. Now it's being said and written that you are going to eat those words, and go to a summit without any agreement at a lower

level. Has your position changed, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I'm going to have a dinner for all of the people who've written it, and we'll see who eats what. [*Laughter*]

Let me state that I would go to the summit if—as you've stated—if some agreements had been made which could be climaxed most effectively by a summit meeting. I've also stated at an earlier press conference if I thought a trip to the summit might avert a war or if we were faced with an extremely dangerous situation, then I think it would be appropriate to go to the summit without prior agreements. But I think to go to the summit without having an understanding of what is going to be accomplished there, and some meeting of minds, I think disappoints rather than helps the cause, and that's why I've held the view that I do, and that's why I continue to hold it, and that's why I am looking forward to the spring.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, since a number of governments have expressed their support for either nuclear free zones in different parts of the world or for a so-called non-nuclear club—among those governments, aside from the socialist communities, there is Brazil, Ireland, and Sweden—what are your feelings, sir, about those proposals, and what would be the position of the United States Government at the Geneva disarmament conference in this respect?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think there are two or three different points in the question. I think the United States—I said at the United Nations that I thought it would be desirable to come to some agreement in regard to the transfer of nuclear weapons from one country to another. Now, when we get into—so that's one position which the United States has already taken and indicates its support of. Your other question was in regard to a nuclear free zone, and that, it seems to me, is a matter which must be examined. What else will be in the zone? What other forces will be in the zone? Where will this zone be? These are matters, I think, that could—will be discussed, I imagine, along with many other matters

affecting armaments at Geneva and in other conversations.

But I think that we have to see what the language is, what the proposal is, what the effect of the situation is, before I could answer that question.

In addition, I'm not convinced that this makes a—is a total solution. If you have a missile that can carry a bomb 5,000 miles, does it really make that much—a significant difference, if you don't have a bomb stationed in this area but you have it 5,000 miles behind, which can cover that area?

So, therefore, I think it's a matter which should be discussed at the appropriate place.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, this morning before the Advertising Council you dwelt with some earnestness about the great burdens the United States is carrying. Are we safe in assuming this is another way of saying that you think some of our friends around the world should do more in the way of helping underdeveloped countries?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I'm hopeful they'll do more. I know that a good many Americans are concerned, as I said this morning, about the balance of payments, and as I have stated, the balance of payments problem of the United States could be settled overnight if we withdrew our security efforts around the world. It is the combination of the \$3 billion that we spend keeping our defense forces overseas, combined with assistance we give in other ways, which provides for our dollar drain.

Now, those countries which are building up their reserves, I am hopeful will be willing and some of them have, France, for example, which has really spent a larger proportion of its national income for assistance to the former French community, really, than any country in the world. So, some countries are. But the United States bears a very heavy load, even in the consortiums that we go to, the United States loans frequently are soft, repayable in local currency and the loans of others may be at 3, 4, 5, 6 percent, so that this is a matter which involves us all.

Now, as Western Europe gets stronger and stronger, I'm hopeful that they will play a larger and larger role in this struggle in which we are involved. Because the United States—the reason our gold drain has been in the last 10 years, is due to this matter. The balance of trade has been in our favor every year, except one in the last 10 years.

It's been due also to investments abroad and some short-term capital movement. But if we were not making the great effort we've made, really since the Marshall plan, we would have a major convulsion because there would be a concentration of gold.

Now when we are carrying this heavy load, I would hope that the free countries would work together to attempt to assign this balance evenly.

We don't—we're ready to carry it, in the United States, to the maximum of our ability, but we carry it in Berlin and Saigon, and Latin America, and Africa, and the Middle East, and Pakistan, and India, and in a good many other countries, and this is a matter which should concern all free men.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, there has been a scattering of very favorable news stories out of South Viet-Nam, but we don't have any overall coverage. I wondered if you could tell us how the subterranean war is going there, because the Pentagon won't put out anything; and also if you'd want to comment on the possibility of the use of tactical nuclear or antipersonnel weapons in that area?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I wouldn't really—I don't think you could make a judgment of the situation. It's very much up and down, as you know, from day to day, and week to week, so it's impossible to draw any long-range conclusions. And on the second matter, it's a—I'm not familiar with it, and it's a matter, really, I think, of the Defense Department, but it has not come to me. In any case, it's a matter, really, for the Vietnamese.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, to get back to Mr. Scherer's question about payments that

other nations make. There have been some suggestions in Congress, as alternatives to your U.N. bonds purchase plan, that part of the United States outlay be in matching funds to what other nations buy or possibly to make a loan to the U.N. instead of purchasing bonds. Will you comment on these alternatives?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, they're both before the Foreign Relations Committee. I felt that the plan we sent up represented the best interest of the United States and the U.N. and was financially sound. So I would like to stay with that. Now I think the Foreign Relations Committee has my recommendations and knows my views, and I think they're wholly competent—a very responsible committee—and I think they are wholly competent to make a judgment. I do hope that we can keep the U.N. moving, and they do depend upon a program of the kind I suggested. But I think the details I would much prefer to leave to them because it is now in their hands.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, Secretary of State Rusk has said that it is entirely possible that at Geneva there will be discussions about Berlin and Southeast Asia. Would you favor such discussions at Geneva?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that if these matters come up and if any progress can be made on them, of course I favor them. This is not the purpose of the disarmament conference, but anything that can ease relations or anything that could improve the situation in Berlin or in Southeast Asia, of course, ought to be talked about. I think that's quite obvious and we shouldn't miss any opportunity.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, could you give us any ideas of the areas in which we might explore peaceful cooperation with the Soviet Union in the exploration of outer space? What your specific thoughts might be?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I've written a letter today to Chairman Khrushchev, putting forward some proposals, and I think it will be released as soon as he has received it. But I do think it should wait till that. But

we did make some suggestions in that letter.

[15.] Q. Mr. President this is a twofold question: In the event that there is an Algerian, independent Algerian government established, do you contemplate recognizing it? And, second, should that government request or apply for economic and military aid, would you grant it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that this matter is so sensitive and coming to such a climax now, and being handled I think with skill, I believe on both sides, that I really think that it would be the wisest course to permit the situation to develop there before we begin to discuss what our actions would be at a later date. So that I think in the interest of the relations between the different parties involved that I will—but I will be glad to discuss that question as soon as a final solution has been reached.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, the Attorney General, when he was visiting in Japan, received many inquiries about U.S. intentions towards Okinawa, and I believe you had a Presidential body look into this question. Can you say now what the situation is there insofar as your intentions to give them more self-government?

THE PRESIDENT. As a matter of fact, the Attorney General said that it was really the matter which came up more in his conversations than any other matter, and is a matter of great concern to the Japanese. There was a very responsible committee went out and made some recommendations to us, which have been considered by the Joint Chiefs and others, and we are going to have some suggestions to make to the Japanese Government on this matter, though—in the next days—though quite obviously this is a very vital base. And from that base security is provided for a whole variety of countries in Asia. And so that we have to balance off the defense needs and also the legitimate interests of the people of Okinawa and of Japan. We are going to attempt to do the best we can, given those limitations, and make some suggestions very shortly.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, have you any steps in mind to take, any moves to make, if the steel companies and unions do not respond to your view?

THE PRESIDENT. I'd put that with the—France, Algeria, in the sense that I think we ought to wait till we see what happens in the negotiations. These companies are free and the unions are free. All we can try to do is to indicate to them the public interest which is there. After all, the public interest is the sum of the private interests, or perhaps it's even sometimes a little more. In fact, it is a little more. But the Federal Government has no power in these negotiations, unless there was a strike which threatened the national health and safety, and that would be sometime late in the summer. So all we can do is attempt to persuade the parties to go around the bargaining table and point out to them how vitally the public interest is involved.

In the first place, this is a basic industry. We are in a period of recovery which we want to maintain. This is going to be regarded symbolically as a test of our ability to manage our economy in a competitive world. It will be looked on in Europe. I think the public interest is so involved, I think there's enough community of interest between the company and the union after their '59 experience that I am hopeful they can reach an accord, and I'm hopeful when they go back in March that they will do it. But we are limited by the Constitution and statutes and proprieties to the areas which I've discussed. But this—I hope they work it out, because it's in their interest as well as the public.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, the Congress has been in session for about 2 months now, and has not accomplished very much. Would you care to comment on how you feel about this present pace?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I must say that always in the first part of March we read about—that the Congress hasn't done much, and in fact last year at this time I think that not a single bill had been passed of any

proportion—at the end of the year almost 30 bills. Now we have taken action in four or five areas. The higher education has passed both the House and Senate, and the conference hasn't met. I think the conference has come to a conclusion on the manpower retraining, the pension and welfare disclosures. The tax bill is about to come to the floor. I think that legislation is going to come really pouring out of these committees in the next month or 2 months. So I don't have any criticism at all of the pace of the Congress. The test would be whether the legislation which involves not only the well-being of a good many Americans, such as medical care for the aged, but also those pieces of legislation which will help us fight the next economic turn down—whether those pieces of legislation will be passed. And I'm hopeful that the Congress will consider those very carefully or their alternates. But I must say I think you cannot—I think the Congress is moving ahead. I think in some ways it's further ahead than last year, and I think we're going to get a good deal of legislation from the Congress this year.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, I know you don't want to prejudice your position in advance of Geneva, but I want to ask you this: Prospects for disarmament and/or a nuclear test ban treaty are indeed pretty dim. What happens if those prospects don't brighten? Do we continue testing? Do the Russians continue testing, escalating the nuclear arms race, ad infinitum?

THE PRESIDENT. I suppose that is certainly the danger, and the reason why we are attempting to get an agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests. The reason why I said I thought it would be perfectly proper for us to discuss Berlin and Germany or South Asia is because these matters directly influence the progress of armaments. Without the Korean War—after all, our budget went from \$14 billion up to what it is now, and we ourselves have had to spend a good deal more because of Berlin and South Asia, so that I do think there is a direct relation between these political questions and arma-

ments and disarmament. But if we fail to get an agreement on testing, then of course, as I've said, we test. And I presume that others will test. And I regard that as a very risky, in the long run, procedure for the future of the human race.

On the other hand, if we do not test and others test, that has a risk. And I made the determination that that would be the greater risk. Now we're going to try here before the end of April, and we'll also continue trying after the tests begin, if we're unable to get agreement before then. Because I'd much prefer a test agreement than to continue this kind of competition.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, strong forces in Congress are talking about legislative action to direct you to spend procurement funds for the B-70. I wondered if you could give us your thinking on the B-70 substantive issue, and on the power of Congress to direct you to spend money in such a way.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, on the substantive issue, as you know, we put in funds to develop three different prototypes of the B-70. And the—it was proposed by the Air Force that they would have 140 B-70's which would cost \$10 billion, which would be ready by 1970 or '71, and that is a large sum of money, and we have a good many manned aircraft. We have over 640 B-52's as well as an extensive missile armory, which is coming in: Polaris we have now, Minuteman we will have, Titan we have now, Atlas we have now. So the question really is whether we should put that large sum of money into manned bombers which will be available in '70 and '71. That's the first point.

The second point is that, according to those who have studied it in the Defense Department, we really can't spend the money now. A good many of the equipment—much of the equipment which would go into a B-70, some of it, first, hasn't been developed yet, and we really won't have our major flights in the B-70 till '63 and '64. Now if it's decided in '63 and '64 that we

have a strategic need for the B-70, we should then go ahead with it. But to get the money today, when we haven't developed the prototype, seems to me to be—or at least it seemed to Secretary McNamara, who has given it a good deal of study, and to General Lemnitzer, and, I think, to Admiral Anderson and the other members of the Joint Chiefs—Decker—with the exception of the Air Force, it does seem to me to be a—not the most judicious action.

Now, the Congress has a great authority and responsibility. They know a good deal about it. So I think that this is a matter which I hope we can talk about—the Appropriations Committee, the Armed Services Committee of both the House and the Senate, and we can get a better judgment as to what the language will be at the end. But I hope we take a cold look at when this force will be ready, what position it's in today, whether we are prepared to go ahead with production, and what will be the use of this particular force in 1970 or '71 with all of the progress that's being made in missiles, ground-to-air missiles against planes, and in view of the fact that we are going to spend over a billion dollars equipping our present force of B-52's with Skybolts, which will extend their life and their effectiveness. But in the final analysis, this is a matter on which I have relied very heavily on Secretary McNamara, in whom I have the greatest confidence.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, the pictures of the Attorney General's overseas trip showed him saying that he was there as the representative of the United States Government. Now, outside of speaking to students, will you tell us what his mission really was and what he achieved?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I, his mission was to—as I said at the previous press conference, his particular mission and interest was to try to talk to students and to intellectuals and others who are among the future leaders of these countries and whom we have not always enjoyed, for reasons which have not

always been precise to us, the happiest relations. So I think that that stimulated his visit. He is an official of the United States Government, and I think that those who are in official positions were anxious to talk with him and discuss their problems. The fact of the matter is that five other Cabinet officers went to Japan last fall. I don't know whether you—and a good many Cabinet officers, Mr. Goldberg, Mr. Hodges, have been to Africa. I think that people who hold positions of importance in the American Government ought to travel, and they learn. I call on them for advice as members of the Cabinet, or the Security Council, and, in addition, they tell these people that we have a very vital, moving country here. And I think his trip was very worthwhile.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, against the background of the Brazilian seizure of an American-owned telephone company, Congressman Adair, and I believe Senator Long, and others, have introduced legislation which would, in effect, cut off assistance from the United States to nations where American assets have been expropriated without compensation. Would you comment on the desirability of that, and also on the impact of that seizure on America's—on the American public's support of the Alliance for Progress program?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, now, as you know, the telephone company was seized by the governor of a province who has not always been identified particularly as a friend of the United States and we have been attempting to work out an equitable solution with the Brazilian Government. Nobody has ever questioned the right of any government to seize property, providing the compensation is fair. The United States is involved with the Brazilian Government in attempting to adjust this matter. I can think of nothing more unwise than to attempt to pass a resolution at this time which puts us in a posi-

tion not of disagreement with a governor of a state, who is not particularly our friend, but, instead, really, with the whole Brazilian nation, which is vital and which is a key and with which we must have the closest relations. So that we want this matter settled. It is in our interest and in the interest of Brazil.

Private capital is necessary in Latin America. There isn't enough public capital to do the job. And, therefore, we are working on it and the Brazilian Government has been responsive in attempting to work out a satisfactory solution. President Goulart is coming here in April, and we will be discussing many matters which involve our relations. And I must say that if you look at the map and realize the vitality of Brazil, I think that we ought to keep a sense of proportion. We don't want to make the work of those who dislike us easy by reacting to things which happen in a way which strengthens them and weakens the influence of the United States.

[23.] Q. Mr. President, you have suggested that the Indiana Dunes, a natural area comparable to that on Cape Cod between Nauset and North Truro, be reserved to the Nation as a national park. It is now in danger of being destroyed by the erection of a steel mill and an artificial harbor. Do you think there is any chance of Federal action to save this area for the Nation?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we made our recommendation and we'll follow and see what the Congress does with it. It's highly controversial. But we expressed what we thought was in the best interests, with the large number of people who live in that immediate area. And we'll continue to watch it through the Congress.

NOTE: President Kennedy's twenty-sixth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 3:30 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, March 7, 1962.

76 Special Messages to the Congress on the Trade Agreements Concluded at the Geneva Tariff Conference. *March 7, 1962*

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith to the Congress copies of trade agreements with the European Economic Community, the United Kingdom, Norway, and Sweden, including schedules which my duly appointed representatives signed on behalf of the United States on March 5 and March 7, 1962.

Section 4(a) of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951 requires that I report to the Congress on those instances in which I have departed from the "peril point" findings of the Tariff Commission. Annex A, attached to this message, lists and gives the reasons for the instances in which I decided, in the interest of concluding trade agreements advantageous to the United States during the Geneva Tariff Conference, to accord tariff concessions going below the levels found by the Tariff Commission.

At this time, when the Congress is considering a major new trade law, I wish to provide a detailed account of the circumstances in which I instructed our negotiators to make such concessions.

Most of these concessions were negotiated with the European Economic Community. When the so-called Dillon round, or, the phase for new reciprocal concessions, of the Geneva Conference opened on May 29, 1961, the EEC offered concessions following along the lines of its decision of a year earlier to reduce industrial tariffs across the board by 20 percent, a decision that was conditional on reciprocal concessions from other nations, and especially the United States. The EEC offers involved concessions affecting American exports to the EEC countries amounting, on the basis of 1958 figures, to \$846 million. Of this total, \$422 million represented exports on which the United States had asked for concessions, \$337 million being offered in the name of the United States as the principal supplier, and the remaining \$85 million in the name of third countries from which

the United States would also receive substantial benefits.

It was the American negotiating objective to take advantage of the initial EEC offers and also to seek additional concessions. We were being offered tariff reductions having large potential value to our export trade. Furthermore, the emerging European Community was proposing to take a first long step toward making its trade policy an outward looking one. Our interest was to assure that we obtain these new opportunities for our exporters and, in the process, that we help to mold the EEC's external trade policy along liberal lines.

Our negotiators, however, were grievously short of bargaining power. The instructions under which they were authorized to proceed fell well short of matching even the initial offers of the EEC. The EEC offer to reduce industrial common tariff rates by 20 percent directly affected United States trade of \$846 million (1958) and was responsive to about 60 percent of our requests to the EEC for tariff concessions. In contrast, our offers consisted of:

(a) \$41 million of offers to bind rates of duty at present levels;

(b) \$90 million of offers of duty reductions requested by the EEC (about 20 percent of total EEC requests); and

(c) \$396 million of offers involving duty reductions not requested by the EEC.

The manner in which the United States came to this negotiating position is important for an understanding of the trade agreements just concluded and for its bearing upon the new trade legislation that I have recommended to the Congress.

Prior to the Geneva Conference, the EEC had filed requests with the United States for concessions accounting for a trade volume in 1958 of \$451 million. Our inter-agency screening process eliminated from the original "Public List" a number of articles, con-

cessions on which would have been responsive to requests from the EEC. The trade volume involved was \$128 million. These articles were those on which tariff concessions, in the judgment of the inter-agency committee, might give rise to serious competitive problems for American industries.

Under Section 3(a) of the Trade Agreements Act, the Tariff Commission was then required to study further the list of potential concessions approved by the inter-agency committee and to establish "peril points" for each article included.

The Commission found that of the concessions asked by the EEC, articles having a trade volume of \$220 million could not be made the subjects of downward tariff adjustments without causing or threatening to cause serious injury to the domestic industries concerned. Coverage of the EEC request list was thus reduced to \$103 million, less than one-fourth of the list. The Commission made the same finding on articles having a trade volume of \$113 million among items not on the EEC request list but which the inter-agency committee had selected in order to strengthen the United States negotiating position.

I believe that we must recognize that under the law the Tariff Commission was required to make hasty predictions as to future market conditions for thousands of individual articles. These predictions were necessarily superficial. Even if there had been available, and there was not, a full range of data for production, trade and prices on all these articles, the Commission's task was a highly speculative one. This was particularly true with regard to items exported from the Common Market countries. These countries are going through revolutionary changes in their trade patterns, attendant upon the development of a new internal market of unprecedented proportions. In some cases, products which were previously available for export to other countries will find their future markets within the area. In other cases, products

which had not previously been exported will appear as new export specialties.

In this situation, given the tenor of the provisions under which it operated, the Commission understandably resolved any doubts by establishing peril points on the products concerned at the existing tariff level. Peril points were found at the existing rate of duty on a range of articles, for a large number of which the maintenance of existing tariffs clearly was unimportant. In many instances tariff reductions of even a few percentage points were precluded. In others peril points were found at existing duty levels for specialty commodities not competitive with domestic production. Similarly, peril points at the existing duty level were set for basket categories of many items even though the situation as between items in the category might differ markedly. Tariff reductions were precluded in cases where imports represented only a minor fraction of domestic consumption. The result was to give our Delegation at Geneva a very limited bargaining package and minimum room for negotiating maneuver.

It was with many misgivings, therefore, that I had authorized our Delegation in Geneva to make a counter-offer to the EEC along the lines of the outstanding instruction. This original instruction scrupulously avoided any offers of reductions below peril point findings of the Tariff Commission.

The response of the EEC was to announce a withdrawal and reconsideration of its offer. The six EEC nations indicated they were not prepared to conclude an agreement on the basis we had proposed and that they would have to withdraw the concessions that had been offered because of the gross disparity between our offers and theirs. It was clear that we were faced with a potentially irretrievable situation. If the EEC had decided to abandon its across-the-board proposal, it would have been necessary to obtain unanimity among the six member nations to maintain on an item-by-item basis some of the elements of the original offer.

This was not possible. To adhere to our original position would have been to reject the EEC proposal.

The loss to our export trade from such a sequence of events would have been substantial, for we stood to gain most from the EEC offer. Far more important would have been the long term consequences of our action. The EEC necessarily looked to the United States, the world's greatest trading nation, for a sufficient measure of reciprocity to enable it to carry through its provisional decision to reduce the common external tariff of the Community. If that decision had been withdrawn, the road would have been opened wide to the formation of a number of trading blocs in the free world set off from one another by high barriers to trade.

We could not permit this to happen.

Accordingly, after months of negotiation and when no other recourse was available to save the situation, I authorized our Geneva Delegation to offer new concessions on a number of items at rates below peril point findings. In selecting these articles, two criteria were used: their potential value in obtaining or maintaining concessions from our negotiating partners, principally the EEC, and the extent of the competitive adjustment likely to be placed on American industry by tariff concessions.

In taking this step, we avoided the collapse of the Geneva talks and we held open the way to a future of economic cooperation, not separation, between the two common markets, the one in Western Europe, the other the United States.

Our action salvaged and revived the Geneva Conference. It did not involve serious competitive risks for American industry. We granted concessions to the EEC at rates below peril points on articles having a 1958 trade value of \$76 million. Apart from such concessions to the EEC, we also made concessions of this character to the United Kingdom on items having a trade volume of \$7 million. (Co-offers of concessions on four items, contingent upon confirmation of the

same concessions to the EEC, were made to Norway and/or Sweden. These were in the amount of \$437 thousand).

The total of our concessions, indeed, would not in itself have been sufficient to recover our position. The EEC, however, was acutely aware of the limitations under which the United States was negotiating. Within the Community, the forces favoring a liberal trading policy were greatly strengthened by the evidence that we were serious about bargaining down trade barriers. Once we had made our move, this phase of the negotiations proceeded expeditiously to a conclusion. That conclusion was highly advantageous to the United States.

—The EEC maintained most of its across-the-board offers on industrial products. The only significant exception was in the field of chemicals, an area where, because the offers by the United States represented only \$24 million of trade, the EEC cut back its offers to the United States from \$172 million to \$93 million;

—The EEC added to its initial offers concessions involving trade of \$100 million in the previously excepted agricultural chapters and another \$33 million of formerly reserved automobile parts, and on miscellaneous commodities accounting for another \$5 million of trade;

—Finally, the successful conclusion of the US-EEC negotiations opened the way for negotiations between third countries and the EEC, which had been marking time awaiting their outcome. From the resulting negotiations of others with the EEC, U.S. exports stand to receive substantial additional benefits because of our right to such concessions.

The United States thus can take satisfaction from the outcome of the Geneva negotiations. We advanced our trading interests and we maintained progress toward economic cooperation within the Western world. But these accomplishments were made, in large part, in spite of hampering features of the trade agreements law. And we had the sufferance of our major trading partners.

We cannot be expected to bargain effectively in the future under the limitations of the present law. If we are to lead, as we must, we must have the means for the exercise of leadership. The Trade Expansion Act which I have recommended to the Congress will provide these means.

In an accompanying message, I am reporting to the Congress under Section 4(a) of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951 on the disposition of the cases in which the Tariff Commission in 1960 found peril points higher than the existing rate of duty.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

To the Congress of the United States:

This report, supplementing my report on reductions made at the 1960/62 Tariff Conference in excess of peril-point findings, is further in compliance with Section 4(a) of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951.

During the usual peril-point investigation of the items included in the Public Notice issued in connection with the negotiations, the Tariff Commission found that the peril-point was higher than the present rate on nine widely varied products. The Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1958 provides that in such instances the Tariff Commission must institute an immediate escape-clause investigation with respect to the articles involved. Accordingly, the Commission undertook the required investigations with the following results:

(1) On baseball and softball gloves, ceramic mosaic tile, and sheet glass, the Commission recommended to me that existing duties be increased.

(2) On tennis rackets and creeping red fescue seed, the Commission terminated the investigations without recommendation.

(3) On ultramarine blue, rolled glass, plastic raincoats and cellulose filaments, the

Commission found that increases in the duties were not necessary.

The law provides that, if the President does not negotiate the increase of duty indicated by the Commission's peril-point findings, he shall report his reasons therefore to the Congress.

This is to advise that no such increases in duty were negotiated at the 1960/62 conference. The recitation of the Tariff Commission's further investigation of these nine cases, as above given, suggests why the negotiation of higher rates was not undertaken. In six of the nine cases the Tariff Commission, upon a fuller study of the facts than had been possible during its peril-point investigation, did not recommend an increase in duty. In the other three, I was not satisfied that all of the applicable facts had been fully canvassed in the Commission's subsequent investigations; consideration of the appropriate rate of duty was consequently still pending as of the time our negotiations at the 1960/61 conference were being completed. I now have supplementary reports of the Tariff Commission before me. My decision on the three cases is pending.

I append a list defining more precisely the nine commodities mentioned above.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The "Trade Agreements With the European Economic Community, the United Kingdom, Norway, and Sweden, including schedules signed on behalf of the United States on March 5 and March 7, 1962," and the report on "Products on Which Tariff Regulations Were Made Below Peril Point Levels 1960-61 GATT Tariff Conference" are printed in House Document 358 (87th Cong., 2d sess.). The supplemental "Report in Compliance With Section 4(a) of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951" is printed in House Document 357 (87th Cong., 2d sess.).

On the same day the White House, in announcing the conclusion of the conference, released a summary of the tariff negotiations.

77 Address at Miami Beach at a Fundraising Dinner in Honor of Senator Smathers. *March 10, 1962*

Senator Smathers, Mr. Chairman, Governor Bryant, Senator Holland, members of the Florida delegation, Secretary Ribicoff, Senator Jennings Randolph, ladies and gentlemen:

I had never heard until tonight Senator Holland's nominating speech for Senator Smathers, but it is one of the most moving speeches that I have ever heard. The question is, George, were you really serious out there in Los Angeles?

I actually came down here tonight to pay a debt of obligation to an old friend and faithful adviser. He and I came to the 80th Congress together, and have been associated for many years, and I regard him as one of my most valuable counselors in moments of great personal and public difficulty.

In 1952, when I was thinking about running for the United States Senate, I went to the then Senator Smathers, and said, "George, what do you think?" He said, "Don't do it. Can't win. Bad year."

In 1956 I was at the Democratic Convention, and I said—I didn't know whether I would run for Vice President or not, so I said, "George, what do you think? This is it. They need a young man." "It's your chance." So I ran—and lost.

And in 1960 I was wondering whether I ought to run in the West Virginia primary. "Don't do it. That State you can't possibly carry."

And actually, the only time I really got nervous about the whole matter at Los Angeles, was just before the balloting, and George came up and he said, "I think it looks pretty good for you."

It will encourage you to know that every Tuesday morning we have breakfast together and he advises with me—Cuba, anything else, Laos, Berlin—anything—George comes right out there and gives his views and I listen very carefully.

It is a great honor to be here. And I think

that you are fortunate, I had heard in Washington that Senator Smathers had a tough fight, I wanted to come down here—I have been asking all day who he's running against—nobody knows his name—\$300,000 has been raised for this fight, but we're all glad to pitch in, in a hard battle. George, it's a bad year!

All of you, however, have a downpayment on his candidacy, and I know that you are going to support him wholeheartedly. I think the best test of any man is the opinion of those who serve with him. He is a member of what has been called the most exclusive club in the world—it is the only club that it is safe to be a member of in Washington today. And in that club he is one of the leaders of the majority party. He was Chairman of the Senate Campaign Committee. When I was running for the Presidency, he was the chairman of our campaign in the South. When I stood up to be married, he was my usher. And therefore I am delighted to come here to join with a friend—which is the most important thing—and also a distinguished Member of the United States Senate.

I think George Smathers—in fact I know this—in the 1950's when Latin America was a matter of, I think, comparative indifference, when our eyes were concentrated on problems all over the world, to the best of my recollection—and I think Senator Holland pointed this out very wisely—Senator Smathers was the only Member of the United States Senate who time and time again indicated to the Members of the Senate, and to the people of the United States, that this is our backyard.

From 1945 to 1960 the United States gave as much aid to Yugoslavia as it did to all of Latin America, and it is a source of satisfaction to me, with all of the problems that we now face in Latin America, and all of the challenges, that this country has a program

in the Alliance for Progress which I believe can successfully counter the Communist onslaught in this hemisphere.

And your Senator, Senator Smathers—reaching as this State does into the South—I believe was the first Member of the Senate, really, in the fifties who pointed out how ignored we had been and how uncertain we had been in our policy toward this area. I am confident that Senator Smathers will be reelected.

This is a great State. I am not sure that the people of Florida realize yet what is happening to this State and what will happen in the next 10 years. The space age which we all take such satisfaction in, in the person of Colonel Glenn, is going to make the most profound difference to this State.

In the next year we will have five times as many people working in the Canaveral area as we do today. We will spend four times—in the space program—as much as we do today. But that is only the beginning. As Governor Bryant said, with that emphasis on space will come the scientists and engineers, will come the improvement in your universities and colleges, will come the emphasis on technical accomplishments, which can make Florida one of the most vigorous and vital areas of the United States.

California—we have seen that in that State, with the great emphasis which its universities and colleges have made upon technical accomplishment. As you know, Berkeley, the University of California, has nearly three times as many Nobel prize winners in its campus alone as the whole Soviet Union, and what has happened there with their emphasis on technology, is going to happen in this State—if the people of Florida recognize the opportunity that is before them.

And I believe that your distinguished Governor recognizes that, and Senator Holland, a Member of the Space Committee, and Senator Smathers and the members of your congressional delegation, and the people of this State, who will put emphasis on improving your colleges and universities and

schools, can make Florida one of the most vital, vigorous sections not only of this country but of the world.

I believe the New Frontier can be captured here in Florida as almost no other State of the Union, and I am confident that the people of this State will recognize that space is not merely a brave individual, Colonel Glenn, but means all of the changes of technology and science and engineering, which can move this State up to being a vigorous and vital place.

In one of the most amazing prophecies in history a hundred years ago, Jules Verne prophesied that there would be a competition between Florida and Texas as to which State would be the source of vitality in the space age. He thought that Florida might fail because there was no city large enough, and he wondered whether Florida was stable enough, linked to the United States, to stand the blast which would come when we finally put a man in space. One hundred years ago!

Well, I prophesy in the next 10 years that this State is going to have the greatest period of development of any State in the United States—and you, the people of Florida, must be part of it.

And I think your Governor, and Senator Smathers, and Senator Holland, and the members of your delegation, recognize it. Those who say why should we go to the moon, it's not the moon that we are interested in; it's the ability of the United States as the leader of the free world to be second to none in a vital sea and ocean—which I believe space to be. And what it means here and around the world I believe can be the most important part of our rise in the 1960's.

In looking back over the last year, I take some satisfaction in some events, and I take disappointment in others. We have, I believe, got a policy towards Latin America—though we must implement it. We have attempted to rebuild the economy of the United States, and it is a fact that employment and profits and the whole source of

the economy has moved ahead. And we are attempting in a trade policy to revitalize our economy and tie us closer together in Europe.

But I want to emphasize the jobs that are still undone. Woodrow Wilson in 1913 said "What good is the success of a party unless it serves a great national purpose?" And I want to emphasize how essential are our great national purposes in the next decade.

The United States—and this becomes more and more obvious every day—is the source of strength of the entire free world. We are criticized and denounced regularly, day by day, in every section of the free world. But the fact of the matter is that in this hemisphere, in Western Europe and the defense of Western Europe, in Berlin, in Africa, in Asia, in the far reaches of South Korea, all the way stretching in a great half-circle from Berlin, the United States is the sentinel at the gate.

I said a year ago that I do not think that any of us should regret this role—and I do not. It is burdensome. I am sure that you get fatigued from it. I am sure you regard it as a heavy burden on you. But the fact of the matter is that if we fail the whole cause of freedom fails. And I believe as a citizen of the United States that we should be prepared to carry that burden, regardless of whether others are willing to do so or not.

And I know that you get tired of assisting countries far away. The fact of the matter is, I am sure there's no one who gets more tired of it than your Senior Senator, Senator Holland. But it is a fact last summer, when this program was under attack, Senator Holland and a few other Senators—as a matter of fact, in both parties—made it possible for us to carry on a program which makes the United States contribute to the defense of NATO—Greece, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, the Republic of China, the Philippines,

South Korea, as well as Latin America and Africa. That is a role which I believe, when the history of this age is written and all of us who bear positions of responsibility have passed from the scene, I believe that that is a record—however tired and burdensome it may now seem—that is the record for which we will be remembered.

So I come to this city and this State which has a most promising future, as a part of a country which has a most promising future as a part of the free world which I believe has a most promising future. The fact of the matter is that in the last 12 months we have seen more clearly than ever before the contrast between our system and that of those who make themselves our adversaries.

The wall in Berlin, to lock people in, I believe is the obvious manifestation, which can be demonstrated all over the world, of the superiority of our system. And the question now is: Are we willing to stand the cost? Are we willing to carry the burdens through the next 10 or 15 or 20 years? I believe we are.

And I come to this southern part of the United States to speak on behalf of your Junior Senator, Senator Smathers, who I am confident will come back. And Dante Fascell, the Congressman from this city. Dante once said that the hottest places in hell are reserved for those who in a period of moral crisis maintain their neutrality. He does not, and that is why I am confident that he will be re-elected, too, to the United States Congress.

The history of the United States was not written at Jamestown, or in Massachusetts. It began here in your State—St. Augustine, 400 years old. And I believe that here in the oldest part of the United States we have a potential of being the most vital and vigorous.

So I join you tonight in a salute to your Junior Senator—a salute to your State—and also a salute to our country.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Fontainebleau Hotel, Miami Beach, Fla. In his opening words he referred to Senator George A. Smathers, Representative Dante B. Fascell, who served as chairman of the dinner, Governor Farris Bryant, and Senator

Spessard L. Holland, all of Florida; Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia.

78 Message to the People of Greece on the 15th Anniversary of the Truman Doctrine. *March 12, 1962*

WE OBSERVE today the fifteenth anniversary of President Truman's historic announcement of the purpose of the United States to help the Greek people defend their freedom. This announcement, with the support of the Congress and the American people, was translated into action. And that action followed on a great tradition of ideals common to Greeks and Americans.

We Americans do not forget that it was because of the threat to Greece that the particularly close relationship marking our present affairs began. The danger to Greece was overcome, primarily because of the national determination of the Greek people to restore their freedom and democracy given them by their ancient heritage.

Today, we are joined together in an effort to strengthen the cultural and spiritual ties

we share and for our part we pledge our loyalty to our faithful and gallant Greek friends. Together we have accomplished much and, united in purpose, there is little we cannot do in the future. We assure the Greek people of our continued support against the dangers which confront us both, as well as our goods and deeds to help in the quest for progress. We are ever mindful of the vital role which Greece has played and continues to perform in the NATO defensive shield. Believing that the historical bonds of friendship which have united our nations have been strengthened by President Truman's decisive action, we are confident that these ties will grow ever stronger.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

79 Message to the People of Turkey on the 15th Anniversary of the Truman Doctrine. *March 12, 1962*

FIFTEEN years ago today, President Truman, in a historic declaration, announced the purpose of the United States to help the Turkish people defend their freedom and independence. With the support of the Congress and the American people, that purpose was accomplished, and since then our two nations have joined in a common effort to preserve the right of free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

We are ever mindful of the vital role which the Turkish nation has played and continues to play in the NATO defensive shield. We in America are proud to be

allied with the Turkish people in a determined effort to bring peace and prosperity to all mankind. Each of our nations can take much pride in the success we have achieved in this great undertaking since 1947. Of great interest to the American people is the progress which Turkey has made in developing its economy. The historical bonds of friendship which unite our nations have been strengthened by President Truman's historic decision, and I am confident that, in the future, these ties will grow ever stronger.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

80 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker
of the House on the Unemployment Compensation System.
March 12, 1962

Dear Mr. ———:

The imminent expiration of the Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation program at a time when unemployment is still high and there are large numbers of long-term unemployed makes enactment of the permanent improvements I have recommended in the existing Federal-State unemployment system especially urgent. This legislation is a vital part of the programs I believe essential to assure sustained prosperity and to strengthen our manpower base.

Although the February unemployment figures showed a heartening decline in the number out of work there are still 4,543,000 workers who need help. The number of long-term unemployed—those who have been jobless for 15 weeks or longer—totals 1,400,000. Unless prompt action is taken workers who exhaust their regular benefits after March 31, 1962, will no longer be able to receive any unemployment compensation. The serious crisis which compelled Congressional action last year has not abated for these workers, but the protection provided by the law will shortly expire unless the Congress acts.

Twice in recent years, in 1958 and again in 1961, the Congress has taken steps to provide unemployment compensation benefits for the long-term unemployed. As temporary stop-gap measures these Acts served a valuable purpose. They have also proven the need for a permanent modification in the system of benefits.

The merits of the proposals for permanent legislation I have recommended are well-established. The wider coverage, extended benefit periods and increased benefit amounts will lessen the hardship and suffering that accompany unemployment and will, at the same time, provide a stimulus to business.

When enacted, the legislation will exert a stabilizing effect upon our economy, helping to maintain consumer purchasing power and cushioning any economic reverses. It will make unnecessary the temporary stop-gap legislation sought each time a crisis develops, and modernize the system to better meet the needs of the worker, the community and the nation. Today, weekly benefits are often too low in relation to lost wages to enable the worker to meet his basic and non-deferrable expenses. Incentives to the various States to establish basic minimum payments equal, in most cases, to one-half the wages lost, would be provided. An additional 3,000,000 workers not now covered would be brought within the system. The burden of excessively high unemployment compensation taxes that exist in several States would be removed. The financial soundness of the system would be strengthened by increasing the amount of wages subject to taxation—the first increase in the history of the program. And finally, workers would not be denied benefits simply because they sought to develop another marketable skill through retraining.

It is estimated that 150,000 workers will exhaust their regular unemployment insurance in April 1962. The number will exceed 100,000 in all but one of the remaining months of the year. Many of these have a long work history but, because of automation or other technological developments, will find it difficult to obtain re-employment. We cannot, with the expiration of the present Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation program, abdicate our responsibility to these workers. Adequate provision should be made for them.

I urge that early consideration be given to the legislation calling for permanent im-

provement of the Federal-State unemployment insurance system.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

See also Item 120.

81 Remarks on Accepting Invitation To Address a Rally in Support of Medical Care for the Aged. *March 12, 1962*

I WANT to express my appreciation to my old colleague, and friend, former Congressman Aime Forand, and Mr. Adolph Held, for the invitation to come to New York on May 20th to speak at Madison Square Garden in support of this program.

I believe this program to be vitally important. It involves the interests of seventeen million Americans who have reached retirement age, who are faced with great burdens in the area of medical care. And in addition to that, it concerns millions of other Americans of younger age who have the responsibility of educating their children and at the same time the age-old responsibility of caring for their parents.

And I know too many cases of people who have been caught, in their thirties and forties, who have been faced with this problem and have had to sacrifice the interests of either their children or their parents in order to make both ends meet.

I am hopeful, and I believe strongly, that

the Congress should pass this legislation this year. It will provide a very effective protection for our older citizens. It will permit them through social security, which has worked so well for so many years, to protect their interests through their working life.

I am delighted to come here. I understand that you are going to have rallies similar to this in a number of other cities on that same day, and I believe that with this kind of public support, that the Congress of the United States can enact this legislation this year. I believe it is important that it does so, and I think if the people of the United States indicate their strong support for this proposal, the Congress will enact it.

I'll be there.

NOTE: The President spoke in the Fish Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to former U.S. Representative Aime J. Forand of Rhode Island, chairman, National Council of Senior Citizens, and to Adolph Held, chairman, Golden Ring and Senior Citizens Clubs of New York.

82 Message to the American Association for the United Nations. *March 12, 1962*

THE Twelfth Annual Conference of National Organizations called by the American Association for the United Nations comes as a propitious reminder of the range and depth of this country's support of the United Nations.

Both by its promise and by its actions, the U.N. has justified that support over the years.

The Sixteenth Session of the General Assembly ended last month with a matchless record of solid accomplishments.

It rejected emphatically a powerful attack against the integrity of the Secretariat and went on to a series of positive steps which are admirably summarized in the theme of your conference "The U.N. Decade of Development."

In the course of its work the Sixteenth General Assembly adopted a set of guiding principles and agreed to the new approach to general and complete disarmament which will get under way in Geneva on Wednesday. It extended the Charter of the United Nations to outer space and established a new Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space which begins its work next week. It adopted a resolution calling for an expanded and intensified program for economic and social progress in the less developed world in the decade ahead.

We can be proud of our initiatives and of the U.N. response in these three critical areas of disarmament, outer space, and rapid modernization of the emerging nations. If real progress can be made in these three areas, the present decade can be the most exciting and rewarding time in history.

To sustain its present initiative as a force for peace and human progress the U.N., of course, must regain a sound and orderly financial position. The three-point financial plan approved by the General Assembly is the only proposal put forth at the U.N. or elsewhere which will meet the requirements

and is the only one which has the approval of the General Assembly. The U.N. bond issue, which is the key part of the financing plan, has become the symbol and substance of support of the United Nations by its members.

Last week Finland and Norway purchased the first of the U.N. bonds. A dozen more nations will follow shortly. The world is now watching to see whether the United States will continue to play its full part in helping the United Nations to make this a decade in which the world moves dramatically toward the peaceful and progressive world foreseen in the Charter.

I look forward to meeting with your leaders at the White House tomorrow, and I welcome the evidence offered by your organizations that bipartisan support for the U.N. in its present financial crisis is stronger than ever. Please accept my best wishes for a most productive conference.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The President's message was read by Herman W. Steinkraus, President of the Association, at an evening meeting of the Conference of National Organizations at the Statler Hotel in Washington.

83 Special Message to the Congress on Foreign Aid.

March 13, 1962

To the Congress of the United States:

Last year this nation dedicated itself to a "Decade of Development," designed to help the new and developing states of the world grow in political independence, economic welfare and social justice.

Last September, in support of this effort, the Congress enacted fundamental changes in our program of foreign assistance.

Last November the Executive Branch drastically reorganized and restaffed this program in accordance with the Congressional mandate.

Today the "decade" is only four months old. It would surely be premature to make any claims of dramatic results. Our new aid program, addressed to the specific needs

of individual countries for long-term development, presupposes basic changes, careful planning and gradual achievement. Yet these few months have shown significant movement in new directions. The "turn-around" has begun.

Our new aid policy aims at strengthening the political and economic independence of developing countries—which means strengthening their capacity both to master the inherent stress of rapid change and to repel Communist efforts to exploit such stress from within or without. In the framework of this broad policy, economic, social and military development take their proper place. In Washington our aid operations have been largely unified under the direction

of the Administrator of the Agency for International Development. Recipient countries are improving their planning mechanisms, devising country development plans, and beginning extensive programs of self-help and self-reform. In addition to long range programs developed with India, Nigeria and others we have, under the new authority granted by the Congress, entered into a new type of long-term commitment with two nations—Pakistan and Tanganyika—after the most painstaking review of their proposed development plans, and others will follow. In addition to placing emphasis on the improvement of internal security forces, we are giving increased attention to the contribution which local military forces can make through civic action programs to economic and social development.

In financing these programs, we are relying more heavily than before on loans repayable in dollars. Other institutions are joining with us in this effort—not only private institutions but also the United Nations, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Development Bank. We have urged other industrialized countries to devote a larger share of their resources to the provision of capital to the less developed nations. Some have done so—and we are hopeful that the rest will also recognize their stake in the success and stability of the emerging economies. We are continuing, in view of our balance of payments situation, to emphasize procurement within the United States for most goods required by the program. And we are working toward strengthening the foreign exchange position of the emerging countries by encouraging the development of new trade patterns. The proposed new Trade Expansion Act is a most important tool in facilitating this trend.

Much more, of course, could be said. But having set forth last year in a series of messages and addresses on foreign aid the goals we seek and the tools we need, it is not necessary to repeat to the Congress this year

our nation's basic interest in the development and freedom of other nations—or to review all of the initiatives launched under last year's programs. The Congress is familiar with these arguments and programs, as well as its own role and contribution in enacting long-term financing authority. Thus the foreign aid legislation submitted this year does not require reconsideration of these questions. It is instead limited primarily to the new authorizations required annually under the terms of last year's law. The only major change proposed is the establishment of a separate long-term Alliance for Progress fund. The total amounts requested were included in the Federal Budget previously submitted for fiscal 1963 and the authorizing legislation enacted last year, and have in fact been reduced in some instances. They cannot, I believe, be further reduced if the partnership on which we are now embarked—a joint endeavor with each developing nation and with each aid-giving nation—is to demonstrate the advances in human well-being which flow from economic development joined with political liberty. For we should know by now that where weakness and dependence are not transformed into strength and self-reliance, we can expect only chaos, and then tyranny, to follow.

II.

Because Development Lending and Military Assistance appropriations for Fiscal Year 1963 were authorized in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, no new authorizations for these two programs are needed. I am proposing new authorization and appropriation of \$335 million for Development Grants; \$481.5 million for Supporting Assistance; \$148.9 million for contributions to International Organizations; \$100 million for Investment Guarantees; \$400 million for the Contingency Fund; and \$60 million for administrative costs and other programs. I am also proposing appropriations for 1963 of \$2,753 million, including the \$1,250 mil-

lion already authorized for development lending, and \$1,500 million (\$200 million below that authorized) for military assistance. The total appropriation request for the foreign economic and military assistance program for fiscal year 1963 is \$4,878 million.

These recommendations are based upon a careful examination of the most urgent needs of each country and area. Each of these forms of assistance, in these amounts, is essential to the achievement of our overall foreign assistance objectives. The total is less than the estimates in the Budget because of a reduction in my request for Supporting Assistance.

One item in particular deserves attention. The past year has amply demonstrated that rapid and unpredictable changes in the world situation of direct interest to our security cannot be foreseen or predicted accurately at the time Congress acts upon the appropriations. I therefore urge the Congress to recognize this need for flexibility to meet contingencies and emergencies and to approve the full authorization and appropriation requested of \$400 million.

III.

The Charter of Punta del Este which last August established the Alliance for Progress is the framework of goals and conditions for what has been called "a peaceful revolution on a Hemispheric scale."

That revolution had begun before the Charter was drawn. It will continue after its goals are reached. If its goals are not achieved, the revolution will continue but its methods and results will be tragically different. History has removed for governments the margin of safety between the peaceful revolution and the violent revolution. The luxury of a leisurely interval is no longer available.

These were the facts recognized at Punta del Este. These were the facts that dictated the terms of the Charter. And these are the

facts which require our participation in this massive cooperative effort.

To give this program the special recognition and additional resources which it requires, I therefore propose an authorization of \$3 billion for the Alliance for Progress for the next four years. Of the \$3 billion, an authorization and appropriation of \$600 million is being requested for 1963, with up to \$100 million to be used for grants and the balance of \$500 million or more for development loans. This authorization will be separate from and supplementary to the \$6 billion already authorized for loans for development for 1963 through 1966, which will remain available for use throughout the world.

During the year beginning last March over \$1.0 billion has been committed in Latin America by the United States in support of the Alliance, fulfilling the pledge we made at the first Punta del Este meeting, and launching in a very real way for this Hemisphere a dramatic Decade of Development. But even with this impressive support, the destiny of the Alliance lies largely in the hands of the countries themselves. For even large amounts of external aid can do no more than provide the margin which enables each country through its own determination and action to achieve lasting success.

The United States recognizes that it takes time—to develop careful programs for national development and the administrative capacity necessary to carry out such a program—to go beyond the enactment of land reform measures and actually transfer the land and make the most productive use of it—to pass new tax laws and then achieve their acceptance and enforcement. It is heartening, therefore, that the changes called for by the Alliance for Progress have been the central issue in several Latin American elections—demonstrating that its effects will be deep and real. Under the Organization of American States, nine outstanding economists and development advisors have begun

to assist countries in critically reviewing their plans. Three Latin American countries have already completed and submitted for review their plans for the more effective mobilization of their resources toward national development. The others are creating and strengthening their mechanisms for development planning. A number of Latin American countries have already taken significant steps toward land or tax reform; and throughout the region there is a new ferment of activity, centered on improvements in education, in rural development, in public administration, and on other essential institutional measures required to give a sound basis for economic growth.

But more important still is the changed attitudes of peoples and governments already noticeable in Latin America. The Alliance has fired the imagination and kindled the hopes of millions of our good neighbors. Their drive toward modernization is gaining momentum as it unleashes the energies of these millions; and the United States is becoming increasingly identified in the minds of the people with the goal they move toward: a better life with freedom. Our hand—extended in help—is being accepted without loss of dignity.

But the Alliance is barely under way. It is a task for a decade, not for a year. It requires further changes in outlook and policy by all American States. New institutions will need to be formed. New plans—if they are to be serious—will have to assume a life other than on paper.

One of the brightest pages of the world's history has been the series of programs this Nation has devised, established and implemented following the Second World War to help free peoples achieve economic develop-

ment and the control of their own destinies. These programs, which have been solidly based on bipartisan support, are the proud manifestations of our deep-seated love and pursuit of freedom for individuals and for nations.

I realize that there are among us those who are weary of sustaining this continual effort to help other nations. But I would ask them to look at a map and recognize that many of those whom we help live on the "front-lines" of the long twilight struggle for freedom—that others are new nations posed between order and chaos—and the rest are older nations now undergoing a turbulent transition of new expectations. Our efforts to help them help themselves, to demonstrate and to strengthen the vitality of free institutions, are small in cost compared to our military outlays for the defense of freedom. Yet all of our armies and atoms combined will be of little avail if these nations fall, unable to meet the needs of their own people, and unable to stave off within their borders the rise of forces that threaten our security. This program—and the passage of this bill—are vital to the interests of the United States.

We are, I am confident, equal to our responsibilities in this area—responsibilities as compelling as any our nation has known. Today, we are still in the first months of a decade's sustained effort. But I can report that our efforts are underway; they are moving in the right direction; they are gaining momentum daily; and they have already begun to realize a small part of their great potential. The turn-around has indeed begun.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: On October 23 the President approved the Foreign Aid and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1963 (Public Law 87-872, 76 Stat. 1163).

84 Remarks of Welcome to President Ahidjo of the Cameroon
at the Washington National Airport. *March 13, 1962*

Mr. President:

I want to welcome you to the United States and to this Capital on behalf of the American people. I think all of us, living as we do a great many thousand miles from your own country, having a different history, separated in time and space, are impressed by the efforts that you personally have made, and your people have made, to build a viable and strong economy and country.

You, as one of the youngest Presidents in the world, having those qualities which young Presidents like to possess, have demonstrated, I think, a leadership in uniting a country with different languages which had not known a sense of nationhood and community until recent years.

Your particular efforts in attempting to secure a better life for your people have made a profound impression upon us here. We are extremely glad to welcome you. We hope that you will find here in the United States things which will be of value to you in your efforts. And I can assure you that we regard your visit here as an opportunity for us to learn more about your country and its people and also about the problems and the opportunities of Africa which loom so large now on the world scene.

This is a most fortunate time, in my opinion, for you to visit us. Your country is the hinge geographically upon which much of Africa turns, and I believe it can be the hinge upon which much of Africa can turn politically and economically.

So, Mr. President, we welcome you here as the second youngest President in the world of a very young country. We welcome you here as the kind of responsible,

progressive leader upon which I believe the hopes of freedom in Africa and in much of the world depends.

Mr. President, we are proud to have you as our guest.

NOTE: President Ahidjo responded (through an interpreter) as follows:

Mr. President:

I am extremely happy to have been able to answer your kind invitation by coming to the United States—to this great country which we so greatly admire and to which I bring the expression of thanks for the words which you have pronounced about my country and about myself.

It is really a great pleasure for me to return to the United States, to be greeted in this country by you, Mr. President. And I can say that my happiness is equaled only by the friendship between our two nations.

And I bring you, Mr. President, the cordial salute of the entire people of the Cameroon.

Now ever since you became the President of the United States, we have followed every minute with great attention, with great friendliness, and with great sympathy your dynamic policies and your efforts to consolidate friendship among nations. Your will to solve all problems by dialog and by negotiations overcome all of the obstacles which still have to be overcome, before true, genuine peace is reached.

I bring to you, Mr. President, the salute of all the people of Africa, and in particular of the Cameroon, all of whom are grateful to you, Mr. President, for the attitude which was that of yourself and of your government towards our continent, towards our people.

It is the duty of all those who are responsible for the fate of the world to meet often, in order to consult, to understand each other better, to develop together all the solutions which are necessary. And it is under this triple invocation—this triple duty which we all have that I place my first official visit in the United States as President of my country.

Thank you.

85 Toasts of the President and President Ahidjo.

*March 13, 1962**Ladies and gentlemen:*

I want to express, on behalf of all of us, our great pleasure in having the President of the Cameroon visit us, and the members of his Cabinet. The President is the second youngest President in the world, and it "shocked" me to find out that the President of the Central African Republic is thirty years of age. The President here is 36-7 and feels that those older than that should step aside!

He has done an extraordinary job—and the members of his government. He represents a country which is divided between those who speak English and French. He tells me that he addresses his Minister of Justice, who sits here, through an interpreter. I have the same problem, very often, in—*[laughter]*.

And to be able to take a country which has newly emerged, divided between English and French—he speaks French—to be able to bind it and give it a sense of community and a sense of the past, and most importantly a sense of the future, I think indicates a true test of leadership.

We have been very fortunate, I think, in recent months in having had visit us a number of men who have guided their countries through a period of independence and who are now attempting to build their countries as a stable and progressive, liberal and independent, sovereign state. So that I think we are really in a very extraordinary historical period, and we are meeting a whole series of men—this is particularly true of Africa—who in the last 5 years have become the fathers of their country, who will bear in times to come the same position of prestige and influence that our founding fathers bear in our lives. So that this is a privileged period for us, and we are particularly happy to have our guest of honor here today.

I hope he will not mind my saying that in the last months at the United Nations, his country and the United States voted more frequently together than any other country on the continent of Africa. And I would like to think that that is because both of our countries wish to identify themselves with the cause of the great majority of people who wish to be free and independent.

This association, even though your tradition is different, even though you are separated from us by so many periods of space and distance and time, we do feel happy to be able to establish this close contact with this visit. And we are glad that you have brought the members of your administration—your Foreign Minister—your Minister of Justice—the Minister who holds perhaps the most difficult task, that of economic development—and the other members of your Cabinet; therefore we wish you to know, Mr. President, that we look to Africa with the greatest interest, the greatest hope.

Africa, in a sense, is a newly discovered continent for the people of America, and we are attempting to learn, and to join in every possible way, to associate ourselves with the best in Africa. And in visiting here, we feel that this lunch typifies that desire. So I hope that everyone will join with me in drinking to the people of his country—and most particularly to the President of the Cameroon.

NOTE: The President proposed this toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House.

In his response (through an interpreter) President Ahidjo expressed his happiness and pride in being received as a friend. "The entire people of Cameroon know," he added, "that it is to them that your friendship is directed. They also know that the way in which you have greeted us here bears witness to the great interest which you have for our country, for our people. Please, Mr. President, believe that our great gratitude for this is limitless. We do not intend to forget, ever, the help you have given us, not only now but also before our independence. At the moment we need friends."

President Ahidjo concluded by stating that he and the members of his Cabinet were happy "because we understand the interest that you bear not only to us but to the cause of the equality of all men in all places, to the cause of economic development for the countries which need it so

badly—and above all, for the cause of peace and international understanding."

During his remarks President Kennedy referred to Jean-Faustin Betayne, Njoya Arouna, and Victor Kanga, Cameroon Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Justice, and National Economy, respectively.

86 Address on the First Anniversary of the Alliance for Progress. *March 13, 1962*

Mr. Vice President, Ambassadors from our sister Republics, members of the OAS, the nine wise men upon whom so much depends, Members of the Congress, whom I am very glad to see here today—on whom we depend so much in guiding and supporting and stimulating and directing our policies in this Hemisphere—Ambassador Moscoso, the Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress, gentlemen:

One year ago, on a similar occasion, I proposed the Alliance for Progress. That was the conception, but the birth did not take place until some months later, at Punta del Este. That was a suggestion for a continent-wide cooperative effort to satisfy the basic needs of the American people for homes, work, land, health and schools, for political liberty and the dignity of the spirit.

Our mission, I said, was "to complete the revolution of the Americas—to build a Hemisphere where all men can hope for a suitable standard of living—and all can live out their lives in dignity and freedom."

I then requested a meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council to consider the proposal. And, seven months ago, at Punta del Este, that Council met and adopted the Charter which established the Alianza para el Progreso and declared, and I quote, "We, the American Republics, hereby proclaim our decision to unite in a common effort to bring our people accelerated economic progress and broader social justice within the framework of personal dignity and individual liberty."

Together, the free nations of the Hemisphere pledged their resources and their energies to the Alliance for Progress. To-

gether they pledged to accelerate economic and social development and to make the basic reforms that are necessary to ensure that all would participate in the fruits of this development. Together they pledged to modernize tax structures and land tenure—to wipe out illiteracy and ignorance—to promote health and provide decent housing—to solve the problems of commodity stabilization—to maintain sound fiscal and monetary policies—to secure the contributions of private enterprise to development—to speed the economic integration of Latin America. And together they established the basic institutional framework for this immense, decade-long development.

This historic Charter marks a new step forward in the history of our Hemisphere. It is a reaffirmation of the continued vitality of our Inter-American system, a renewed proof of our ability to meet the challenges and perils of our time, as our predecessors met these challenges in their own days.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century we struggled to provide political independence in this Hemisphere.

In the early twentieth century we worked to bring about a fundamental equality between all the nations of this Hemisphere one with another—to strengthen the machinery of regional cooperation within a framework of mutual respect, and under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt and the Good Neighbor Policy that goal was achieved a generation ago.

Today we seek to move beyond the accomplishments of the past—to establish the principle that all the people of this Hemisphere are entitled to a decent way of life—

and to transform that principle into the reality of economic advance and social justice on which political equality must be based.

This is the most demanding goal of all. For we seek not merely the welfare and equality of nations one with another—but the welfare and the equality of the people within our nations. In so doing we are fulfilling the most ancient dreams of the founders of this Hemisphere, Washington, Jefferson, Bolivar, Marti, San Martin, and all the rest.

And I believe that the first seven months of this Alliance have strengthened our confidence that this goal is within our grasp.

Perhaps our most impressive accomplishment in working together has been the dramatic shift in the thinking and the attitudes which has occurred in our Hemisphere in these seven months. The Charter of Punta del Este posed the challenge of development in a manner that could not be ignored. It redefined the historic relationships between the American nations in terms of the fundamental needs and hopes of the twentieth century. It set forth the conditions and the attitudes on which development depends. It initiated the process of education without which development is impossible. It laid down a new principle of our relationship—the principle of collective responsibility for the welfare of the people of the Americas.

Already elections are being fought in terms of the Alliance for Progress. Already governments are pledging themselves to carry out the Charter of Punta del Este. Already people throughout the Hemisphere—in schools and in trade unions, in chambers of commerce, in military establishments, in government, on the farms—have accepted the goals of the Charter as their own personal and political commitments.

For the first time in the history of Inter-American relations our energies are concentrated on the central task of democratic development.

This dramatic change in thought is essential to the realization of our goals. For only by placing the task of development in the arena of daily thought and action among all the people can we hope to summon up the will and the courage which that task demands. This first accomplishment, therefore, is essential to all the others.

Our second achievement has been the establishment of the institutional framework within which our decade of development will take place. We honor here today the OAS Panel of Experts—a new adventure in Inter-American cooperation—drawn from all parts of the continent—charged with the high responsibility—almost unprecedented in any international cooperative effort—of evaluating long-range development plans, reviewing the progress of these plans, and helping to obtain the financing necessary to carry them out. This group has already begun its work. And here, today, I reaffirm our government's commitment to look to this Panel for advice and guidance in the conduct of our joint effort.

In addition, the OAS, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Inter-American Bank have offered planning assistance to Latin American nations—the OAS has begun a series of studies in critical development fields—and a new ECLA Planning Institute is being established to train the young men who will lead the future development of their countries. And we have completely reorganized in our own country our assistance program, with central responsibility now placed in the hands of a single coordinator.

Thus, within seven months, we have built the essential structure of the institutions, thought and policy on which our long-term effort will rest. But we have not waited for this structure to be completed in order to begin our work.

Last year I said that the United States would commit one billion dollars to the first year of that Alliance. That pledge has now been fulfilled. The Alliance for Progress has already meant better food for the chil-

dren of Puno in Peru, new schools for people in Colombia, new homes for campesinos in Venezuela—which I saw myself during my recent visit. And in the year to come millions more will take new hope from the Alliance for Progress as it touches their daily life—as it must.

In the vital field of commodity stabilization I pledged the efforts of this country to try to work with you to end the frequent, violent price changes which damage the economies of so many Latin American countries. Immediately after that pledge was made, we began work on the task of formulating stabilization agreements. In December 1961 a new coffee agreement, drafted by a committee under a United States chairman, was completed. Today that agreement is in process of negotiation. I can think of no single measure which can make a greater contribution to the cause of development than effective stabilization of the price of coffee. In addition the United States has participated in the drafting of a cocoa agreement; and we have held discussion about the terms of possible accession to the tin agreement.

We have also been working with our European allies—and I regard this as most important—in a determined effort to ensure that Latin American products will have equal access to the Common Market. Much of the economic future of this Hemisphere depends upon ready availability of the markets of the Atlantic Community, and we will continue these efforts to keep these markets open in the months ahead.

The countries of Latin America have also been working to fulfill the commitments of the Charter. The report of the Inter-American Bank contains an impressive list of measures being taken in each of the eighteen countries—measures ranging from the mobilization of domestic resources to new education and housing programs—measures within the context of the Act of Bogota, passed under the administration of my predecessor, President Eisenhower, and the Alliance for Progress Charter.

Nearly all the governments of the Hemisphere have begun to organize national development programs—and in some cases completed plans have been presented for review. Tax and land reform laws are on the books, and the national legislature of nearly every country is considering new measures in these critical fields. New programs of development, of housing, of agriculture and power are underway.

These are all heartening accomplishments—the fruits of the first seven months of work in a program which is designed to span a decade. But all who know the magnitude and urgency of the problems realize that we have just begun—that we must act much more rapidly and on a much larger scale if we are to meet our development goals in the months and years to come.

I pledge this country's effort to such an intensified effort. And I am confident that having emerged from the shaping period of our Alliance, all the nations of this Hemisphere will accelerate their own work.

For we all know that no matter what contribution the United States may make, the ultimate responsibility for success lies within the developing nation itself. For only you can mobilize the resources, make the reforms, set the goals and provide the energies which will transform our external assistance into an effective contribution to the progress of our continent. Only you can create the economic confidence which will encourage the free flow of capital, both domestic and foreign—the capital which, under conditions of responsible investment and together with public funds, will produce permanent economic advance. Only you can eliminate the evils of destructive inflation, chronic trade imbalances and widespread unemployment. Without determined efforts on your part to establish these conditions for reform and development, no amount of outside help can do the job.

I know the difficulties of such a task. It is unprecedented. Our own history shows how fierce the resistance can be to changes which later generations regard as part of the

normal framework of life. And the course of rational social change is even more hazardous for those progressive governments who often face entrenched privilege of the right and subversive conspiracies on the left.

For too long my country, the wealthiest nation in a continent which is not wealthy, failed to carry out its full responsibilities to its sister Republics. We have now accepted that responsibility. In the same way those who possess wealth and power in poor nations must accept their own responsibilities. They must lead the fight for those basic reforms which alone can preserve the fabric of their societies. Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.

These social reforms are at the heart of the Alliance for Progress. They are the precondition to economic modernization. And they are the instrument by which we assure the poor and hungry—the worker and the campesino—his full participation in the benefits of our development and in the human dignity which is the purpose of all free societies. At the same time we sympathize with the difficulties of remaking deeply rooted and traditional social structures. We ask that substantial and steady progress toward reform accompany the effort to develop the economies of the American nations.

A year ago I also expressed our special friendship to the people of Cuba and the Dominican Republic and the hope that they would soon rejoin the society of free men, uniting with us in this common effort. Today I am glad to welcome among us the representatives of a free Dominican Republic; and to reaffirm the hope that, in the not too distant future, our society of free nations will once again be complete.

But we must not forget that our Alliance for Progress is more than a doctrine of development—a blueprint of economic advance. Rather it is an expression of the noblest goals of our society. It says that want and despair need not be the lot of free

men. And those who may occasionally get discouraged with the magnitude of the task, have only to look to Europe fifteen years ago, and today, and realize the great potential which is in every free society when the people join and work together. It says in our Hemisphere that no society is free until all its people have an equal opportunity to share the fruits of their own land and their own labor. And it says that material progress is meaningless without individual freedom and political liberty. It is a doctrine of the freedom of man in the most spacious sense of that freedom.

Nearly a century ago Jose Hernandez, the Argentine poet, wrote, "America has a great destiny to achieve in the fate of mankind . . . One day . . . the American Alliance will undoubtedly be achieved, and the American Alliance will bring world peace . . . America must be the cradle of the great principles which are to bring a complete change in the political and social organization of other nations."

We have made a good start on our journey; but we have still a long way to go. The conquest of poverty is as difficult if not more difficult than the conquest of outer space. And we can expect moments of frustration and disappointment in the months and years to come. But we have no doubt about the outcome. For all history shows that the effort to win progress within freedom represents the most determined and steadfast aspiration of man.

We are joined together in this Alliance as nations united by a common history and common values. And I look forward—as do all the people of this country—to the day when the people of Latin America will take their rightful place beside the United States and Western Europe as citizens of industrialized and growing and increasingly abundant societies. The United States—Europe—and Latin America—almost a billion people—a bulwark of freedom and the values of Western civilization—invulnerable to the forces of despotism—lighting the path to liberty for all the peoples of the world.

This is our vision—and, with faith and courage, we will realize that vision in our own time.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke in the State Dining Room at the White House at a reception for the diplomatic corps of the Latin American Republics. In his opening remarks he referred to Vice President

Lyndon B. Johnson; to the "nine wise men" (the original members of the Committee of Nine of the Alliance for Progress): Hernando Agudelo Villa, Colombia, Ernesto Malaccorto, Argentina, Manuel Noriega Morales, Guatemala, Phillippe Pasos, Cuba, Harvey Perloff, United States, Paul Rosenstein-Rodan, United Kingdom, Paul Saez, Chile, Ary Torres, Brazil, Gonzalo Robles, Mexico; and to Ambassador Teodoro Moscoso, Coordinator of the Alliance for Progress.

87 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Ahidjo of the Cameroon. *March 14, 1962*

PRESIDENT Ahmadou Ahidjo, who is making a five day visit to the United States as the guest of President Kennedy, will conclude a two-day stay in Washington tomorrow and continue his visit in New York.

Although President Ahidjo has been in this country before, this is his first voyage to America since his country became independent and since he became its first Chief of State. The visit has given the two Presidents an opportunity to become personally acquainted. They have held frank and cordial discussions covering a wide range of topics of mutual interest to their countries. These included a number of world problems, in particular the means of accelerating the decolonization of Africa, and also of other parts of the world and the consolidation of the independence of young nations. President Kennedy congratulated President Ahidjo for his successful efforts in the progressive development of his country, both in combating internal subversion and in achieving the reunification of the two parts of Cameroon.

The two Presidents noted with satisfaction the efforts recently undertaken to create African unity. In this connection President Ahidjo expressed his satisfaction over the

role played by the United States in the framework of United Nations action in the Congo in order to hasten the re-establishment of the peace and unity of that country. The United Nations remains, in the view of both Presidents, the best means whereby nations can discuss issues openly, and the best instrument for finding solutions to problems that menace the peace of the world.

In the field of cooperation the Presidents noted that in addition to a continuing program of economic aid and technical assistance to the Cameroon, the United States is also preparing to make a loan to help finance the extension of the trans-Cameroonian railroad.

The two Presidents agreed to take steps to encourage commerce and investment between their two countries and noted that a United States Trade Mission is tentatively scheduled to visit Cameroon in May 1962.

President Ahidjo and President Kennedy agreed that the exchange of views made possible by this visit have reaffirmed that their two countries have many common goals and ideals. They expressed the conviction that the visit has served to strengthen and improve the friendly relations between the United States and the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

88 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Deputy Prime Minister McEwen of Australia. *March 14, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT today conferred with the Australian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Trade, the Right Honorable John McEwen.

Mr. McEwen, who was accompanied by the Australian Ambassador to the United States Sir Howard Beale, reviewed with the President the importance to Australia of a number of current developments in the international trade and commodity policy fields, including developments relating to the European Economic Community, and the considerable degree of common interest of the United States and Australia on these questions.

The President and the Deputy Prime Minister agreed that an economically strong and developing Australia is essential to the best interests of both countries in the South-west Pacific and expressed mutual confidence in the continuing close identity of view which each country shares on matters of common concern.

Mr. McEwen is on his way to Europe where he will meet representatives of the British Government and a number of European Governments for discussions on the subject of Britain's proposed entry into the European Common Market.

89 The President's News Conference of *March 14, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. [I.] I have a letter which we are releasing which is to Secretary Rusk, and I will read the most significant paragraph in regard to the opening of the disarmament conference and American policy there.

It says:

"My earnest hope is that no effort will be spared to define areas of agreement on all of the three important levels to which Prime Minister Macmillan and I referred in our joint letter of February 7 to Premier Khrushchev.

"Building upon the principles already agreed, I hope that you will quickly be able to report agreement on an outline defining the over-all shape of a program for general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world. I have submitted such an outline on behalf of the United States to the United Nations General Assembly last September, but an outline is not enough. You should seek as well, as areas of agreement emerge, a definition in specific terms

of measures set forth in the outline. The objective should be to define in treaty terms the widest area of agreement that can be implemented at the earliest possible moment while still continuing your maximum efforts to achieve agreement on those other aspects which present more difficulty. As a third specific objective you should seek to isolate and identify initial measures of disarmament which could, if put into effect without delay, materially improve international security and the prospects for further disarmament progress. In this category you should seek as a matter of highest priority agreement on a safeguarded nuclear test ban. At this juncture in history, no single measure in the field of disarmament would be more productive of concrete benefit in the alleviation of tensions and the enhancement of prospects for greater progress.

"Please convey on my behalf and on behalf of the people of the United States to the representatives of the nations assembled our deep and abiding support of the delib-

erations on which you are about to embark. I pledge anew my personal and continuing interest in this work."

[2.] Q. Mr. President, we had the announcement this morning of a new Democratic candidate for the Senate in Massachusetts, a young man I believe you are familiar with. I wonder, first, if you could tell us whether or not you advised him for or against his decision, and whether you approve it; and two, aware of his stated preference that you not get involved in his campaign and your strong endorsement last week of Senator Smathers of Florida, what the guideline is for your participation in party contests of this nature?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Well, in part, I am aware of the campaign. I think that my brother stated, and I think Mr. Salinger stated earlier today, that he was running, seeking the Democratic nomination. This is a judgment for the people of Massachusetts. I will not take part in that campaign, except I will go to vote in the primary in September. But my brother is carrying this campaign on his own and will conduct it in that way.

Now, in regard to Senator Smathers, Senator Smathers is an incumbent Senator, and I would—and I think that—I was hoping he would get elected. Congressman Fascell is the incumbent Congressman. Both, as a matter of fact, have been active in the Democratic Party and were active in my campaign. I was delighted to endorse them. But Teddy is running, as he stated, on his own.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, about the first of the year while you were in Palm Beach over the Christmas holiday, Mr. Salinger announced that you had accepted an invitation to visit Mexico, but left the date open, and it was our understanding then that you would go in the first half of the year, possibly in the late spring. I wonder what the status of that trip is? Do you still intend to go to Mexico by, say, some time in June?

THE PRESIDENT. I still expect to go in the

first half of the year; that's correct. The trip is on, yes.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, some of the economy experts on the Hill have indicated they are going to take the axe to your request for foreign aid funds. Could you tell us what any sizeable cut might mean to your plans and program?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I know foreign aid—it's always open season on it. But I must say, if anybody will look at a map, as I tried to say in the message, of our obligations in Europe and in NATO, the assistance which we have committed ourselves to, and the importance of the countries—countries like Greece, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan—the importance of India being able to maintain a viable economy, our commitments to Thailand, Viet-Nam, the Republic of China, South Korea, Africa itself, and now, with the great commitments to Latin America and the Alliance for Progress, it seems to me that it would be extremely unwise not to give us the resources to assist these countries to maintain their independence.

We spend \$51 billion-odd on defense alone as well as other billions for the Atomic Energy Commission's work and so forth. Here are these countries which are right in the line of fire, which are dependent upon us for assistance, and we are unwilling, in other words, to give them the help? In Latin America, these countries which are trying, with staggering problems in some of these countries, with mass unemployment, or an average income of \$100, no schools in many cases, turn to us for help; India, with an average income of \$60, the fight at a crucial stage; in fact, those who seem to, on some occasions, to want to put the axe to foreign aid hardest are the ones that make the most vigorous speeches against communism and call for a policy of victory.

In my opinion the fight is being fought in these towns and cities and states all around the world. And I believe this program is just as important as our national defense. Over half of it is directly tied to arms assist

ance, which means that it represents an additional appropriation, in a sense, for the Pentagon. And I would think it would be the most unwise act possible to cut our assistance program.

I am more conscious of that than I ever was, sitting where I do. We bear great responsibilities, and if anyone feels that these countries are unimportant, or that it doesn't make any difference if Latin America is taken over, or if significant countries are, by Communists, and if they're not interested in this fight, then they should cut it.

But I am interested. I think we should carry it on. It's been supported by people in both parties. It is a bipartisan issue and I'm hopeful that the Congress will recognize how vital this program is to our security.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, a domestic question, please. You conferred earlier this week with labor leaders. They left the White House saying that in their opinion our economy was dragging in its forward thrust. Later, published reports said that you had agreed with them. Would you comment, please?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I stated to them that, of course, we were not as happy about January, that the figures in January were not as high as we hoped they would be. The preliminary estimates we've got now for February indicate that February is much better. My position, I said to them, is the same that I expressed at the press conference a week ago. I think we should wait. We do have confidence in this economy. The problem, of course, that concerns them is that there may be increases in productivity which—and there may be increases in capital investment and consumer spending and all of the rest, but you still have these large pools of unemployed in places like Detroit, Pittsburgh, or Gary, where you have technological changes.

You have steel now where there is 85 percent capacity which is the highest that we have had for a long time and yet you have, according to Mr. McDonald, that day nearly

125,000 people out of work in the steel industry. So that this is a serious national problem, unemployment during a period of prosperity which—or relative prosperity.

Now I think that we have sent up a number of programs which I believe will be of help. Manpower retraining, which has now been passed, I think will be of help. And youth employment opportunities, I'm hopeful action will be taken on that. I think our trade program itself would be very helpful. I think that the programs I've suggested for stimulating the economy—for example, I think it would be certainly in our national interest to pass the bill providing for permanent national standards for the payment of unemployment compensation, so that those who are affected will be benefited.

I'm hopeful that they'll pass the so-called Clark bill, public works bill, and also give us additional powers to fight a recession if it comes again.

These are some of the proposals which we have suggested and which they support and we may come forward with others as the year goes on if our economy does not show sufficient vitality. But it is a problem and a matter of concern to them as well as to us.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, you have said that you would go to a summit conference at Geneva to ratify agreements, and you also said that you might go to help resolve disagreements. Under what circumstances would you not go to a summit conference at Geneva this spring?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am not sure that the description you have given of my position is precisely the one that I've given. I stated that I would go there to ratify an agreement, that I would go there if we were on the brink of a war or a serious international crisis, where my presence would make a significant difference. I would add a third one: I would go if I thought it was in our national interest.

Now, that's really—we'll have to make a judgment whether any of those three conditions have been met before I would go. I

am not—I do not intend to go unless there is—a situation develops which I believe would make such a trip fruitful and rewarding. And my position, it seems to me, is constant, and we will have to wait to see whether events make such a trip useful.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, will you go to Congress for approval before committing combat troops in Viet-Nam or elsewhere?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, if—coming back to the phrase, if you mean would I go to the Congress before committing combat troops, as you know, there are a good many Americans who are now there who have not, as I said before in a press conference, fallen under the description which is generally used in using the phrase “combat troops.” I have described what their mission is and what instructions they’re operating under. If there is a basic change in that situation in Viet-Nam which calls for a constitutional decision, of course I would go to the Congress.

In the meanwhile, I have consulted with the leaders of Congress and those who bear particular positions of responsibility in the matter.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, there is a school of thought which believes that we should include in any nuclear test ban treaty a provision which would permit us to conclude our scheduled April tests. This is based on authoritative reports that the Soviets in their recent nuclear tests have sufficient data to develop an anti-missile weapon, and that we vitally need our own atmospheric tests to catch up with them. Would you care to comment on this matter?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, in the first place, I’ve not seen authoritative reports which state as a result of their recent tests they have developed an anti-missile system.

Q. Data, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Data? Well, data, everything contributes to the development of data. We’re carrying on a Nike-Zeus test ourselves which will contribute data. That’s the first point. The second point, I’m not aware that our tests will contribute data.

But I am not convinced, nor have I known of anyone else, that they would provide a breakthrough in this very complicated area of the anti-missile missile. I think Mr. McNamara has expressed some views on the difficulties of developing an anti-missile system. And the third point is that if the position of the United States stays as it is, we would prefer to secure a test ban treaty. We believe that to be not only in the interest of the peace and the world but also in the interest of the United States. In our opinion, our security position would be strengthened if there were no more atmospheric tests because—and we believe that if the others are going to test then we have to test. But we would prefer to have no test. Therefore, I prefer an effective treaty.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, many Latin Americans are wondering whether the recent expulsion of Cuba from the OAS and the trade restrictions by the United States will help free Cuba of communism. Could you tell us what positive action the United States could take to make Cuba less dependent upon the Communist bloc?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we are attempting to work with the hemisphere to isolate the expansion of communism in the hemisphere. And that has occupied a good deal of our attention and it was the purpose of the meeting at Punta del Este. And I believe that that purpose was achieved in that the nations of the hemisphere unanimously, with the exception of Cuba, went on record as considering communism alien to the hemisphere.

Now, we have also carried out certain trade actions indicating our position in regard to Cuba, and we are continuing to consider what can usefully be done to expand freedom in this hemisphere.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, there have been reports that some Western officials at the disarmament meeting at Geneva have expressed doubt that any system of inspection and control, no matter how rigid or comprehensive, could possibly either prevent or detect secret preparations for nuclear

weapons tests in an area as large as the Soviet Union. Would you give us your view on that?

THE PRESIDENT. Obviously, I think that we could develop a system which would predict, or which would detect, significant tests or tests which could lead to significant results with an effective inspection system. Preparations—of course, there is no guarantee, because preparations are another matter, there is no guarantee that any inspection system can be worked out that can predict all inspections. But I think that we could work out a system that would detect a series of tests. And that would be most useful. We could also, and will suggest, some proposals to at least make it more difficult to prepare—make preparations. But I've never suggested that we could develop a foolproof system on preparations. And I don't regard that as significant, as being able to detect the tests themselves, because once—preparations are only important if they lead to tests. Once the tests come, then if the system is satisfactory, we receive a notification and could take action ourselves. There would be a time loss, but it would not be as—the important thing is to have some ability to detect preparations and also a very effective ability to detect the tests themselves.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, I believe as a Senator about 6 years ago you were a co-sponsor of legislation passed by Congress entitled The Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956, setting up a program of Federal insurance and coinsurance against property loss by floods and other damage, water damages. That program never got off the ground because of lack of appropriations. In view of the devastating northeaster on the East Coast last week, and the importance of some kind of insurance against water damage, which is not provided by the insurance companies in the rebuilding of these areas, would you consider requesting appropriations to get this flooded Federal insurance program under way again?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Well, I know that your—why this has become a matter of—

living—[laughter]—and I must say that I think your experience indicates the desirability of legislation. The legislation is still on the books—the authorization—the Senate passed the appropriation, but the House did not. So I would support it if—in fact, I will take another look at it and see whether we should recommend a supplemental appropriation in regard to the matter. But I do think the bill was useful and I think the experiences in the recent storm generally along the coast would indicate the desirability of the bill and the appropriation.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, the Russians have been playing a very dangerous game in the Berlin air corridors, dropping tinfoil fragments and so on. Does this Government contemplate any countermeasures to discourage them from carrying their harassment further?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, obviously, the harassment makes it more difficult to reach accord on Berlin and has been the subject of very vigorous representations by Secretary Rusk and by Lord Home at Geneva. And, obviously, it makes it, as I've said, more—it presents additional hazards in securing a satisfactory accord.

If the Soviet Union desired to see this matter settled peacefully, it would seem to me that all sides, both sides, should bend every effort during these days, particularly during the time of the Geneva disarmament conference, to avoid incidents that are liable to lead to actions and counteractions which can only intensify the danger. But we are waiting to see what effect the representations of the two Secretaries have had on the Soviet Union in regard to the chaff, which is a particularly dangerous kind of action.

[13.] Q. Sir, during your 1960 campaign, when you spoke of getting the country moving again, a lot of States and a lot of voters interpreted this to mean jobs for themselves. And now, recently, States such as Ohio, Michigan, and Pennsylvania have been complaining that some of their defense contracts have been going elsewhere and the ones they had under the previous admin-

istration, that is, the level has not stayed even as good as it was. Do you have any comment on this situation?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I would have to—in my opinion, I don't think that in any of those three cases, even though this matter of contracts is a matter of continuing concern—defense contracts—we have a particularly difficult problem in Detroit, which has been the subject of a recent discussion. I don't think that the contracts in any of those three States—and I'd have to check it—are less than they were before.

The question is whether the distribution of the contracts is as equitable as it can be. The Defense Department, when manpower policy No. 4 was repealed in 1953, was given express indications by the Congress that they were not, except for the set-aside portion of the contract, that they were not supposed to attempt to steer contracts into areas where there might be unemployment.

I supported Defense manpower policy No. 4, but since that time the Defense Department has not been able to take that into consideration.

On the other hand, equity dictates that these contracts be assigned in areas which are not only efficient but where there is a work force which can be effectively used. But I will say that we have been considering the problem. Governor Lawrence discussed the problem of Scranton with me when he came to see me. We were talking about the problem of Detroit. My judgment is, and I would have to recheck it, that probably in these States the contracts are equal to or greater than they were the year before. But there is a concentration of contracts in a relatively few States which is historic, and I am concerned that in the case, as I say, of Detroit and two or three others where there's high unemployment, we do try to get some work to them, and it's a matter now which we are discussing.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, there have been reports that the United States Government has been considering an application to export from \$75 million to \$100 million worth

of wheat per year to Communist China over the next 3 years. Could you say if there is any bona fide request from the Chinese for such an export of wheat, and if so what do you think about it?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I've heard of no requests from them for the wheat. There have been two companies in the United States which have put in a request for a license to—one was the International Trading Company, I believe, of Seattle, and one other company—which have put in requests for the right to export wheat to China. But there is no information that they are working on an assignment or as an agent, and the United States Government has no information that the Chinese Communists have requested us for wheat.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, if Congress should pass legislation directing you to spend additional funds for the B-70, would you feel bound by any such direction?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that we should wait until the Congress has acted and the Appropriations Committees have acted and then we can make a much better judgment as to what the final situation will be. But it's a matter which I am confident that—I'm very hopeful can be adjusted satisfactorily. And I think we ought to wait on action.

[16.] Q. I wonder if we could be quite clear about what seemed to be an emendation of your statement of last month about the necessity for inspection against clandestine preparation for nuclear tests. Then you seemed to lay great emphasis upon the necessity for inspection against preparations. I understood you to say just now that you thought that the detection of tests themselves was more important than the inspection against preparations.

THE PRESIDENT. That's correct. I said that because quite obviously you could prepare for years and have no tests. So the tests themselves, which carry out the results of the inspection, of course are a matter of particular significance because you could be preparing indefinitely. That is not to say that preparations are not important. We are

going to make proposals in regard to inspection of preparations. I merely attempted to balance off two important matters and give you what I considered to be the one with the greatest weight.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, much of the criticism of the Alliance for Progress centers on the charge that the Latin American countries are slow in submitting development plans for their countries and in effecting the reforms that are a precondition of getting that aid. I think only three countries have submitted plans, and three countries have made no attempt at reforms. I'm curious as to whether the Government has considered setting a cutoff date for reforms, or perhaps cutting off aid to countries which don't effect tax reforms and land reforms, as a way of making this program more popular.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think we should have some sense of perspective about the Alliance for Progress. It was, after all, only—the organization took place only 7 months ago. This is a whole new communal effort. I attempted to describe yesterday some of the things which have been done during that 7-month period. Some of these countries have made great efforts, with great difficulties, to carry out the kinds of reform which would make our assistance most useful. Some other countries are in the process. But there—every one of these issues must be fought out within each country because if it were easy it would have been done long ago. So I do think that we should not—having set our hand to a program which I believe has great potential, we should attempt to work as closely as possible with each one of the governments in assisting them. It requires in many cases personnel which they do not have; it requires experience and technical training which they do not have. The problem of the Marshall plan was rebuilding; here it's a case of building, in many cases. So this is an extremely difficult task. There are a good many local pressures which make this fight harder. In many cases countries must put in fiscal reforms which cause—which have a deflationary impact, with all

the political hazards that they produce. In some of these countries they are carrying out these reforms and these reforms—as I say, each one of them hurts some group in that country at the beginning. And, therefore, they're very difficult. And yet they have to carry them out when they're hanging, in some of these cases, with Communist minorities who are exploiting every discontent. So that while I feel we should be very positive in our efforts in this community effort, I do think we should have some understanding of how complicated this task is and give this child a chance to build some strength before we psychoanalyze him.

[18.] Q. The House Agriculture Committee last week, sir, rejected your temporary dairy price support program, and there are indications they will make some substantial changes in the rest of the farm bill. If the Congress does not approve a bill that carries most of your recommendations, do you foresee some cutoff or specific time when you would recommend the ending of the existing programs?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, the decision of the House majority of the Agricultural Committee, and which I thought was unfortunate, meant that the dairy farmers would not have till December to adjust themselves to the production standards which the agricultural bill set. Instead they must adjust themselves, unless there's some change made in that decision, by April, which will, I would say, would have a great—it would produce a harsh effect on the dairy farmers. And I would hope that the Agricultural Committee of the House would reverse that decision. It—I must say I found it to be inexplicable, because it's—we are asking them and putting burdens on them and restraining them, and to compel them to do it in as brief a time as this, I think produces unnecessary hardship.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you could clarify a little further your position on defense contracts? At one of your recent press conferences you discussed this in relation to areas of unemployment, and this

seems to have become an issue in the California gubernatorial campaign. Former Vice President Nixon takes the position that you are injecting politics in the allocation of defense contracts, and Governor Brown takes the opposite position. I wonder if you could clear it up?

THE PRESIDENT. What action is it of mine that has injected politics into the—

Q. I think at your last press conference you discussed this.

THE PRESIDENT. No. I was asked a question with regard to a matter that was before Secretary Goldberg, and I think the reporter who asked me specifically said nondefense expenditures. Now, the fact of the matter is that defense expenditures in California are higher than they were under the previous administration for both defense and space, and in fact, as you know, in California the contracts amount to a—traditionally and historically since World War II, to a high percentage. So I was responding to a question which was asked in regard to non-defense expenditures and a suggestion of

Mr. Goldberg's that perhaps we could use these contracts in nondefense areas, in areas of high unemployment. So that I didn't really see that that was a fuse sufficient to light off Mr. Nixon. [*Laughter*]

[20.] Q. Mr. President, this week you accepted an invitation to address a mammoth rally in behalf of health care for the aged in Madison Square Garden in May, I believe. Is this part of an all-out administration effort to obtain a vote on this issue during this session of Congress?

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct.

Q. Then it is not true that the administration leaders will hold off for another year?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, no, this plan will come to a vote, in my opinion, definitely in the United States Senate, and I am hopeful in the House, before the end of this session.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The President's twenty-seventh news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 3:30 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, March 14, 1962.

90 Letter to Secretary Rusk on the Opening of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. *March 14, 1962*

Dear Secretary Rusk:

As you and your colleagues from every quarter of the globe enter upon the work of the Geneva Disarmament Conference, it may seem unnecessary to state again that the hopes and indeed the very prospects of mankind are involved in the undertaking in which you are engaged. And yet the fact that the immediate and practical significance of the task that has brought you together has come to be so fully realized by the peoples of the world is one of the crucial developments of our time. For men now know that amassing of destructive power does not beget security; they know that polemics do not bring peace. Men's minds, men's hearts, and men's spiritual aspirations alike demand no less than a reversal of the course of recent history—a replacement of

ever-growing stockpiles of destruction by ever-growing opportunities for human achievement. It is your task as representative of the United States to join with your colleagues in a supreme effort toward that end.

This task, the foremost item on the agenda of humanity, is not a quick or easy one. It must be approached both boldly and responsibly. It is a task whose magnitude and urgency justifies our bringing to bear upon it the highest resources of creative statesmanship the international community has to offer, for it is the future of the community of mankind that is involved. We must pledge ourselves at the outset to an unceasing effort to continue until the job is done. We must not be discouraged by initial disagreements nor weakened in our resolve by

the tensions that surround us and add difficulties to our task. For verifiable disarmament arrangements are not a fair weather phenomenon. A sea wall is not needed when the seas are calm. Sound disarmament agreements, deeply rooted in mankind's mutual interest in survival must serve as a bulwark against the tidal waves of war and its destructiveness. Let no one, then, say that we cannot arrive at such agreements in troubled times, for it is then their need is greatest.

My earnest hope is that no effort will be spared to define areas of agreement on all of the three important levels to which Prime Minister Macmillan and I referred in our joint letter of February 7 to Premier Khrushchev.¹ Building upon the principles already agreed, I hope that you will quickly be able to report agreement on an outline defining the over-all shape of a program for general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world. I have submitted such an outline on behalf of the U.S. to the U.N. General Assembly last September.² But an outline is not enough. You should seek as well, as areas of agreement emerge, a definition in specific terms of measures set forth in the outline. The objective should be to define in treaty terms the widest area of

agreement that can be implemented at the earliest possible time while still continuing your maximum efforts to achieve agreement on those other aspects which present more difficulty. As a third specific objective you should seek to isolate and identify initial measures of disarmament which could, if put into effect without delay, materially improve international security and the prospects for further disarmament progress. In this category you should seek as a matter of highest priority agreement on a safeguarded nuclear test ban. At this juncture in history no single measure in the field of disarmament would be more productive of concrete benefit in the alleviation of tensions and the enhancement of prospects for greater progress.

Please convey, on my behalf and on behalf of the people of the United States to the representatives of the nations assembled, our deep and abiding support of the deliberations on which you are about to embark. I pledge anew my personal and continuing interest in this work.

With warmest personal regards,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The letter was read by Secretary Rusk as part of his statement at the opening meeting of the conference on March 15.

91 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Manpower Development and Training Act. *March 15, 1962*

I HAVE today signed S. 1991, the "Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962."

The Manpower Development and Training bill, which passed the Congress on Tuesday, is perhaps the most significant legislation in the area of employment since the historic Employment Act of 1946. For this reason, I have acted at the earliest opportunity to sign this measure into law. The new

training program will give real meaning to the Act by making possible the training of the hundreds of thousands of workers who are denied employment because they do not possess the skills required by our constantly changing economy. Their training is important both to them as individuals and to the economic health of the entire Nation.

I commend the Congress for the support it has given to this important proposal of the Administration.

The Administration will move promptly

¹ See Item 42.

² See 1961 volume, this series, Item 387.

and vigorously to launch this program. Unemployed workers eligible under the program can expect:

—Up to 52 weeks of training in a skill needed to gain employment.

—Adequate allowances for heads of families to enable them to support their families and devote full attention to the task of acquiring new skills.

—Thorough guidance and assistance from the United States Employment Service in helping them to choose the kind of work for which they are best suited and a concerted effort to help assure that a suitable job rewards their initiative.

This far-reaching bill not only addresses

itself to the problems of the present, but requires us to anticipate future needs as employment conditions change. This is the first in a series of needed employment programs and I am hopeful that all of the measures necessary for achieving a high and stable level of employment, recommended by this Administration, will be available to the Federal Government in the near future.

Our success in fulfilling our world responsibilities rests upon the success of our efforts to maintain a strong and flexible economy at home. This act will make a significant contribution to these efforts.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 1991 is Public Law 87-415 (76 Stat. 23).

92 Message to the Congress Transmitting the 15th Annual Report on U.S. Participation in the United Nations. *March 15, 1962*

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the United Nations Participation Act, I transmit herewith the fifteenth annual report, covering United States participation in the United Nations during the year 1960.

These activities took place during the tenure of the previous Administration. But United States support of the United Nations has never been and must never become a partisan matter. The aims of the United Nations—as expressed in the Charter—are comparable to the aims of the United States as expressed in the Constitution. Both documents affirm ideals and principles which transcend partisanship.

When all nations adopt as their own—and conduct their affairs in accord with—the objectives of the United Nations Charter, our hopes and expectations for the world organization will be fulfilled.

Until then, the United Nations must serve as a forum for parliamentary diplomacy in which our nation, in concert with others, can sustain these hopes and expectations. In a dangerous and disorderly world, the

United States cannot conduct its foreign policy exclusively through the United Nations. We must—and we do—pursue national aims also through direct diplomacy and negotiations with individual countries and within associations more limited in size and purpose than the United Nations. While doing so, we can continue to demonstrate day by day in the United Nations that our objectives in the world are in broad harmony with those of the great majority of other nations.

This report and the record of fifteen previous years prove that the United Nations now makes a major contribution to the maintenance of peace, the welcoming of new nations, the economic and social growth of large areas of the world, the validation of a civilized view of human rights, and the endless adjustments, accommodations and agreements that are the daily business of a world community.

The degree to which members of the United Nations have adopted as their own the objectives of the Charter can be assessed. Each national delegation, in the policies it

pursues and the votes it casts, exposes to all its peaceful or aggressive intentions—its candor or its cynicism—its hopes or its fears—its maturity or its immaturity—its capacity for leadership or its weakness in action, and finally, the worth of its word. In the forum of the United Nations, each nation is put to the test; and each reveals its contribution—for good or evil—to human hopes and human expectations.

It is my firm purpose to see to it that in the United Nations, as elsewhere, the United States measures up to the principles of the Charter.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The report is printed in House Document 202 (87th Cong., 2d sess.).

93 Special Message to the Congress on Protecting the Consumer Interest. *March 15, 1962*

To the Congress of the United States:

Consumers, by definition, include us all. They are the largest economic group in the economy, affecting and affected by almost every public and private economic decision. Two-thirds of all spending in the economy is by consumers. But they are the only important group in the economy who are not effectively organized, whose views are often not heard.

The Federal Government—by nature the highest spokesman for *all* the people—has a special obligation to be alert to the consumer's needs and to advance the consumer's interests. Ever since legislation was enacted in 1872 to protect the consumer from frauds involving use of the U.S. mail, the Congress and Executive Branch have been increasingly aware of their responsibility to make certain that our Nation's economy fairly and adequately serves consumers' interests.

In the main, it has served them extremely well. Each succeeding generation has enjoyed both higher income and a greater variety of goods and services. As a result our standard of living is the highest in the world—and, in less than 20 years, it should rise an additional 50 percent.

Fortunate as we are, we nevertheless cannot afford waste in consumption any more than we can afford inefficiency in business or Government. If consumers are offered in-

ferior products, if prices are exorbitant, if drugs are unsafe or worthless, if the consumer is unable to choose on an informed basis, then his dollar is wasted, his health and safety may be threatened, and the national interest suffers. On the other hand, increased efforts to make the best possible use of their incomes can contribute more to the well-being of most families than equivalent efforts to raise their incomes.

The march of technology—affecting, for example, the foods we eat, the medicines we take, and the many appliances we use in our homes—has increased the difficulties of the consumer along with his opportunities; and it has outmoded many of the old laws and regulations and made new legislation necessary. The typical supermarket before World War II stocked about 1,500 separate food items—an impressive figure by any standard. But today it carries over 6,000. Ninety percent of the prescriptions written today are for drugs that were unknown 20 years ago. Many of the new products used every day in the home are highly complex. The housewife is called upon to be an amateur electrician, mechanic, chemist, toxicologist, dietitian, and mathematician—but she is rarely furnished the information she needs to perform these tasks proficiently.

Marketing is increasingly impersonal. Consumer choice is influenced by mass ad-

vertising utilizing highly developed arts of persuasion. The consumer typically cannot know whether drug preparations meet minimum standards of safety, quality, and efficacy. He usually does not know how much he pays for consumer credit; whether one prepared food has more nutritional value than another; whether the performance of a product will in fact meet his needs; or whether the "large economy size" is really a bargain.

Nearly all of the programs offered by this Administration—e.g., the expansion of world trade, the improvement of medical care, the reduction of passenger taxes, the strengthening of mass transit, the development of conservation and recreation areas and low-cost power—are of direct or inherent importance to consumers. Additional legislative and administrative action is required, however, if the Federal Government is to meet its responsibility to consumers in the exercise of their rights. These rights include:

(1) The right to safety—to be protected against the marketing of goods which are hazardous to health or life.

(2) The right to be informed—to be protected against fraudulent, deceitful, or grossly misleading information, advertising, labeling, or other practices, and to be given the facts he needs to make an informed choice.

(3) The right to choose—to be assured, wherever possible, access to a variety of products and services at competitive prices; and in those industries in which competition is not workable and Government regulation is substituted, an assurance of satisfactory quality and service at fair prices.

(4) The right to be heard—to be assured that consumer interests will receive full and sympathetic consideration in the formulation of Government policy, and fair and expeditious treatment in its administrative tribunals.

To promote the fuller realization of these consumer rights, it is necessary that existing Government programs be strengthened, that

Government organization be improved, and, in certain areas, that new legislation be enacted.

I. STRENGTHENING OF EXISTING PROGRAMS

This Administration has sponsored a wide range of specific actions to strengthen existing programs. Major progress has already been achieved or is in prospect in several important areas. And the 1963 budget includes recommendations to improve the effectiveness of almost every major program of consumer protection.

(1) Food and drug protection. Thousands of common household items now available to consumers contain potentially harmful substances. Hundreds of new uses for such products as food additives, food colorings and pesticides are found every year, adding new potential hazards. To provide better protection and law enforcement in this vital area, I have recommended a 25 percent increase in staff for the Food and Drug Administration in the budget now pending before the Congress, the largest single increase in the agency's history. In addition, to assure more effective registration of pesticides, a new division has been established in the Department of Agriculture; and increased appropriations have been requested for pesticide regulation and for meat and poultry inspection activities.

(2) Safer transportation. As Americans make more use of highway and air transportation than any other nation, increased speed and congestion have required us to take special safety measures.

—The Federal Aviation Agency has re-examined the Nation's air traffic control requirements and is designing an improved system to enhance the safety and efficiency of future air traffic.

—The Secretary of Commerce has established an Office of Highway Safety in the Bureau of Public Roads to promote public support of highway safety standards, coordinate use of highway safety research findings and encourage cooperation of State

and local governments, industry, and allied groups—the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is likewise strengthening its accident prevention work—and the Interstate Commerce Commission is strengthening its enforcement of safety requirements for motor carriers.

—In addition, I am requesting the Departments of Commerce and of Health, Education, and Welfare, to review, with representatives of the automobile industry, those changes in automobile design and equipment which will help reduce the unconscionable toll of human life on the highways and the pollution of the air we breathe. Additional legislation does not appear required at this time in view of the automobile industry's action to incorporate in the new model design changes which will reduce air pollution.

(3) Financial protection. Important steps are being taken to help assure more adequate protection for the savings that prudent consumers lay aside for the future purchase of costly items, for the rainy day, for their children's education, or to meet their retirement needs.

—Legislation enacted last year has strengthened the insurance program of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation.

—The Securities and Exchange Commission has undertaken at the request of the Congress a major investigation of the securities market which should provide the basis for later legislation and administrative measures.

—The Postmaster General and the Department of Justice have stepped up enforcement of the mail fraud statutes. Arrests for mail fraud last year set an all-time record; and convictions increased by 35 percent over the previous year.

(4) More effective regulation. The independent regulatory agencies also report increased emphasis on programs directly helpful to consumers.

—The Interstate Commerce Commission has instituted proceedings designed to pre-

vent excessive charges for moving household goods in interstate commerce.

—The Civil Aeronautics Board has recently taken action to protect air travellers from abuses of overbooking.

—The Federal Trade Commission has intensified its actions against deceptive trade practices and false advertising affecting a variety of goods, including refrigerators, house paint, sewing machines, vacuum cleaners, kitchen utensils, food wrapping, and carpets.

—The Federal Power Commission is initiating a vigorous program to assure consumers of reasonable natural gas prices while assuring them of adequate supplies—revitalizing all of its regulatory programs in the electric power field—and undertaking a national power survey designed to identify ways of bringing down power costs in the decades ahead by making the best possible use of our capital and energy resources; and I recommend that the Congress enact legislation and make available funds to enable the Commission to provide for 34 million natural gas consumers the information similar to that now provided electrical consumers on typical bills in various areas, thus spotlighting abnormally high rates and stimulating better industry performance.

—The Federal Communications Commission is actively reviewing the television network program selection process and encouraging the expanded development of educational television stations; and it will also step up in fiscal year 1963 its enforcement program to prevent interference with air navigation signals, distress calls, and other uses of radio important to public safety.

—For all of the major regulatory agencies, I am recommending increased appropriations for 1963 to provide the increased staff necessary for more effective protection of the consumer and public interest.

—Of the important changes in agency organizational procedure recommended last year to eliminate delays and strengthen decision-making, the great majority have been

authorized by reorganization plans or legislation and are being put into practice by agency heads; and, to permit similar improvements in the operations of the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Power Commission through greater delegation of assignments, I recommend enactment this year of legislation along the lines of S. 2135 for the SEC and S. 1605 and H.R. 6956 for the FPC.

(5) Housing costs and quality. The largest purchase most consumers make in their lifetime is a home. In the past year, significant steps have been taken to reduce the cost of financing housing and to improve housing quality. The level of interest rates and other charges on mortgage loans has been reduced by a variety of Federal actions. Under authority provided by the Housing Act of 1961, new programs have been started (a) to encourage experimental construction methods likely to develop better housing at lower cost, (b) to provide lower interest rates and longer maturities on loans for rehabilitation of existing housing, (c) to provide especially low cost rental housing for moderate income families, and (d) to provide housing for domestic farm labor. The same legislation also authorized demonstration grants to develop better methods of providing housing for low income families.

(6) Consumer information and research—and consumer representation in Government. Government can help consumers to help themselves by developing and making available reliable information.

—The Housing and Home Finance Agency will undertake, under the budget proposed for fiscal 1963, new studies to discover ways of reducing monthly housing expenses, lowering the cost of land for home building, and minimizing financing charges.

—The Department of Agriculture is undertaking similar research designed to help raise rural housing standards and reduce costs.

—The Food and Drug Administration will expand its Consumer Consultant Program which, together with the home demonstration program of the Agriculture Extension Service, now provides valuable information directly to consumers on product trends, food standards and protection guides.

—The Bureau of Labor Statistics is now conducting a nation-wide survey of consumer expenditures, income, and savings, which will be used to update the widely-used Consumer Price Index and to prepare model family budgets.

—Too little has been done to make available to consumers the results of pertinent government research. In addition to the types of studies mentioned above, many agencies are engaged—as aids to those principally concerned with their activities, in cooperation with industry or for Federal procurement purposes—in testing the performance of certain products, developing standards and specifications and assembling a wide range of related information which would be of immense use to consumers and consumer organizations. The beneficial results of these efforts—in the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, and Health, Education, and Welfare, and in the General Services Administration and other agencies—should be more widely published. This is but one part of a wider problem: the failure of governmental machinery to assure specific consideration of the consumer's needs and point of view. With this in mind, I am directing:

—First, that the Council of Economic Advisers create a Consumers' Advisory Council, to examine and provide advice to the government on issues of broad economic policy, on governmental programs protecting consumer needs, and on needed improvements in the flow of consumer research material to the public; this Consumers' Council will also give interested individuals and organizations a voice in these matters;

—Second, that the head of each Federal agency whose activities bear significantly on consumer welfare designate a special assistant in his office to advise and assist him in assuring adequate and effective attention to consumer interests in the work of the agency, to act as liaison with consumer and related organizations, and to place increased emphasis on preparing and making available pertinent research findings for consumers in clear and useable form; and

—Third, that the Postmaster General undertake a pilot program by displaying, in at least 100 selected post offices, samples of publications useful to consumers and by providing facilities for the easier purchase of such publications.

II. NEW LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY FOR ADDED CONSUMER PROTECTION

In addition to the foregoing measures, new legislative authority is also essential to advance and protect the consumer interest.

(A) *Strengthen regulatory authority over foods and drugs*

The successful development of more than 9,000 new drugs in the last 25 years has saved countless lives and relieved millions of victims of acute and chronic illnesses. However, new drugs are being placed on the market with no requirement that there be either advance proof that they will be effective in treating the diseases and conditions for which they are recommended or the prompt reporting of adverse reactions. These new drugs present greater hazards as well as greater potential benefits than ever before—for they are widely used, they are often very potent, and they are promoted by aggressive sales campaigns that may tend to overstate their merits and fail to indicate the risks involved in their use. For example, over 20 percent of the new drugs listed since 1956 in the publication *New and Non-Official Drugs* were found, upon being

tested, to be incapable of sustaining one or more of their sponsor's claims regarding their therapeutic effect. There is no way of measuring the needless suffering, the money innocently squandered, and the protraction of illnesses resulting from the use of such ineffective drugs.

The physician and consumer should have the assurance, from an impartial scientific source, that any drug or therapeutic device on the market today is safe and effective for its intended use; that it has the strength and quality represented; and that the accompanying promotional material tells the full story—its bad effects as well as its good. They should be able to identify the drug by a simple, common name in order to avoid confusion and to enable the purchaser to buy the quality drugs he actually needs at the lowest competitive price.

Existing law gives no such assurance to the consumer—a fact highlighted by the thoroughgoing investigation led by Senator Kefauver. It is time to give American men, women and children the same protection we have been giving hogs, sheep and cattle since 1913, under an act forbidding the marketing of worthless serums and other drugs for the treatment of these animals.

There are other problems to meet in this area:

—An extensive underground traffic exists in habit-forming barbiturates (sedatives) and amphetamines (stimulants). Because of inadequate supervision over distribution, these drugs are contributing to accidents, to juvenile delinquency and to crime.

—Two billion dollars worth of cosmetics are marketed yearly, many without adequate safety testing. Thousands of women have suffered burns and other injuries to the eyes, skin and hair by untested or inadequately tested beauty aids.

—Factory inspections now authorized by the pure food and drug laws are seriously hampered by the fact that the law does not clearly require the manufacturer to allow

inspection of certain records. An uncooperative small minority of manufacturers can engage in a game of hide-and-seek with the Government in order to avoid adequate inspection. But protection of the public health is not a game. It is of vital importance to each and every citizen.

—A fifth of all the meat slaughtered in the United States is not now inspected by the Department of Agriculture, because the coverage of the Meat Inspection Act is restricted to meat products moving across state lines. This incomplete coverage contributes to the diversion of unhealthy animals to processing channels where the products are uninspected and can, therefore, be a threat to human health.

In short, existing laws in the food, drug, and cosmetic area are inadequate to assure the necessary protection the American consumer deserves. To overcome these serious statutory gaps, I recommend:

(1) First, legislation to strengthen and broaden existing laws in the food and drug field to provide consumers with better, safer, and less expensive drugs, by authorizing the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to:

(a) Require a showing that new drugs and therapeutic devices are effective for their intended use—as well as safe—before they are placed on the market;

(b) Withdraw approval of any such drug or device when there is substantial doubt as to its safety or efficacy, and require manufacturers to report any information bearing on its safety or efficacy;

(c) Require drug and therapeutic device manufacturers to maintain facilities and controls that will assure the reliability of their product;

(d) Require batch-by-batch testing and certification of all antibiotics;

(e) Assign simple common names to drugs;

(f) Establish an enforceable system of preventing the illicit distribution of habit-forming barbiturates and amphetamines;

(g) Require cosmetics to be tested and

proved safe before they are marketed; and

(h) Institute more effective inspection to determine whether food, drug, cosmetics, and therapeutic devices are being manufactured and marketed in accordance with the law;

(2) Second, legislation to authorize the Federal Trade Commission to require that advertising of prescription drugs directed to physicians disclose the ingredients, the efficacy, and the adverse effects of such drugs; and

(3) Third, legislation to broaden the coverage of the Meat Inspection Act administered by the Department of Agriculture, to promote adequate inspection—in cooperation with the States and industry—of all meat slaughtered in the United States.

(B) *Require "truth in lending"*

Consumer debt outstanding, including mortgage credit, has almost tripled in the last decade and now totals well over \$200 billion. Its widespread availability has given consumers more flexibility in the timing of their purchases. But, in many instances, serious abuses have occurred. Under the chairmanship of Senator Douglas, a subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has been conducting a detailed examination of such abuses. The testimony received shows a clear need for protection of consumers against charges of interest rates and fees far higher than apparent without any real knowledge on the part of the borrowers of the true amounts they are being charged. Purchasers of used cars in one study, for example, paid interest charges averaging 25 percent a year, and ranging well above this; yet very few were aware of how much they were actually paying for credit.

Excessive and untimely use of credit arising out of ignorance of its true cost is harmful both to the stability of the economy and to the welfare of the public. Legislation should therefore be enacted requiring lenders and vendors to disclose to borrowers in advance the actual amounts and rates which they will be paying for credit. Such legis-

lation, similar in this sense to the "Truth-in-Securities" laws of 1933-34, would not control prices or charges. But it would require full disclosure to installment buyers and other prospective credit users, and thus permit consumers to make informed decisions before signing on the dotted line. Inasmuch as the specific credit practices which such a bill would be designed to correct are closely related to and often combined with other types of misleading trade practices which the Federal Trade Commission is already regulating, I recommend that enforcement of the new authority be assigned to the Commission. The Government agencies most concerned in this area have been cooperating with the subcommittee in developing the information necessary to prepare a workable and effective bill; and in view of the exhaustive hearings already held, I hope that the Congress can complete action on this important matter before it adjourns.

(C) Manufacture of all-channel television sets

Five out of six home television receivers today are equipped to receive programs on only the 12 very-high frequency (VHF) channels. As a result, in most areas, stations desiring to operate on any of the 70 ultra-high frequency (UHF) channels would usually have such small audiences that there is little incentive to make the substantial initial investment and continuing expenditures that effective broadcasting requires. The result is a sharply restricted choice for consumers.

After extensive study, the Federal Communications Commission has concluded that an effective and genuinely competitive nationwide television service, with adequate provision for local outlets and educational stations, is not possible within the narrow confines of 12 VHF channels. Legislation now before the Congress would authorize the Commission to prescribe the performance characteristics of all new television receivers shipped in interstate commerce

to assure that they can receive both VHF and UHF signals. I strongly urge its passage as the most economical and practical method of broadening the range of programs available. This step, together with the Federal aid for construction of educational television stations which is nearing final passage by the Congress, will speed the full realization of television's great potential.

(D) Strengthen laws promoting competition and prohibiting monopoly

The most basic and long-standing protections for the right of consumers, to a choice at a competitive price, are the various laws designed to assure effective competition and to prevent monopoly. The Sherman Act of 1890, the Clayton Act of 1914, and many related laws are the strongest shields the consumer possesses against the growth of unchecked monopoly power. In addition to the measure now nearing final passage which would provide subpoena powers for civil as well as criminal antitrust investigations, several other improvements are needed:

(1) The Federal Trade Commission should be empowered to issue temporary cease-and-desist orders against the continuance of unfair competitive practices while cases concerned with permanent relief from such practices are pending before the Commission. Under the present law, smaller competitors may be driven into bankruptcy or forced to accept merger on adverse terms long before present remedies become effective, thus reducing the competitive safeguards vital for the consumer. Similarly, deceptive trade practices in consumer goods may do their damage long before the Commission can "lock the barn door." I, therefore, reiterate my previous recommendation that the Congress give prompt consideration to effective legislation to accomplish this purpose.

(2) The consumer's right to a reasonable price can also be adversely affected by mergers of two business firms which substantially reduce effective competition. As in the case

of unfair methods of competition, damage once done is often irreparable, and the Government, acting through the courts, cannot readily restore the degree of competition existing prior to the merger. Accordingly, I strongly recommend enactment of legislation to require reasonable advance notice to the Department of Justice and to the appropriate Commission or Board of any merger expected to result in a firm of substantial size. This will enable the businessman to obtain advice in advance, without litigation, as to whether a proposed merger would be regarded as contrary to the public interest. In addition, along with the recommended authority for the FTC to issue cease-and-desist orders, it is an essential safeguard against combinations which might cause unwarranted increases in consumer prices.

(3) In view of the potentially anti-competitive abuses to which the use of patents and trademarks are by nature subject, I recommend

—enactment of legislation requiring publication of the terms of all settlement agreements between different persons applying for patent rights on the same invention—for recent hearings have shown that such agreements may include features designed to weaken future competition at the expense of the consumer; and

—enactment of legislation authorizing the FTC to apply for the cancellation of any trademark which is, or becomes, the common descriptive name of an article and thus should be in the public domain. While a competitor has such a right today, it is important—if the FTC is to have clear authority to halt this kind of unfair commercial advantage—that the Senate insert this provision in its review of trademark legislation (H.R. 4333) already approved by the House.

(E) *"Truth in packaging"*

Just as consumers have the right to know what is in their credit contract, so also do they have the right to know what is in the package they buy. Senator Hart and his subcommittee are to be commended for the

important investigation they are now conducting into packaging and labeling practices.

In our modern society good packaging meets many consumer needs, among them convenience, freshness, safety and attractive appearance. But often in recent years, as the hearings have demonstrated, these benefits have been accompanied by practices which frustrate the consumer's efforts to get the best value for his dollar. In many cases the label seems designed to conceal rather than to reveal the true contents of the package. Sometimes the consumer cannot readily ascertain the net amount of the product, or the ratio of solid contents to air. Frequently he cannot readily compute the comparative costs per unit of different brands packed in odd sizes; or of the same brand in large, giant, king size, or jumbo packages. And he may not realize that changes in the customary size or shape of the package may account for apparent bargains, or that "cents-off" promotions are often not real savings.

Misleading, fraudulent or unhelpful practices such as these are clearly incompatible with the efficient and equitable functioning of our free competitive economy. Under our system, consumers have a right to expect that packages will carry reliable and readily useable information about their contents. And those manufacturers whose products are sold in such packages have a right to expect that their competitors will be required to adhere to the same standards. Upon completion of our own survey of these packaging and labeling abuses, in full cooperation with the Senate Subcommittee, I shall make recommendations as to the appropriate roles of private business and the Federal Government in improving packaging standards and achieving more specific disclosure of the quantity and ingredients of the product inside the package in a form convenient to and useable by the consumer.

As all of us are consumers, these actions and proposals in the interest of consumers

are in the interest of us all. The budgetary investment required by these programs is very modest—but they can yield rich dividends in strengthening our free competitive economy, our standard of living and health and our traditionally high ethical patterns of business conduct. Fair competition aids both business and consumer.

It is my hope that this Message, and the recommendations and requests it contains, can help alert every agency and branch of government to the needs of our consumers. Their voice is not always as loudly heard in Washington as the voices of smaller and

better-organized groups—nor is their point of view always defined and presented. But under our economic as well as our political form of democracy, we share an obligation to protect the common interest in every decision we make. I ask the Congress, and every Department and Agency, to help in the fulfillment of that obligation.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Earlier in the morning in the Fish Room at the White House, the President read a brief summary of the message for the video-tape and newsreel cameras.

94 Joint Statement With the President of Mexico Concerning the Salinity of Waters Delivered Under the 1944 Treaty.

March 16, 1962

THE PRESIDENTS of the United States and Mexico are agreed that it is urgent to find a mutually satisfactory solution to the salinity problem.

To this end, the Presidents of both countries, through their respective Foreign Offices, have given instructions to their representatives in the International Boundary and Water Commission to recommend within 45 days the measures which should be taken.

In order to carry out these instructions in the most effective way the Commissioners are to avail themselves of qualified water and soil scientists.

The objective of the two Governments is, without prejudice to the legal rights of either country, to agree upon and actually put into operation remedial measures within the shortest possible period of time.

95 Statement by the President on St. Patrick's Day.

March 17, 1962

THE OBSERVANCE of St. Patrick's Day is almost as old in America as the Irish themselves, and some say they arrived in the sixth century. It is a day of stirring memories, recalling ancient learning and primal abundance—for as often related, at a time when the inhabitants of a nearby island were still living on acorns, all the people in Roscommon had the goal!

It is a day of dedication as well, as purely American as it is Irish, recalling for all that ours is a nation founded, sustained, and now

preserved in the cause of liberty. None more than the Irish can attest the power of that cause once it has gripped a nation's soul.

It is well to love liberty, for it demands much of those who would live by it. Liberty is not content to share mankind. John Boyle O'Reilly, who came to Boston by way of a penal colony in Western Australia, understood this as few men have. "Freedom," he wrote, "is more than a resolution—he is not free who is free alone."

To those who in our time have lost their

freedom, or who through the ages have never won it, there is a converse to this message. No one—in the darkest cell, the remotest prison, under the most unyielding tyranny—is ever entirely lost in bondage

while there are yet free men in the world. As this be our faith, let it also be our pride—and to all who share it, I send the greetings of this day.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

96 Message to Chairman Khrushchev Proposing Joint Action in the Exploration of Outer Space. *March 18, 1962*

[Released March 18, 1962. Dated March 7, 1962]

Dear Mr. Chairman:

On February twenty-second last I wrote you that I was instructing appropriate officers of this Government to prepare concrete proposals for immediate projects of common action in the exploration of space.¹ I now present such proposals to you.

The exploration of space is a broad and varied activity and the possibilities for co-operation are many. In suggesting the possible first steps which are set out below, I do not intend to limit our mutual consideration of desirable cooperative activities. On the contrary, I will welcome your concrete suggestions along these or other lines.

1. Perhaps we could render no greater service to mankind through our space programs than by the joint establishment of an early operational weather satellite system. Such a system would be designed to provide global weather data for prompt use by any nation. To initiate this service, I propose that the United States and the Soviet Union each launch a satellite to photograph cloud cover and provide other agreed meteorological services for all nations. The two satellites would be placed in near-polar orbits in planes approximately perpendicular to each other, thus providing regular coverage of all areas. This immensely valuable data would then be disseminated through normal international meteorological channels and would make a significant contribution to the research and service programs now under study by the World Meteorological Organi-

zation in response to Resolution 1721 (XVI) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 20, 1961.

2. It would be of great interest to those responsible for the conduct of our respective space programs if they could obtain operational tracking services from each other's territories. Accordingly, I propose that each of our countries establish and operate a radio tracking station to provide tracking services to the other, utilizing equipment which we would each provide to the other. Thus, the United States would provide the technical equipment for a tracking station to be established in the Soviet Union and to be operated by Soviet technicians. The United States would in turn establish and operate a radio tracking station utilizing Soviet equipment. Each country would train the other's technicians in the operation of its equipment, would utilize the station located on its territory to provide tracking services to the other, and would afford such access as may be necessary to accommodate modifications and maintenance of equipment from time to time.

3. In the field of the earth sciences, the precise character of the earth's magnetic field is central to many scientific problems. I propose therefore that we cooperate in mapping the earth's magnetic field in space by utilizing two satellites, one in a near-earth orbit and the second in a more distant orbit. The United States would launch one of these satellites while the Soviet Union would launch the other. The data would be exchanged throughout the world scientific

¹ See Item 60.

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community, and opportunities for correlation of supporting data obtained on the ground would be arranged.

4. In the field of experimental communications by satellite, the United States has already undertaken arrangements to test and demonstrate the feasibility of intercontinental transmissions. A number of countries are constructing equipment suitable for participation in such testing. I would welcome the Soviet Union's joining in this cooperative effort which will be a step toward meeting the objective, contained in United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1721 (XVI), that communications by means of satellites should be available to the nations of the world as soon as practicable on a global and non-discriminatory basis. I note also that Secretary Rusk has broached the subject of cooperation in this field with Minister Gromyko and that Mr. Gromyko has expressed some interest. Our technical representatives might now discuss specific possibilities in this field.

5. Given our common interest in manned space flights and in insuring man's ability to survive in space and return safely, I propose that we pool our efforts and exchange our knowledge in the field of space medicine, where future research can be pursued in cooperation with scientists from various countries.

Beyond these specific projects we are prepared now to discuss broader cooperation in the still more challenging projects which must be undertaken in the exploration of outer space. The tasks are so challenging, the costs so great, and the risks to the brave men who engage in space exploration so grave, that we must in all good conscience try every possibility of sharing these tasks and costs and of minimizing these risks. Leaders of the United States space program have developed detailed plans for an orderly sequence of manned and unmanned flights for exploration of space and the planets. Out of discussion of these plans, and of your own, for undertaking the tasks of this decade would undoubtedly emerge possibilities for

substantive scientific and technical cooperation in manned and unmanned space investigations. Some possibilities are not yet precisely identifiable, but should become clear as the space programs of our two countries proceed. In the case of others it may be possible to start planning together now. For example, we might cooperate in unmanned exploration of the lunar surface, or we might commence now the mutual definition of steps to be taken in sequence for an exhaustive scientific investigation of the planets Mars or Venus, including consideration of the possible utility of manned flight in such programs. When a proper sequence for experiments has been determined, we might share responsibility for the necessary projects. All data would be made freely available.

I believe it is both appropriate and desirable that we take full cognizance of the scientific and other contributions which other states the world over might be able to make in such programs. As agreements are reached between us on any parts of these or similar programs, I propose that we report them to the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. The Committee offers a variety of additional opportunities for joint cooperative efforts within the framework of its mandate as set forth in General Assembly Resolutions 1472 (XIV) and 1721 (XVI).

I am designating technical representatives who will be prepared to meet and discuss with your representatives our ideas and yours in a spirit of practical cooperation. In order to accomplish this at an early date, I suggest that the representatives of our two countries who will be coming to New York to take part in the United Nations Outer Space Committee meet privately to discuss the proposals set forth in this letter.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[His Excellency, Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Moscow.]

97 Statement by the President on the French-Algerian
Cease-Fire Agreement. *March 18, 1962*

THE UNITED STATES supports these efforts toward a mutually beneficial solution and welcomes the agreement. It provides a sound basis for a friendly and fruitful relationship between Algeria and France and it presents an opportunity for all residents of Algeria to contribute constructively toward the future.

The conclusions of the cease-fire agreement between French authorities and repre-

sentatives of the F. L. N. is an historic accomplishment made possible by the vision, statesmanship and moderation demonstrated by all concerned.

It is to be hoped that the opportunity will be quickly seized and that the wisdom in which the agreement was achieved will prevail in its execution. The United States is convinced that in this direction lies the path for a promising future.

98 Letter to the Chairmen, Senate Finance and House Ways
and Means Committees, Concerning Tariff Decisions.
March 19, 1962

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The Tariff Commission has furnished me with reports and supplemental information regarding escape clause investigations of Wilton, Brussels, velvet and tapestry carpets and rugs, baseball and softball gloves and mitts, ceramic mosaic tile, and cylinder, crown and sheet glass. I have carefully considered these reports and obtained the advice of the Trade Policy Committee.

I concur in the findings of injury made by the Committee with regard to Wilton, Brussels, velvet and tapestry carpets and rugs, and with regard to cylinder, crown and sheet glass, and I have issued proclamations promulgating increases in duties upon these commodities.

It is my judgment that the increases in duties recommended for ceramic mosaic tile and baseball and softball gloves and mitts should not be placed in effect. In both cases, the significant increases in imports did not occur until many years after the duty concessions were granted. Domestic production

has not declined appreciably. The level of employment in each industry has remained relatively constant. In addition, Japan, the principal supplier of these commodities, has recently established voluntary quotas on exports to the United States of both baseball gloves and ceramic tiles.

I therefore feel that neither serious injury nor threat of injury from trade agreement concessions on baseball gloves and ceramic tile is present.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Harry Flood Byrd, Chairman, Senate Committee on Finance, and to the Honorable Wilbur D. Mills, Chairman, House Committee on Ways and Means.

On the same day the President issued Proclamations 3454 and 3455 (27 F.R. 2789, 2791) making effective at the close of business on April 18, 1962, modifications of the trade agreement concessions and adjustments of duties on certain types of woven carpeting and on cylinder, crown, and sheet glass. The effective date was deferred to June 17 by Proclamation 3458 (27 F.R. 3101).

99 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Relating to the Administration of the Ryukyu Islands. *March 19, 1962*

I HAVE today signed an amendment to Executive Order 10713 dated June 5, 1957, providing for the administration of the Ryukyu Islands. The amendment¹ to the Executive Order, as well as a number of other measures set forth below, are the result of recommendations of the interdepartmental Task Force appointed last year to investigate current conditions in the Ryukyu Islands and the United States policies and programs in force there.

The work of the Task Force underlines the importance the United States attaches to its military bases in the Ryukyu Islands. The armed strength deployed at these bases is of the greatest importance in maintaining our deterrent power in the face of threats to the peace in the Far East. Our bases in the Ryukyu Islands help us assure our allies in the great arc from Japan through Southeast Asia not only of our willingness but also of our ability to come to their assistance in case of need.

The report of the Task Force examines in detail the problem of reconciling the military imperative for continued United States administration with the desires of the Ryukyuan people to assert their identity as Japanese, to obtain the economic and social welfare benefits available in Japan, and to have a greater voice in the management of their own affairs. The report has also considered in the same context the desire of the Japanese people to maintain close contact with their countrymen in the Ryukyus.

I recognize the Ryukyus to be a part of the Japanese homeland and look forward to the day when the security interests of the Free World will permit their restoration to full Japanese sovereignty. In the meantime we face a situation which must be met in a spirit of forbearance and mutual understanding

by all concerned. I have directed that a number of specific actions be taken to give expression to this spirit by the United States, to discharge more effectively our responsibilities toward the people of the Ryukyus, and to minimize the stresses that will accompany the anticipated eventual restoration of the Ryukyu Islands to Japanese administration. These actions consist of:

1. Asking the Congress to amend the Price Act (Public Law 86-629) to remove the present \$6 million ceiling on assistance to the Ryukyu Islands.

2. Preparing for submission to the Congress plans for the support of new programs in the Ryukyus to raise the level of compensation for Ryukyuan employees of the U.S. Forces and the Government of the Ryukyu Islands and the levels of public health, educational and welfare services so that over a period of years they reach those obtaining in comparable areas in Japan.

3. Preparing proposals for the Congress to provide over future years a steady increase in loan funds available for the development of the Ryukyuan economy.

4. Entering into discussions with the Government of Japan with a view to working out precise arrangements to implement a cooperative relationship between the United States and Japan in providing a cooperative relationship between the United States and Japan in providing assistance to promote the welfare and well-being of the inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands and their economic development, as discussed between Prime Minister Ikeda and myself during his visit to Washington last year.

5. Carrying on a continuous review of governmental functions in the Ryukyu Islands to determine when and under what circumstances additional functions that need not be reserved to the United States as administering authority can be delegated to the

¹ Executive Order 11010 (27 F.R. 2621).

Government of the Ryukyu Islands.

6. Carrying on a continuous review of such controls as may be thought to limit unnecessarily the private freedoms of inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands with a view to eliminating all controls which are not essential to the maintenance of the security of the United States military installations in the Ryukyu or of the islands themselves.

The amendments to Executive Order 10713 are designed to accomplish the following purposes:

1. Provide for nomination of the Chief Executive of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands by the legislature.

2. Restate the veto power of the High Commissioner, to emphasize its restricted purposes.

3. Lengthen the term of the legislature from two to three years.

4. Permit the legislature to alter the number and boundaries of election districts.

5. Provide that the Civil Administrator shall be a civilian.

6. Make certain technical changes in the provisions for criminal jurisdiction over certain Americans in the Ryukyus.

NOTE: For a joint statement on the Ryukyus by the President and Prime Minister Ikeda of Japan following their discussions in Washington in June 1961, see 1961 volume, this series, Item 252.

An amendment to Public Law 86-629 providing for an increase in funds for the economic and social development in the Ryukyu Islands was approved by the President on October 4, 1962 (Public Law 87-746, 76 Stat. 742).

100 Letter to the Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, on the Development of Civilian Nuclear Power. *March 20, 1962*

[Released March 20, 1962. Dated March 17, 1962]

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The development of civilian nuclear power involves both national and international interests of the United States. At this time it is particularly important that our domestic needs and prospects for atomic power be thoroughly understood by both the Government and the growing atomic industry of this country which is participating significantly in the development of nuclear technology. Specifically we must extend our national energy resources base in order to promote our nation's economic growth.

Accordingly, the Atomic Energy Commission should take a new and hard look at the role of nuclear power in our economy in cooperation with the Department of the Interior, the Federal Power Commission, other appropriate agencies, and private industry.

Your study should identify the objectives, scope, and content of a nuclear power development program in the light of the nation's prospective energy needs and resources

and advances in alternate means for power generation.

It should recommend appropriate steps to assure the proper timing of development and construction of nuclear power projects, including the construction of necessary prototypes. There should, of course, be a continuation of the present fruitful cooperation between Government and industry—public utilities, private utilities and equipment manufacturers.

Upon completion of this study of domestic needs and resources, there should also be an evaluation of the extent to which our nuclear power program will further our international objectives in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The nuclear powerplants scheduled to come into operation this year, together with those already in operation, should provide a wealth of engineering experience permitting realistic forecasts of the future of economically competitive nuclear power in this country.

As you are aware, two major related studies are now or will soon be under way. The study being conducted at my request by the National Academy of Sciences on the development and preservation of all our national resources will focus on the nation's longer-term energy needs and utilization of fuel resources. The other study to be launched soon by the Federal Power Commission will determine the long range power requirements of the nation and will suggest the broad outline of possible programs of growth for all electric power companies—both private and public—to meet the great increase in power needs. Your study

should be appropriately related to these investigations.

The extensive and vigorous atomic power development programs currently being undertaken by the Commission should, of course, be continued and, where appropriate, strengthened during the period of your study. I urge that your review be undertaken without delay and would hope that you could submit a report by September 1, 1962. Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The report "Civilian Nuclear Manpower" (67 pp., processed) was submitted to the President on November 20 by Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.

101 Statement by the President Upon Approving Amendments to the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act.

March 20, 1962

I AM GLAD to approve these amendments to the Welfare-Pension Plans Disclosure Act. They correct serious deficiencies in the basic legislation and represent a major advance in our effort to protect the economic security of our labor force.

Now the Act will give the more than 44 million workers covered by welfare and pension plans greater assurance of accurate and full disclosures of plan operations. The reports required will now parallel those required in connection with the handling of the funds of labor unions.

At the present time, employee assets in our Nation's welfare and pension programs total nearly \$60 billion; by 1970, they will

total \$90 billion. I believe that the men and women who are the beneficiaries of these programs have a right to expect that these vast sums of money—representing their future welfare—are protected by our laws.

In strengthening the law's safeguards and providing the Department of Labor with investigative authority to assure compliance, the new law will rectify the major weaknesses of the existing legislation. The beneficiaries of welfare and pension plans will be able to look to the future with confidence.

NOTE: The Welfare and Pension Plan Disclosures Act Amendments of 1962 is Public Law 87-420 (76 Stat. 35).

102 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting a Bill To Stimulate Construction of Coal Pipelines. *March 20, 1962*

Dear Mr. ———:

I am transmitting for the consideration of the Congress a draft bill to facilitate the construction of pipelines to transport coal

slurry in interstate commerce. The proposed legislation grants the right of eminent domain to the builders of any carrier of coal by pipeline which is subject to any of the

provisions of Part I of the Interstate Commerce Act and which the Secretary of the Interior has found to be required by public convenience and necessity.

The coal resources of our Nation constitute one of our greatest assets. They launched our industrial development and they provide a great reservoir of energy. They can be a stimulus to our economic growth.

In recent years, however, many of our coal mine communities have suffered from reduced operations flowing from the decline in coal consumption. This new method of transportation offers possibilities for renewed vigor and hope for increased economic strength for the coal industry. If costs can be lowered in this fashion, all segments of the economy will benefit.

I understand that plans have already been made for a pipeline that will carry coal from the West Virginia coal fields to the Eastern seaboard. However, unless a right of way can be obtained, these plans will be postponed and may ultimately have to be discontinued. The legislation will permit the

prompt implementation of those plans.

Pipeline transportation of coal may also play an important role in the economies of areas other than West Virginia. It is being studied in the Rocky Mountain region for use in West Coast markets. Already coal is being transported by a 100-mile long pipeline in Ohio. The technical problems are being overcome; the economics of operation are known; private enterprise stands ready to invest the necessary capital. The power to acquire the right of way is needed. This legislation will grant to the carrier of coal by pipeline the same privilege of eminent domain that the carrier of natural gas already has.

I urge that favorable and prompt consideration be given to this legislation.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The draft bill was also released by the White House on the same day.

103 Remarks of Welcome to President Olympio of Togo at the Washington National Airport. *March 20, 1962*

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

I know I speak on behalf of all the people of the United States in welcoming President Olympio here to our country. And in him I believe we see an exceptionable figure—not only in Africa but really on the world scene. Speaking English, French, and German, he is able to, by this means, establish a most valuable channel to the great historical movements, the revolutions which have shaped all those countries, the principles of those revolutions upon which he is attempting to build his own country.

This happy union, therefore, in a sense, of Africa, Western Europe, the United States, is personified in the personality, the work—the lifework—the efforts of our distinguished guest.

His influence has gone far beyond his own country. At the recent conference at Lagos, which took, I believe, progressive and responsible stands, he served, for example, as an interpreter between those who spoke French and those who spoke English—but his interpreting was not confined to language but also was an effort to achieve a unity among the African leaders who, having won the war for independence, now face the even harder task of building free and viable countries and economies.

I am sure the President would agree that however difficult the struggle for independence may have been, it carried with it a certain exhilaration and elan which made all things easy. All of the difficulties were concentrated, of the country, in one direc-

tion. It is far more difficult to be a self-governing and free country. This represents the ultimate challenge to any choice—it presents them with a free choice—and choice is always difficult.

So, Mr. President, for your efforts to win independence for your country, but even more, for your efforts to build a better life for your people, and to play a progressive and liberal and responsible position in the development of Africa, for your strong support for the United Nations—which played a great role, and I hope that the people of this country realize how significant that role was in the independence of your country—for all these things, and most of all because it permits us to establish a contact between the President of a far-off country whose aspirations are for his people—the same as our aspirations are for our people—for all these reasons, Mr. President, you are most welcome to the United States of America. And in welcoming you, we extend the hand of friendship to your people.

NOTE: President Olympio responded as follows:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

Mr. President, it is a great pleasure and an honor to be invited by you to visit the United States. Of course personally I am not a stranger to the United

States—I have been on and off in this country for several years. But never before have I come to the United States as an official visitor.

If you will excuse me, Mr. President, I can assure you that I have been looking forward to this visit with almost a boyish eagerness. It is because, Mr. President, we have heard so much about you. We have heard that you are very eager to give a new impetus—may I perhaps say even a revolutionary impetus, to the friendly relationship between the newly independent African states and also the United States.

This, Mr. President, is greatly appreciated, and I have been looking forward to seeing you, and to see your collaborators, so as to understand better this new relationship which you wish to establish.

Of course the United States—may I say the people of the United States have always taken a very keen interest in the welfare of my people, and just before I left home, I have been informed that the United States Government has decided to come to the help of the famine-stricken region of my country with shiploads of foodstuffs.

We are deeply grateful.

We hope, sir, that in the coming years, with collaboration in all fields, we should also bring our country to a level to which we all aspire. I hope that my visit here will enable me to understand more fully the policies of the United States, and at the same time to contribute in a small measure to explain to you the real aspirations of our country.

Once more, Mr. President, I thank you most sincerely on behalf of my people and on behalf of the members of my delegation, for the very warm welcome which you have extended to us.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

104 Toasts of the President and President Olympio.

March 20, 1962

Gentlemen:

I am sure that you all join me in welcoming our distinguished guest. And to his distinction, there is no question his reputation has preceded him. His country is small. I suppose most Americans are not familiar with it, and yet he has played a most constructive and influential role in the development of affairs in Africa; and upon his good sense and judgment and responsibility I believe rests much of our great hopes for Africa.

Mr. President, I think you know—in fact, we were talking about the failure, really, of

most Americans to know more about your country—and especially Africa. There were in 1955, I think, more Americans working in the Embassy at Bonn than in all of Africa. More students' scholarships were given in the first 3 or 4 months of the Congo's difficulties than were given in the whole year before for all of Africa.

I was chairman of the subcommittee on Africa of the Foreign Relations Committee. I had never been to Africa, and neither had at least half the members of that Committee. That has changed, and in the last 3 or 4 years there has come tremendous emphasis

and recognition of the importance of Africa, of our desire to assist Africa through this most extraordinary revolutionary period. In days when everything is unsettled, I think that it should be a source of the greatest satisfaction to look at what has happened in Africa, that countries have become independent—that in many of the countries very few are educated—they have had no administrative experience—no professional class, no middle class—but the desire for independence united everyone. And suddenly they were independent and faced with staggering problems.

And yet with perhaps one or two exceptions—and even then the final story has not been written—these countries have maintained their independence, they have built closer regional cooperation in various organizations, of which the most recent was in Nigeria. I think we should take great satisfaction in this, I think it is a most impressive record—and due to men like our guest of honor who had the qualities to lead the fight for independence and do the hard work that is now necessary to maintain that independence.

I think all of us ought to be encouraged, and concerned, and interested—and devote our efforts and our interests to binding Africa and the United States closer together. We have a great advantage in the number of people who came here from Europe, and one of the great assets we have in the United States is the great number of Africans who came here; and as the influence and prestige of our country increases, this has an effect on Africa. It is a source of understanding between us as we meet our responsibilities.

So, Mr. President, you may feel that it's a long way to come to call on us, but this is another opening of the horizon for us. Your visit makes people go to the maps—you live in far-off places—we learn something about Togo and learn something about the problems of Africa, so that this is a voyage of

discovery for us. We hope it is a useful voyage for you.

We want you to know, also, that we welcome the members of your government who face these staggering problems. You yourself have and will live through a most difficult period, yet you were kind enough to speak generously of the efforts we made, and I hope that this is the beginning of a very close and fruitful association.

I can assure you, gentlemen, that we have a most distinguished guest here today. He went to the London School of Economics in the twenties and came out a free man. We are delighted. And having been to that university, I recognize the accomplishment.

We want you to know that we are delighted to have you here. We want to extend the hand of friendship to your people, and I hope, gentlemen, that you will now join me in drinking to the people of Togo, to the Government of Togo—and to their President, President Olympio.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his response President Olympio referred to the fact that Togo had become a mandated territory, the first step toward independence, as a result of a concept of Woodrow Wilson, and that it had advanced to trusteeship status under Franklin D. Roosevelt. "Now today we have achieved independence," he added, "and as you said quite rightly, the real battle now begins."

"... After all, what we are looking for is not so much getting rid of a foreign ruler as to improve our standard of living, working for a better life. We always accuse a colonial regime of keeping us down, not giving us an opportunity to develop as we should do. So now the foreign ruler has disappeared and we must now actually prove to our people that we can have a better life from now on. That we all admit is a very difficult problem. And we can only solve it, or achieve the result, with the help of experienced, friendly nations.

"The whole of West Africa today is simply boiling with development projects in every part, but these can only yield results, as I have said, if we have the help of experienced, friendly nations.

"And we are proud to count the United States among those nations who have come to our help."

105 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President
Olympio of Togo. *March 21, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT of the Republic of Togo, His Excellency Sylvanus Olympio, who is making a five-day visit to the United States as a Presidential guest of President Kennedy, will conclude a two-day stay in Washington tomorrow and continue his visit in New York. This visit has afforded an opportunity for the two Presidents to establish a personal acquaintance and discuss fully matters of common concern, including problems of global interest affecting world peace and human welfare.

The two Chiefs of State agreed that the formation of the Organization of African States at the recent Lagos Conference was a constructive step toward building African unity through political consultation and practical cooperation in the various technical and economic fields. President Olympio pointed out that such a regional organization should be based on the same principles as those of the United Nations, including the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of member states.

President Olympio expressed his deep satisfaction for the unwavering support which the United States has given to the United Nations, particularly since the newly independent states consider that Organization a guarantee of their independence.

The two Presidents reviewed the friendly and mutually beneficial relations already established between the two countries. President Kennedy noted the determined efforts toward economic and social development being carried forward by the Republic of Togo and stated the desire of the United States to continue development assistance to Togo. President Kennedy also expressed satisfaction that the United States could make available surplus commodities to alleviate the severe famine conditions in northern Togo, and President Olympio thanked him for this help. In addition the two Presidents discussed the role which the "Food for Peace" program could play in stimulating economic and social development in Togo.

106 Message to Governor General Gopallawa of Ceylon.
March 21, 1962

[Released March 21, 1962. Dated March 13, 1962]

I CONGRATULATE you on your appointment as Governor General of Ceylon. It is my sincere wish and that of the people of the United States that you enjoy every success. Your Ambassadorship in Washington did much to reinforce the traditional bonds of friendship between our two countries. May

that friendship be strengthened still further in the future. Please accept my warm personal greetings and best wishes.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Governor General William Gopallawa served as Ceylon's Ambassador to the United States from September 1961 to March 1962.

107 The President's News Conference of
March 21, 1962

THE PRESIDENT. [1.] I have one announcement. I've received this morning Chairman Khrushchev's reply to my letter of March 7 on outer space cooperation.¹ I am gratified that this reply indicates that there are a number of areas of common interest. The next step clearly is for the United States representative on the U.N. Outer Space Committee, Ambassador Francis Plimpton, to meet in New York with the Soviet representative to make arrangements for an early discussion of the specific ideas of the Soviet Union and the United States. I have designated Dr. Hugh Dryden, Deputy Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, to take the lead for the United States at this time in subsequent technical talks with Soviet representatives.

The United States is deeply committed to making all possible efforts to carry forward the exploration and use of space in a spirit of cooperation and for the benefit of all mankind. I am hopeful that there will be in this area prospects for practical cooperation.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, in Geneva in the talks that are going on now, the Russians have expressed the feeling that any onsite inspection in connection with an atomic test ban treaty would be an invitation to espionage and even be insulting. The British, on the other hand, have spoken in the last 24 hours of settling for an absolute minimum of verification.

I wonder what you consider an acceptable minimum of verification. In other words, would the United States accept any sort of inspection system that did not embrace the right of international inspection teams to be on Soviet soil as well as U.S. soil?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it's much better to permit the Secretary of State, Arthur Dean, and Mr. Foster, who are carrying the lead for the United States, to

conduct the negotiations. We have—it's possible to pick up a number of disturbances from observation posts outside the Soviet Union. But, of course, the great difficulty is that you cannot distinguish by seismic means alone, at this range, between an earthquake and a possible nuclear explosion. And it is for that reason that we have felt that there must be onsite inspection and the ability to make that determination if a suspicious event should occur. It does seem to be a very basic difference between the Soviet Union and the United States because they have suggested that they would not be prepared, even if the devices were located off the territory of the Soviet Union, they would not be prepared to permit an inspection team to come on to make the precise determination as to the location and kind of disturbance which had taken place. So there is a disagreement between the Soviet Union and ourselves. I think that on the details of the discussion in the negotiations, we have sent very able men to represent us and I think they will represent the interests of the United States in this matter.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, Senator Jackson says that this administration and the last have been putting too much stock in the United Nations and that a strong Atlantic Community offers the best avenue to peace. What is your view on this?

THE PRESIDENT. I see nothing contradictory in a strong Atlantic Community and the United Nations. Nor is there anything contradictory in a strong Organization of American States and the United Nations. In fact, the United Nations, when it was written in 1945, gave room for these regional organizations, of which there are a great many and of which the United States is a member. I support the United Nations very strongly and I think the American people do, not because its power is unlimited and not because we commit our policy

¹ See item 96.

to the United Nations so much as because we believe that it serves the interests of the United States and the interests of the United States are in an association of free people working together to maintain the peace.

Now, I would be very unhappy if the United Nations were weakened or eliminated. You would have a great increase in the chances of a direct concentration in some place like the Congo between the great powers. It might involve the United States directly and perhaps the Soviet Union on the other side. The United Nations serves as a means of channeling these matters, on which we disagree so basically, in a peaceful way. But that doesn't suggest that we have to choose between the Atlantic Community and the United Nations. We believe in the Atlantic Community; we are committed to strengthening it. We are attempting, for example, to do that in a number of ways—and in fact, our association is constantly growing more intimate. And we also support the United Nations. Senator Jackson is a very valuable Senator who's done very effective work and anything he says deserves a good deal of attention. I do want to point out that on this matter, certainly, there's no disagreement between us.

[4.] Q. There have been reports from Geneva, sir, that for all practical purposes the discussions there are deadlocked, not only in the field of disarmament but on such other topics as discussions with the Soviets concerning Berlin. Do you subscribe to that, sir, or do you think there is additional hope for further talks?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, I think the talks should go on. The conference has only been in session for—I'm not prepared to abandon it in any degree, and I think it would be a mistake for us to feel that its prospects are finished.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with your remarks about the United Nations, we have recently read criticism of the U.N. bond issue proposal and about the bill that has come out of the Senate Foreign

Relations Committee. Would you comment on these matters, too, please?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, there has been an alternate suggestion put forward for meeting the financial crisis of the United Nations. I think most people are aware that the United Nations faces a very serious financial crisis—that unless it receives assistance by one means or another, that the operation in the Congo, upon which so much depends, will end and we will have a very difficult and perhaps chaotic situation which will, I think, be far more costly to us in the long run and far more hazardous. So we have to come to the assistance.

The second problem, of course, is that we have been meeting our assessments and we've been paying over 50 percent of the special assessments which were developed as a result of the Congo operation and as a result of the operation in the Middle East to keep the peace. Now, it seemed to us, and to the General Assembly—and I think this is an important point—it may be possible to suggest other plans but this is the one that the General Assembly has adopted.

The General Assembly puts forward this proposal which will make it compulsory in the future, and this will be particularly true when the World Court renders its opinion, and our judgment is they'll render an opinion that these special operations must be paid as regular assessments, otherwise the country involved will lose its voting power.

Now, this is the plan the United Nations has adopted and we have committed ourselves and we hope the Congress will support this effort. We said we would buy \$100 million worth of bonds. The Foreign Relations Committee stated we would buy \$25 million worth of bonds and up to \$100 million if the other countries met their quota.

Now, so far over \$50 million has been pledged by other countries. Senator Aiken and Senator Hickenlooper—Senator Hickenlooper was a member, I think, of a delegation to the U.N., Senator Aiken has been a long time supporter. This is not a hostility

to the U.N. on their part. They feel that this plan is preferable. But in my judgment it would mean that the United Nations would be faced with attempting to pay back \$100 million in 3 years. I don't think that there is any evidence that they can do it. It would have to be submitted to the General Assembly to be voted upon after they voted upon a different plan. The smaller nations definitely could not contribute to it, and in my judgment it would be back in our lap at the end of 3 years.

Now, the General Assembly has moved. We are moving on a plan which I think offers a hope of success. As I say, already a number of countries have met their responsibility. We hope they'll go higher to the \$100 million. I think we ought to go ahead and I'm hopeful the Senate and the House will, because in my judgment failure to go ahead in this ground is going to mean a collapse of this special effort, and then what's going to happen in the Congo and the Middle East? I think it would be a great mistake, and I'm hopeful that the Senate will consider it very carefully.

In my judgment, every survey shows that 80 to 85 percent of the American people realize the importance of the United Nations. And this is vital to the life of the United Nations, this issue.

Q. Mr. President, on the bond issue again, when you sent your message up to Congress you said that the proceeds of the bond issue would be used to liquidate the debts of the United Nations for the Congo and Middle East operations. And a few days later when Mr. Rusk went up, he said that the proceeds would be used to pay for these two operations for 18 months beginning next July 1st. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was not able to get this straightened out in testimony. I wonder if you could state what the—

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don't—I think—I'm not familiar with—I'm not aware that there is a disagreement between the statement that I made and Mr. Rusk made. I'd

have to check his testimony and my statement to see if there was a disagreement. But there is a debt, and there will be need for funds. And therefore it seems to me that in a sense both positions are in accordance with the—both Mr. Rusk's statement and my statement are not exclusive. We're going—this goes to meet the debts, and to maintain these special operations for the next 18 months.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, there seems to be some continuing difference of opinion between yourself and Mr. Nixon, and I wondered if, in view of yesterday's statement, you feel that the CIA should have briefed you about the Cuban operation during the 1960 campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. I thought that yesterday's statements by the White House and by Mr. Dulles were very clear, and I think that closes the matter as far as I'm concerned.

[7.] Q. Sir, about this agreement that the U.N. Committee is now working on to get peaceful uses for outer space for the United States and other nations—it has been mentioned several times that this agreement would be patterned after the Antarctic Agreement, and, if so, would this not mean that we would give up any future scientific or territorial gains and would have to submit to inspection by foreign nations? And how would you separate your peaceful uses from your military uses, because wouldn't all of these scientific gains go together?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it's hard to—I would say that this is a—I had not heard this comparison. I'm not sure that there is a precise comparison between the Antarctic and outer space. I do think that this is a matter that will be negotiated. I think that the interests of our country will be protected in that negotiation. I can assure you, in fact, they will be. But we are anxious to assure, if possible, that outer space is used peacefully in order to protect the interests of the United States. So I think we should go into the negotiations and see if it's possible for us to cooperate, because there's

not much security, as space continues to be more and more under the hazard of being used for military purposes.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, the critics of your medical care plan have charged that this will be the opening wedge for socialized medicine in this country. Would you care to comment on that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it is an old argument, when a case is lost, to argue that it is all right here, but what is it going to mean for the future. Under that argument, there would not have been any progress on any social legislation in this country. That was the argument that was used against the Social Security Act in the thirties. It was the argument used against the minimum wage, it is the argument used against any agricultural program. It is the oldest argument in the world. The fact of the matter is, this is a useful program, it is developed for a special purpose, and, in my judgment, it's going to be adopted. I believe it has a good chance this year, if not, in the future, and it's in the economic as well as the social interests of the people of our country. But to say, "I am against it because in a future date somebody else may do something" doesn't seem to me to be a rational argument, and it was the kind of argument which was successfully defeated on many occasions during the administration of Franklin Roosevelt.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, what is your reaction to the news that the 1200 prisoners from the Bay of Pigs are going to be tried as war criminals in Cuba? Specifically, do you feel there's anything this Government can do for them?

THE PRESIDENT. We would—have been attempting—as you know, the Red Cross has been attempting to secure an entrance into Cuba to see about the feeding of the prisoners. Of course, it is a matter of great national as well as personal distress.

[10.] Q. Many people not farm experts are perplexed by the continuing food paradox—a million starving even outside Com-

munist countries, while we're up to our necks in surplus. And they wonder why we can't go far beyond extending Public Law 480, church distribution, and so forth, and really make tremendous amounts of surpluses that we can't seem to get rid of available to the hungry. Would you discuss economic or other factors preventing this?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we are putting a good many hundreds of millions—in fact, billions—into this program. I think there isn't any doubt that we could produce more food. We could produce, really, more of almost everything in the United States. There is a limit to what the United States is able to maintain. We spend, as you know, billions of dollars each year on our agricultural program. It isn't as if this—the limitation, in answer to your question, is really a financial one. How much can the United States afford to put into its agricultural program? We're putting in \$6 billion; we're giving away, as I say, hundreds of millions, indeed some billions of dollars worth of food, in an unprecedented effort. I agree we should always try to do more. But in answer to your question, the reason is only the limitation of available funds. This food has to be bought, and it has to be appropriated for, and it has to come out of the taxpayers of the United States. We do an awful lot, not only on this program of food but also on foreign aid. In fact—and have done it for a great many years. And I think we should. But I think that—I would certainly contrast the record of the United States in this regard to other countries, even those with a surplus of agricultural abundance, and what we've been able to do through private agencies and through the Federal Government.

[11.] Q. Sir, a clarification on your comments on the bond issue. Do you find the Senate Foreign Relations Committee plan an acceptable one?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I do. I do.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, the Attorney General has suggested that the price of stock

in the proposed communications satellite corporation be reduced from \$1,000 to \$100. Has any thought been given to reducing this price to \$1 so all the taxpayers could get in on the ground floor?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that the—of course the limitation is that there may be quite a long period of time before there is any return on this investment. We attempted in the program we set up to balance off the need for large investments by—which only a few companies can make, and also to permit it to have a broader distribution than just a few large companies. We're attempting to make an adjustment. As you know, a good many companies are unwilling to invest in the satellite, because it would require a good many years before they would get a return. And I don't know—I would have to examine whether it's in the public interest to lower the price. I don't think that the return would be, to the American people, in dollars and cents, except as part perhaps of a participation in a great new effort. I'm not sure the dollar and cents return would be comparable to what they might be able to get in other areas, at least for a great many years.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, the Soviet Union has recognized an Algerian Government before it has formally taken place. Would you say what you think about this, and what the United States might possibly do towards recognition and at what time?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you correctly say, there is a cease-fire now in effect in Algeria. A government has not been established. There is still—in the field of foreign policy France still bears responsibility. A government will be developed and at that time the United States will take the proper action. I think that this matter, as I've said from the beginning, is a very sensitive and difficult matter that's been handled with great skill by President de Gaulle. It's been handled by those on the Algerian side with a desire to—not to destroy but rather to build, and I think the United States should take a similar attitude rather than attempting for

political purposes to exploit a situation. I think we should wait until the proper moment and the proper moment finally will come.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, there are reports from Guantanamo Bay of a buildup in Cuban military strength in the fortifications outside the American naval base there. Do you consider this a threat to the base, and do you have any plans for increasing the base's defenses?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we're always concerned about the defense of American territory wherever it may be and would take whatever proper steps were necessary. We have no information that there's a, if that is your suggestion, that some attack on Guantanamo is about to take place. We see no evidence of that.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, Congressman Porter Hardy's subcommittee has been having some troubles getting hold of some records from the State Department, and they have contended that lawyers at the State Department are barring them from these records which deal with the foreign aid in Cambodia, which was used in a Russian-sponsored hospital. Now I realize this took place before your administration took power, but there is the contention by the committee that the State Department at the present time is withholding the records. I wonder if they have consulted you on this, and if you have given the State Department any instructions?

THE PRESIDENT. I'm generally familiar. My understanding is that they have turned over the cables to the committee, but they have not—they have agreed, I think, and this may be subject to change afterwards, my understanding is that they have agreed to turn over the names that might be involved in an executive session. But we cannot run the executive branch of the Government if every Foreign Service officer, or everyone else who is acting in good faith—and if there's evidence that it is not in good faith, then we ought to bring that right out and he ought to be, he ought to have some

action taken. But if he's acting in good faith, then how can we expect honest reporting from them? Or how can we expect that they're going to—if they feel that this might be, 6 months or a year from now, be used against them in some hearing, about which they can only presume?

The responsibility is on us to carry out the foreign policy of the United States with the cooperation of the Congress. And we don't—I'm sure the Congress would not want us to be inhibited in getting our information upon which our judgments must be reached. We desire to cooperate with Congressman Hardy. I believe he said he was going to—he's seen me on one occasion about another matter last year. I think I saw somewhere or heard some place that he is planning to discuss this directly with me. And I'll discuss it, and I'm hopeful that we can work this out as other matters have been worked out, in a spirit of comity. But I do think there are important issues at stake.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, Dr. Hans Bethe has commented favorably on a zonal disarmament inspection plan that has been put forward by Professor Louis Sohn of Harvard University. The plan would operate on a random sampling basis, and would supposedly satisfy the United States desires by opening up territory to verification on a sampling basis, while at the same time pleasing the Russians by not opening up their entire territory to what they say they fear would be espionage. I wonder if you would comment on whether parts of this proposal offer constructive possibilities?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think one of the suggestions in the matter of preparations which have been discussed, which we all recognize is a rather difficult matter, of determining if preparations are being made for testing, was this. I'm not sure that the genesis was the same as the one you've suggested, but it had been suggested that a sampling system might be used.

But I think once again this is a matter which I think should come forward in the proper way at Geneva. But I am familiar

with the—a proposal which is either the same or similar.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, at some of our military camps there have been demonstrations by mobilized reservists, including in one case an attempted hunger strike. I wonder if you couldn't comment on these demonstrations, and couldn't you give the reservists some notion of when they might be released?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I understand the feeling of any reservist, particularly those who may have fulfilled their duty and then they are called back. And they see others going along in normal life, and therefore they feel: how long are we going to be kept?

We have stated that we are, as you know, building two new divisions which will replace these reservists, and which will come into effect—I think the dates are August and September.

Now, on the question of releasing the reservists, we will release them on the first possible date consistent with our national security. They were called up because of the crisis in Berlin, and because of the threats in Southeast Asia. And I do not think that anyone can possibly read the papers and come to the conclusion that these threats do not continue. There is no evidence that we are going to quickly reach a settlement in either one of these areas.

These reservists are doing a very important job. In my judgment, the fact they were called up and the fact they responded has strengthened the foreign policy of the United States measurably since last July and August.

Now, secondly, there is always inequity in life. Some men are killed in a war and some men are wounded, and some men never leave the country, and some men are stationed in the Antarctic and some are stationed in San Francisco. It's very hard in military or in personal life to assure complete equality. Life is unfair. But I do hope that in many ways—some people are sick and others are well—but I do hope that these people recognize that they are fulfilling a

valuable function, and that they will feel, however humdrum it is, and however much their life is disturbed and the years been yanked out of it, they will have the satisfaction afterwards of feeling that they contributed importantly to the security of their families and their country at a significant time.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us whether the reports you've received on the talks between Secretary Rusk and Mr. Gromyko in the last day or two on the Berlin problem have produced even a glimmer of a possibility of a *modus vivendi* of some sort?

THE PRESIDENT. I would think it would be wiser to let the talks continue, which they are, and then to make a judgment as to our prospects when these talks have reached a more final stage, which they have not as yet.

[19.] Q. Would you care, sir, to evaluate for us the quality of congressional support the administration's domestic program is getting at the present time? I ask this because in some circles there is a belief that certain congressional leaders in your party are more prone to negotiate the terms of surrender even before they start fighting for your program.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I read the same—*[laughter]*—I think that we've secured—I think they blame the leadership and they blame me and they blame the Congress, and I think we've secured the passage of important legislation already: one we signed the other day, the pension and welfare bill; the one the week before, the manpower training. We have, I hope, passed good bills in the House and Senate on higher education. I hope that the conference will not give us the worst features of both but, rather, the best features of both, the House and Senate bill.

We are moving ahead in the committees in other areas. So I think we can make a much fairer judgment on the quality of the Congress and the Executive as the session goes into the summer, than we can today. But I have had complete cooperation from

Senator Mansfield and Senator Humphrey—the leader and the whip—from Speaker McCormack, from Congressmen Albert and Hale Boggs, and from George Smathers. So I must say that they've been very faithful and I think they're doing the best they can.

You have to remember that this House of Representatives is somewhat evenly balanced. We only won the Rules Committee fight at the beginning of this session, at the time Mr. Rayburn put his enormous prestige on the line, by only six votes. These are not easy matters. We are very critical, frequently, of failure of other countries to take needed action, but we have to realize it's a hard fight even in our own country.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, I understand that an exchange of letters at the summit has settled the question of the B-70, or the RS-70. Can you tell us who won what and from whom?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that if you took the powers of the Executive and the powers of the Congress and pushed each to its logical, or at least its possible conclusion—not its logical but its possible conclusion—you would have, in a Government of divided powers, you would have a somewhat chaotic situation. If they refused to appropriate the salary of members of the Government, if we took actions which failed to consider the responsibilities of the Congress—in a country where the constitution gives divided responsibilities we have to attempt to adjust the strong feelings on both sides.

In my opinion, there was no winner and no loser except, I think, the relations between the Congress and I think the public interest.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, you used the words "American territory" in relation to Guantanamo Bay. Is that not subject to an incorrect inference of the true position of that bay?

THE PRESIDENT. My answer was an attempt to not particularly select one area or another. It's the legal definition of Guantanamo, maybe not precisely, though I would have to look that up. I would say it's an area which the United States, under a treaty with

Spain, at the turn of the century, was given rights to maintain and to hold, and whether it's—it may be, as I say, incorrect legally to call it a territory, and I would not want to launch a new description of Guantanamo, and I may be very well subject to correction—only that it's an area which is under the responsibility now of the United States. That may be a more precise term.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, in explaining the need to resume nuclear tests in the atmosphere, you said we're spending huge sums on some military programs, including hardened missile sites, and that we can't be certain how much of these preparations might turn out to be useless when we know more about thermonuclear explosions. In the wake of increased missile accuracy and warhead yields and the fact that the Russians can build very large bombs, can you tell us, as Commander in Chief, why we're expanding what would appear to be an increasingly vulnerable land-based missile system, rather than putting our efforts in mobile land-based systems, or directing more of our deterrent to sea where they cannot be zeroed in?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that—as you know, the Secretary of Defense, and those who have particular technical competence, made a judgment that the present arrangements were more satisfactory than the so-called mobile Minuteman. That is filled with difficulties, too; transporting always—24 hours a day—around the railroads of the United States, missiles to be fired at any moment, is not—offers—has a debit side too. So that in balance this was felt to be the most satisfactory device. And, in addition, as you know, we have the alert, those that are in the air, and we also have Polaris. So that the—I think the reason is a desire not to commit all of our resources to any one

particular weapons system. But I do think a judgment was made that the efficiency of the mobile, at the present time, was not sufficiently demonstrated over the hardened site to warrant a program in that regard, particularly as we develop more successfully devices for interpreting a possible missile attack. So that we have a warning system which would be sufficient to get our Minuteman off the hardened base. But I think the more they looked at the trains going through America, the less desirable it seemed.

[23.] Q. Mr. President, did I understand you to say that we had offered to withdraw our demand for control posts for nuclear test bans inside the Soviet Union?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. And they had refused?

THE PRESIDENT. No. What I said was that those who advocated a system of attempting to—and there are those—to carry on an inspection system by having devices located off the territory of the Soviet Union, I think would also agree that you cannot make a successful distinction by this means between an earthquake and an underground nuclear explosion. And that therefore there has to be even under this system, which is not the one the United States is now—has put forward—even under this system, you would have to have an inspection in order to make that distinction. So that the—and the Soviet Union has rejected that kind of inspection. So that I was merely attempting to indicate that those who advocated that policy did not have a policy which gave any assurances of success and which the Soviet Union has already in effect—has rejected.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's twenty-eighth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, March 21, 1962.

108 Letter to the Chairman, House Ways and Means
Committee, on the Tax Bill. *March 22, 1962*

[Released March 22, 1962. Dated March 21, 1962]

Dear Wilbur:

May I congratulate you, and your associates on the House Ways and Means Committee, on reporting to the House a tax bill that will truly serve the national interest. I know how thoroughly your Committee has reviewed the essential elements of this measure for nearly a year; and I am hopeful that the members of the House will support the product of your long deliberations and labors, and send to the Senate a bill consistent with our nation's economic, budgetary and balance-of-payments needs. Rejection of this bill, I firmly believe, would mean a loss of gold as our industries fail to keep pace with their modernized overseas competitors—a loss of jobs as our economy fails to grow—and a loss of revenue, resulting in further budget deficits, as we fail to achieve full employment before another recession, or fail to collect fair taxes on every kind of income. Although imperfections or alternatives can always be advanced with respect to every provision of every tax bill, your Committee has capably met its obligation to achieve a careful balance of interests.

The single-most important provision in the bill would provide a tax credit for new investment in machinery and equipment in the United States. This tax credit, by increasing the profitability or potential rate of return on such an investment in the most efficient and economical way available, will provide American businessmen with a strong incentive to increase their capital goods expenditures in this country, with many beneficial results.

(1) It will help increase the pace and duration of the present recovery, in the lagging capital goods and construction industries and in all others.

(2) It will spur our long-term economic growth and prospects for full employment by adding to our existing capacity, or trans-

lating technological development into new capacity, leading to new products, new processes and new job opportunities.

(3) It will induce the modernization and expansion of our productive machinery and equipment, enabling American business and labor to compete at home and abroad with the modern plants of the European Common Market and other nations, thereby reducing the pressure on our balance of international payments and assuring our continued ability to meet vital overseas commitments.

(4) It will reduce the incentive to invest machinery and equipment in other nations which presently accord such investment a more favorable tax treatment; and it will do this in a manner which gives the nation a far larger assurance of new dollars invested for every dollar of revenue foregone.

You have, of course, included in this measure other provisions—to make certain that, over the long pull, no loss of revenue will result from the bill as a whole, and to eliminate existing defects which defeat our traditional objective of spreading the tax burden fairly in an equitable economic environment. Outstanding among these provisions is the extension of the present withholding tax to dividend and interest income. This is not a new tax. It only makes certain that taxes now due are in fact paid. Those whose incomes depend on wages are subject to withholding. Those whose incomes depend on salaries are subject to withholding. Why should those whose income is received in dividends or interest be treated differently, permitting an escape from taxes by a deliberate or neglectful failure to report such income?

Similarly equitable is the provision which closes off unrestricted access to foreign tax havens and otherwise lessens present tax inducements to American capital to move into Western Europe or Japan. At a time

when American servicemen, their families and tourists in particular, and the entire nation in general, are restricted by the necessities of our balance of payments posture, there is no reason why we should encourage tax havens which artificially hold back a return flow of American overseas earnings.

Other portions of the bill as reported are equally helpful to the national interest; and

again I want to express my gratitude to you and your colleagues on the Ways and Means Committee who have supported you in this effort to make America strong and vigorous.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Honorable Wilbur D. Mills, Chairman, Ways and Means Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.]

109 Address in Berkeley at the University of California.

March 23, 1962

Mr. President, Governor Brown, Dr. Pauley, Chancellor, members of the Board of Regents, members of the faculty and fellow students, ladies and gentlemen:

The last time that I came to this Stadium was 22 years ago, when I visited it in November of 1940 as a student at a nearby small school for the game with Stanford. And we got a—I must say I had a much warmer reception today than I did from my Coast friends here on that occasion. In those days we used to fill these universities for football, and now we do it for academic events, and I'm not sure that this doesn't represent a rather dangerous trend for the future of our country.

I am delighted to be here on this occasion for though it is the 94th anniversary of the Charter, in a sense this is the hundredth anniversary. For this university and so many other universities across our country owe their birth to the most extraordinary piece of legislation which this country has ever adopted, and that is the Morrill Act, signed by President Abraham Lincoln in the darkest and most uncertain days of the Civil War, which set before the country the opportunity to build the great land-grant colleges, of which this is so distinguished a part. Six years later, this university obtained its Charter.

In its first graduating class it included a future Governor of California, a future Congressman, a judge, a State assemblyman, a

clergyman, a lawyer, a doctor—all in a graduating class of 12 students!

This college, therefore, from its earliest beginnings, has recognized, and its graduates have recognized, that the purpose of education is not merely to advance the economic self-interest of its graduates. The people of California, as much if not more than the people of any other State, have supported their colleges and their universities and their schools, because they recognize how important it is to the maintenance of a free society that its citizens be well educated.

"Every man," said Professor Woodrow Wilson, "sent out from a university should be a man of his nation as well as a man of his time."

And Prince Bismarck was even more specific. One third, he said, of the students of German universities broke down from overwork, another third broke down from dissipation, and the other third ruled Germany.

I do not know which third of students are here today, but I am confident that I am talking to the future leaders of this State and country who recognize their responsibilities to the public interest.

Today you carry on that tradition. Our distinguished and courageous Secretary of Defense, our distinguished Secretary of State, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Director of the CIA and

others, all are graduates of this University. It is a disturbing fact to me, and it may be to some of you, that the New Frontier owes as much to Berkeley as it does to Harvard University.

This has been a week of momentous events around the world. The long and painful struggle in Algeria which comes to an end. Both nuclear powers and neutrals labored at Geneva for a solution to the problem of a spiraling arms race, and also to the problems that so vex our relations with the Soviet Union. The Congress opened hearings on a trade bill, which is far more than a trade bill, but an opportunity to build a stronger and closer Atlantic Community. And my wife had her first and last ride on an elephant!

But history may well remember this as a week for an act of lesser immediate impact, and that is the decision by the United States and the Soviet Union to seek concrete agreements on the joint exploration of space. Experience has taught us that an agreement to negotiate does not always mean a negotiated agreement. But should such a joint effort be realized, its significance could well be tremendous for us all. In terms of space science, our combined knowledge and efforts can benefit the people of all the nations: joint weather satellites to provide more ample warnings against destructive storms—joint communications systems to draw the world more closely together—and cooperation in space medicine research and space tracking operations to speed the day when man will go to the moon and beyond.

But the scientific gains from such a joint effort would offer, I believe, less realized return than the gains for world peace. For a cooperative Soviet-American effort in space science and exploration would emphasize the interests that must unite us, rather than those that always divide us. It offers us an area in which the stale and sterile dogmas of the cold war could be literally left a quarter of a million miles behind. And it would remind us on both sides that knowledge, not hate, is the passkey to the future—that

knowledge transcends national antagonisms—that it speaks a universal language—that it is the possession, not of a single class, or of a single nation or a single ideology, but of all mankind.

I need hardly emphasize the happy pursuit of knowledge in this place. Your faculty includes more Nobel laureates than any other faculty in the world—more in this one community than our principal adversary has received since the awards began in 1901. And we take pride in that, only from a national point of view, because it indicates, as the Chancellor pointed out, the great intellectual benefits of a free society. This University of California will continue to grow as an intellectual center because your presidents and your chancellors and your professors have rigorously defended that unhampered freedom of discussion and inquiry which is the soul of the intellectual enterprise and the heart of a free university.

We may be proud as a nation of our record in scientific achievement—but at the same time we must be impressed by the interdependence of all knowledge. I am certain that every scholar and scientist here today would agree that his own work has benefited immeasurably from the work of the men and women in other countries. The prospect of a partnership with Soviet scientists in the exploration of space opens up exciting prospects of collaboration in other areas of learning. And cooperation in the pursuit of knowledge can hopefully lead to cooperation in the pursuit of peace.

Yet the pursuit of knowledge itself implies a world where men are free to follow out the logic of their own ideas. It implies a world where nations are free to solve their own problems and to realize their own ideals. It implies, in short, a world where collaboration emerges from the voluntary decisions of nations strong in their own independence and their own self-respect. It implies, I believe, the kind of world which is emerging before our eyes—the world produced by the revolution of national independence which has today, and has been

since 1945, sweeping across the face of the world.

I sometimes think that we are too much impressed by the clamor of daily events. The newspaper headlines and the television screens give us a short view. They so flood us with the stop-press details of daily stories that we lose sight of one of the great movements of history. Yet it is the profound tendencies of history and not the passing excitements, that will shape our future.

The short view gives us the impression as a nation of being shoved and harried, everywhere on the defense. But this impression is surely an optical illusion. From the perspective of Moscow, the world today may seem ever more troublesome, more intractable, more frustrating than it does to us. The leaders of the Communist world are confronted not only by acute internal problems in each Communist country—the failure of agriculture, the rising discontent of the youth and the intellectuals, the demands of technical and managerial groups for status and security. They are confronted in addition by profound divisions within the Communist world itself—divisions which have already shattered the image of Communism as a universal system guaranteed to abolish all social and international conflicts—the most valuable asset the Communists had for many years.

Wisdom requires the long view. And the long view shows us that the revolution of national independence is a fundamental fact of our era. This revolution will not be stopped. As new nations emerge from the oblivion of centuries, their first aspiration is to affirm their national identity. Their deepest hope is for a world where, within a framework of international cooperation, every country can solve its own problems according to its own traditions and ideals.

It is in the interests of the pursuit of knowledge—and it is in our own national interest—that this revolution of national independence succeed. For the Communists rest everything on the idea of a monolithic world—a world where all knowledge has a

single pattern, all societies move toward a single model, and all problems and roads have a single solution and a single destination. The pursuit of knowledge, on the other hand, rests everything on the opposite idea—on the idea of a world based on diversity, self-determination, freedom. And that is the kind of world to which we Americans, as a nation, are committed by the principles upon which the great Republic was founded.

As men conduct the pursuit of knowledge, they create a world which freely unites national diversity and international partnership. This emerging world is incompatible with the Communist world order. It will irresistibly burst the bonds of the Communist organization and the Communist ideology. And diversity and independence, far from being opposed to the American conception of world order, represent the very essence of our view of the future of the world.

There used to be so much talk a few years ago about the inevitable triumph of communism. We hear such talk much less now. No one who examines the modern world can doubt that the great currents of history are carrying the world away from the monolithic idea towards the pluralistic idea—away from communism and towards national independence and freedom. No one can doubt that the wave of the future is not the conquest of the world by a single dogmatic creed but the liberation of the diverse energies of free nations and free men. No one can doubt that cooperation in the pursuit of knowledge must lead to freedom of the mind and freedom of the soul.

Beyond the drumfire of daily crisis, therefore, there is arising the outlines of a robust and vital world community, founded on nations secure in their own independence, and united by allegiance to world peace. It would be foolish to say that this world will be won tomorrow, or the day after. The processes of history are fitful and uncertain and aggravating. There will be frustrations and setbacks. There will be times of anxiety and gloom. The specter of thermonuclear

war will continue to hang over mankind; and we must heed the advice of Oliver Wendell Holmes of "freedom leaning on her spear" until all nations are wise enough to disarm safely and effectively.

Yet we can have a new confidence today in the direction in which history is moving. Nothing is more stirring than the recognition of great public purpose. Every great age is marked by innovation and daring—by the ability to meet unprecedented problems with intelligent solutions. In a time of turbulence and change, it is more true than ever that knowledge is power; for only by true understanding and steadfast judgment are we able to master the challenge of history.

If this is so, we must strive to acquire knowledge—and to apply it with wisdom. We must reject over-simplified theories of international life—the theory that American power is unlimited, or that the American mission is to remake the world in the American image. We must seize the vision of a free and diverse world—and shape our policies to speed progress toward a more flexible world order.

This is the unifying spirit of our policies in the world today. The purpose of our aid programs must be to help developing countries move forward as rapidly as possible on the road to genuine national independence. Our military policies must assist nations to protect the processes of democratic reform

and development against disruption and intervention. Our diplomatic policies must strengthen our relations with the whole world, with our several alliances and within the United Nations.

As we press forward on every front to realize a flexible world order, the role of the university becomes ever more important, both as a reservoir of ideas and as a repository of the long view of the shore dimly seen.

"Knowledge is the great sun of the firmament," said Senator Daniel Webster. "Life and power are scattered with all its beams."

In its light, we must think and act not only for the moment but for our time. I am reminded of the story of the great French Marshal Lyautey, who once asked his gardener to plant a tree. The gardener objected that the tree was slow-growing and would not reach maturity for a hundred years. The Marshal replied, "In that case, there is no time to lose, plant it this afternoon."

Today a world of knowledge—a world of cooperation—a just and lasting peace—may be years away. But we have no time to lose. Let us plant our trees this afternoon.

NOTE: The President spoke in the Memorial Stadium at the University of California at Berkeley. In his opening words he referred to Clark Kerr, President of the University, Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, Governor of California, Edwin W. Pauley, Chairman of the Regents of the University of California at Berkeley, and Edward W. Strong, Chancellor of the Berkeley Campus.

110 Remarks Upon Presenting a Congressional Award to Robert Frost. *March 26, 1962*

Ladies and gentlemen:

It's a great honor for me, speaking on behalf of the Congress and the people of the United States, to present this much deserved and rather rare action—award—to Mr. Robert Frost.

I suppose in a sense he is disappointed that this was not a more controversial decision by the Congress, but instead was a

unanimous one. We are proud of you, Mr. Frost—

Mr. Frost: Both parties!

THE PRESIDENT. What? Both parties—[laughter]—in fact, the only thing, really, that we have been able to agree on since you were here, in a long time.

But I think we are proud of Mr. Frost and his interpretations of what we feel is the

best of America. And therefore I present this award to our very good friend.

NOTE: The presentation ceremony was held in the Fish Room at the White House.

In his opening words the President referred to an

act of Congress, approved September 13, 1960, authorizing the President "to present a gold medal to Robert Frost, a New England poet."

During the ceremonies Mr. Frost gave the President an inscribed copy of his new book of poems, "In the Clearing."

III Letter to the Chairmen, House and Senate Public Works Committees, Proposing a Capital Improvements Program for Depressed Areas. *March 26, 1962*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am transmitting herewith a draft of proposed legislation which would authorize immediate initiation of a \$600 million capital improvements program in those sections of our country which have failed to share fully in the economic gains of the recovery from the recession of 1960-61. This proposal is in the form of an amendment to the proposed Stand-by Capital Improvements Act of 1962, which I transmitted to the Congress on February 19¹ and which has since been referred to your Committee as H.R. 10318 (S. 2965) and other identical bills.

The proposed Stand-by Capital Improvements Act, together with the recommended stand-by temporary tax reduction authority and the pending bill to strengthen permanently our Federal-State system of unemployment insurance, would constitute a new and powerful arsenal of weapons to combat the recessions which periodically sap the vitality of our economy. The waste and distress which characterize these periodic recessions can and must be abated. Passage of the recommended legislation will make possible timely and effective action to reduce the severity and duration of future recessions.

Our present problem is not, of course, one of nation-wide recession. We have been making a strong recovery from the recession of 1960-61. Gross national product rose from \$501 billion in the first quarter of last

year to \$542 billion in the last quarter. Industrial production has risen 12 percent over the last 12 months. Disposable personal income per capita has passed the historic \$2000 milestone. Unemployment in the last year has declined from 6.9 percent of the labor force to 5.6 percent, and the number of persons at work has increased by more than 1 million over a year ago. The recovery still has considerable distance to go before full employment is restored. But, despite the fact that our economic performance of the last two months has fallen below expectations, we look for a strong and continued expansion throughout the year and into 1963.

Although we do not today face a problem of general recession, the two recessions of the last five years—interrupted only by a short and incomplete recovery—have left in their wake serious problems of prolonged large-scale unemployment and economic distress in hundreds of communities in all sections of the country. The roster of these communities includes large cities, smaller cities, and rural areas. The causes of their troubles are manifold—exodus of industry, displacement of labor by technological change, excessive dependence on declining industries, influx of job-seekers, changing weapons requirements in military procurement, and chronic rural poverty. Whatever the cause, the results are the same—high and persistent urban unemployment or rural underemployment. Continued economic expansion for the Nation as a whole will in time help to restore the prosperity of many

¹ See Item 53.

of these areas. But their needs are urgent now, and further help should not be delayed until another recession threatens the whole economy.

There are 852 localities which have been designated as redevelopment areas under the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961, and a further 106 communities which have been designated for 12 months or more as areas of substantial unemployment. These 958 localities account for 38 percent of our population. In these areas, taken together, one out of 13 members of the labor force is unemployed, and the average unemployment rate is 33 percent higher than in the rest of the country.

Most of these areas are eligible for assistance under the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961. Although the area redevelopment program is less than a year old, assistance has already been extended to 82 communities in 26 states. As this program gathers momentum, more and more communities will be aided in their efforts to build a durable foundation for sustained local prosperity.

The area redevelopment program, however, is a continuing effort to help communities to attract new and permanent jobs to solve their long-range economic problem; it is not primarily designed to provide immediate relief of distress caused by unemployment, or to assist in the general rehabilitation and improvement of public facilities. I believe that a further Federal effort is necessary, both to provide immediate useful work for the unemployed and the underemployed, and to help these and other hard-pressed communities, through improvement of their public facilities, to become better places to live and work.

Accordingly, I urge that we initiate as soon as possible a \$600 million capital improvements program in the redevelopment areas and in the communities which have been designated for 12 months or more as areas of substantial unemployment. Actual expenditures will depend upon the timing of Congressional action. If legislation and the supporting appropriation are enacted

promptly, expenditures under this program would be approximately \$25 million in the remaining months of fiscal 1962, \$350 million in fiscal 1963, and \$225 million in the early months of fiscal 1964.

These funds would be allocated for Federal capital improvements projects in economically depressed areas and for grants and loans to eligible States and localities for improvement of community facilities. Federal grants to States and localities would range up to 50 percent of the cost of each project, and could be higher in certain exceptional cases. Loans would be available to assist hard-pressed communities which would otherwise be unable to meet promptly their share of project costs.

Projects under this program would be limited to those which could be initiated or accelerated within a reasonably short period of time and completed within 12 months after initiation. Other limitations of the stand-by bill would also apply: for example, projects could be approved only if they were capable of meeting an essential public need, if they would contribute significantly to the reduction of unemployment, and if they were not inconsistent with locally approved comprehensive development plans.

State and local capital improvements under this program would include such projects as water supply improvement; parks and other recreational development; sewerage systems and water pollution control; construction, rehabilitation and modernization of public buildings, such as hospitals and civic buildings; and road, street, airfield, and port improvement. Examples of Federal projects and programs would include conservation activities to improve our public land, water, timber, fish and wildlife resources, and construction or improvement of laboratories, research and training facilities, and other public buildings.

The stand-by capital improvements bill, and this proposal for an immediate public facilities program, are in my judgment of equal importance to the economic welfare of our Nation. The former would enable us

more effectively to combat the waste and hardship of future recessions; the latter would bring new public facilities, new jobs, and new hope to those communities whose economic troubles have resisted the rising tide of national economic expansion.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Charles A. Buckley and the Honorable Dennis Chavez, Chairmen of the House and Senate Committees on Public Works, respectively.

On September 14 the President approved the Public Works Acceleration Act of 1962. For his statement upon signing the bill, see Item 380.

112 Remarks Upon Receiving a Statement by a Group of Physicians on Medical Care for the Aged. *March 27, 1962*

Doctor, Mr. Secretary:

I want to express my appreciation to you for your statement, and also for the support that your statement has been given by some of the most distinguished members of the medical profession in the United States.

I am hopeful that the fact that so many outstanding doctors who believe in the responsibilities of the profession very strongly and have demonstrated it in their careers, I am hopeful that this support for this concept of medical care for the aged through social security will cause other doctors, others who are concerned about the health of our people, to examine and reexamine their own positions.

Doctor, the fact that you have supported this indicates that you believe that this is the most effective and responsible way to meet a very serious national problem. It maintains the freedom of the medical profession which has so benefited the people of this country and been responsible for so much progress. And yet it also provides security for our older people.

So I am hopeful, as I said, that this will stimulate careful thought by doctors across the country, that more and more of them will come to realize that this is really the best way to deal with a very pressing national emergency.

And therefore, doctor, and the other members of this committee, I want to say that in supporting this I believe that you are helping to meet the very great responsibility which the medical profession faces to care for our citizens.

So I want to express my thanks to you. This is an outstanding panel, and I believe that it will be most helpful in securing effective action in this field this year.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in the Rose Garden at the White House. His opening words referred to Dr. Caldwell B. Esselstyn, Medical Director of the Rip Van Winkle Clinic, Hudson, N.Y., who served as spokesman for the group, and Abraham A. Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The statement, signed by 43 doctors, was released by the White House on the same day.

113 Remarks Upon Presenting "E" Awards for Exports Promotion. *March 28, 1962*

Mr. Secretary, Members of the Congress, and gentlemen:

I want to express our great thanks to all of you for the effort you are making to stimulate our trade abroad. And we are hopeful that this ceremony—these E's—will interest

other businessmen in what I think are the great opportunities which are open to them all over the world.

I believe the United States is competitive and I believe that our efficiency and productivity and managerial skills all can mean a

good deal to American business and the workingman and to our country.

All of us are very familiar with the necessity for the United States to maintain an ever-increasing export trade. It is tied directly to our security. If we can continue to build our exports then we can continue to finance our security obligations overseas.

If we don't, then quite obviously we are going to have to lessen those commitments. So that this contribution is not only to your own company and to the country but also very vitally affects our national and international security. So I want to express our thanks to you.

I hope every businessman in the country will become interested—will examine what is available to him. The Department of Commerce, the Department of State, are all anxious to be of assistance in our embassies overseas. I know the Chamber of Commerce and other groups in this country are anxious to make information available. So that if we can become export-minded, with

these tremendous markets which are developing all over the world, it will mean a good deal.

So this is just the beginning. We want to congratulate you for the effort you have made. It is a great help to the country. I want to thank the Members of Congress for coming down here today, because I think we are all interested in this.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in the Fish Room at the White House. His opening words "Mr. Secretary" referred to Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce.

The awards, established by Executive Order 10978 (26 F.R. 11714) "for significant contributions to the Export Expansion Program," were presented to the following: Dan River Mills, New York City; C. G. Hokanson Company, Inc., Los Angeles, Calif.; Le Tourneau-Westinghouse Company, Peoria, Ill.; McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York City; Scripto Inc., Atlanta, Ga.; Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, Chicago, Ill.; Industrial National Bank of Rhode Island, Providence, R.I.; Isbrandtsen Company, Inc., New York City; San Leandro Chamber of Commerce, San Leandro, Calif.; and Steel Magazine, Cleveland, Ohio.

114 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting a Report on Balance of Payments.

March 28, 1962

Dear Mr. ———:

I am transmitting herewith a Report by the Secretary of the Treasury reviewing the wide variety of measures undertaken by this Administration to cope with the urgent balance of payments problem that faces this country.

A start has been made over the past year, but much still remains to be done. We must do more, consistent with our responsibilities for leadership of the free world, to stem the outward flow of dollars from Government programs. We must work with our friends and trading partners to achieve a more equitable sharing of the burdens of aid and defense, and to build a stronger international financial system. Above all, we must harness the energies of all our people—in

labor and management as well as Government—to the vital task of keeping our industry competitive and expanding our exports.

To that end, I intend to implement promptly a key recommendation of this Report by appointing, within the Department of Commerce, a new top-level official to oversee and expedite all our varied efforts to penetrate foreign markets more deeply.

This and other actions, to be fully effective, will require the understanding support of the Congress. I particularly urge prompt consideration and approval by the Congress of each of the specific measures summarized at the end of the Secretary's Report.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The specific measures requiring congressional approval are summarized in the report as follows:

1. Authority to participate in supplementary International Monetary Fund arrangements.

2. Authority to bargain effectively for lower tariffs with the European Common Market and other countries under the terms of the Trade Expansion Act.

3. Incentives for more rapid modernization of industrial equipment by means of an investment tax credit.

4. The removal of special inducements to invest

abroad by eliminating the possibilities for tax avoidance on foreign operations.

5. New appropriations adequate to staff and operate effectively an Office of Export Coordinator and enlarged functions of the Departments of Commerce and State in stimulating exports.

6. Simplified visa requirements for foreign visitors.

7. Continuation of Public Law 480 in a form that would not adversely affect our balance of payments.

The "Report to the President by the Secretary of the Treasury on the Balance of Payments" (Government Printing Office, 1962, 13 pp.) and the Secretary's letter of transmittal, dated March 26, were also released.

115 The President's News Conference of *March 29, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. I have several announcements to make.

[1.] It is with extreme regret that I announce the retirement of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court Charles Evans Whitaker, effective April 1. Justice Whittaker, a member of the Supreme Court for nearly 5 years, of the Federal Judiciary for nearly 8 years, is retiring at the direction of his physician for reasons of disability. I know that the bench and the bar of the entire Nation join me in commending Mr. Justice Whittaker for his devoted service to his country during a critical period in its history.

[2.] Next, I want to take this opportunity to stress again the importance of the tax bill now before the House of Representatives. An attempt is being made in that House to defeat this bill by sending it back to committee, and if it is killed we will have lost a most valuable opportunity to find jobs for the college and high school graduates who will be seeking those jobs in June of this year. We will lose our best hope of modernizing our machinery and our equipment, and giving our industry an inducement to step up their investment so that they can compete on more equal terms with foreign investors and producers.

We will be abandoning an effort to close

all foreign tax havens that drain our jobs and dollars away from our shores. And we will be permitting \$630 million a year in taxes due from stockholders and bondholders to go uncollected, even though these taxes are on the books. Even though one third of these people are paying their taxes in good faith, yet because of the difficulty of collecting them, nearly \$630 million due to the Treasury does not come in each year, which means that those wage earners, the small businessmen, and others who have their taxes withheld from their salaries and their paychecks must pay more.

We need this bill, finally, to help close off our loss of gold and our balance of payments. To make that less, we must modernize our equipment and our businesses so that they can compete, and we must close the loopholes which permit and encourage industry to invest overseas. I hope that every member of the House of Representatives who believes in spreading the tax burden fairly, who wants to improve our balance of payments position, who wants this country to grow in new equipment and new jobs, will support this bill as the best means of achieving these goals today. And I find great difficulty in understanding the position of any political party which makes it a matter of party ob-

jective to defeat this bill at this most important time.

[3.] Third, I have a statement which Mr. Hatcher will have for you on the problems of nuclear test inspection.

Let me just say in summary that after hearing Mr. Rusk's report of the work that's been done in Geneva, of his excellent work, I am convinced that the problem of inspection has now emerged clearly as the central obstacle to an effective test ban treaty. We cannot accept any agreement that does not provide for an effective international process that will tell the world whether the treaty is being observed. The Soviet Government so far flatly rejects any such inspection of any shape or kind. This is the issue that has been made clear in Geneva. We remain earnestly determined to work for an effective treaty, and we remain ready to conclude such a treaty at the earliest possible time.

Q. Mr. President, is the situation such in regard to nuclear testing that there is no longer any doubt, that there are no further reservations that we will resume testing at the end of this month?

THE PRESIDENT. No, we are going to continue to work. The position remains the same as it did in our speech of March 2. We desire an effective treaty but, as I have stated, what is preventing the passage of an effective treaty or its acceptance is the refusal to permit any inspection on the territory of the Soviet Union.

While it's possible for us to pick up by seismic means an explosion underground, we cannot make a distinction by seismic means between an earthquake, of which there may be three or four hundred a year, from the Soviet Union and a nuclear explosion, without an actual inspection. And that is the issue upon which the conference is now divided and we are going to continue to work to see if we can get a treaty which will permit inspection.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, what's your reaction to the apparent general agreement between both parties on a steel contract?

THE PRESIDENT. The steel contract, of course, has not been agreed to. It's necessary on Saturday for the executive committee, which has been called together by President McDonald, to meet to consider any agreement and that meeting must be followed by the wage policy committee of the Steelworkers Union, which is composed of representatives, I think 230 of them, of the rank and file. They must consider the matter, too.

At the end of those considerations, and after these bodies have made their judgments, we can make a determination whether an agreement will be reached.

Let me say that both the union and the company have worked long and hard. I have been most impressed by their willingness to consider this contract ahead of time, by their desire to meet their responsibilities to the country here and abroad, and I commend them both, and I am hopeful that in the next few days we will have an agreement. But the agreement must depend upon the approval of the responsible parties in the company and in the union.

[5.] Q. Would you give us your assessment, sir, of the recent events in Argentina and their possible impact upon the Alliance for Progress?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the events there are still uncertain enough, and the reports are still not clear enough and I think, therefore, it would be unwise, lacking that kind of precise information, for us to make comments at this time on events in another country.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, have you accepted the rules on carpetbagging that were laid down last week for California?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I thought that the thing just sort of worked out—I thought it was handled very satisfactorily from my

point of view on each side.¹ [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, you once told us you had an opinion as to whether Mr. Nixon should enter the race for the California governorship, but you never did tell us what that was. Could you tell us about it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think I said at the time I'd be glad to confide it to him and he has not as yet spoken to me about it. I'll be glad to go back to California and talk to him about it. [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Nixon in his book has indicated that he feels he won three of the four debates. In view of this, do you think that future debates are advisable?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would think that they would be—they'd be part of the '64 campaign. I've already indicated I'll be glad to debate, even if I did, as the Vice President suggested, lose three out of the four. [*Laughter*]

[7.] Q. Mr. President, one of the several mysteries about Soviet foreign policy seems to be the fact that despite 3½ years of threats since November 1958, Mr. Khrushchev has not actually forced a complete showdown on Berlin. In the light of what information Mr. Rusk has brought to you, have you any inkling as to why he has followed this line of what might be called casual urgency, and do you feel that there is any hope involved in it?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't—I would not want an impression to be created that we in any way underestimate the urgency and the immediacy of the problem. This is a matter of vital concern to both countries. I

think that both sides must realize that any effort to push this thing beyond a certain point could result in a great damage to the vital interests of both countries and would lead to all sorts of hazards. So I think that we continue to talk because we are anxious to see if it's possible to prevent a situation arising where excessive action might be taken by either side to advance its own interest which could lead to a response which, as I say, has a good deal of potential danger in it.

So in answer to your question, Mr. Morgan, I would say the situation is a very difficult one. I think that it is a matter of importance to both sides, and, therefore, I think both sides have proceeded with a good deal of care, because they realize it is so important and therefore could bring about, we hope, a very happy solution, though none has been forthcoming, but could, if miscalculations were made or mistakes made by anyone, could bring about a very unhappy one. So that we proceed with care and we welcome the care with which others may proceed.

[8.] Q. There appears to be a situation of deadlock in Laos, Mr. President, with the Royal Laos Government not going ahead in the formation of a government of national union. Do you anticipate any review or re-evaluation of our policy towards the Royal coalition government?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we believe strongly as the best way of protecting interests of Laos and the interests of Southeast Asia, that we should have a neutral and independent Laos under a government led by Souvanna Phouma. That's our policy and I think that opposition to that policy is somewhat unwise. The alternatives are not very bright. And if the cease-fire should end, I think it would present the people of Laos with a good deal of danger. I think we should reach a solution based on the government, the coalition government, under Souvanna Phouma, and I hope that the Royal Laotian Government

¹ As reported in the New York Times, Richard M. Nixon, a candidate for Governor of California, was asked how he liked having the President and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in the State. Mr. Nixon is said to have referred to the President and his brother as carpetbaggers. The White House Press Secretary replied at a news conference in Palm Springs: "I don't know anybody in the United States, no matter in what State he resides, who considers the President of the United States a carpet-bagger, wherever he is."

will support that position. I think it represents, it seems to me, great hazards to them not to.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, did the Secretary of State tell you anything regarding his talks with Mr. Gromyko in Geneva that would indicate that the climate for a possible summit this year might be better than it has been in recent weeks?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think I've explained my position on the summit. I don't think I can add to it. The matter of a summit has not been discussed by the Secretary since he's been back, with me.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us any more about your talk with General Eisenhower last Saturday?

THE PRESIDENT. No, we had a very useful talk, and I think, as Mr. Salinger said, we discussed some of the problems the United States faces around the world and also I attempted to tell him more or less what our status was in each of those particular crisis areas.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, there seems to be some growing differences between Fidel Castro and leaders of the Communist Party in Cuba. Could you comment on this and what it may portend for American foreign policy toward Cuba?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think the situation is unclear there, and while it is true that revolutions frequently devour their children, it's still not clear enough for us to make any judgment as to the power struggle that may be going on there.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, would you comment on the Supreme Court reapportionment decision, and say whether there is anything the Federal Government could do to support it?

THE PRESIDENT. I think, as you know, when the matter was before the Supreme Court the administration made clear its endorsement of the principles implicit in the Court decision, as a friend of the Court, and I don't think it's probably appropriate to comment on the merits of a specific case in litigation, but I think our position on the

general principle was quite clear. Quite obviously, the right to fair representation and to have each vote count equally is, it seems to me, basic to the successful operation of a democracy.

I would hope that through the normal political processes, these changes to insure equality of voting, equality of representation, would be brought about by the responsible groups involved, in the States, and in the National Government.

Now, in the case that was involved here, for many years it was impossible for the people involved to secure adequate relief through the normal political processes. The inequity was built in and therefore there was no chance for a political response to the inequity. The position of the Government, the Federal Government, the administration, as I say, was made clear by Solicitor Cox. And I would hope now the Court having taken a position, I would hope that those responsible in the various States—and this is a matter not confined merely to Tennessee, but it is true of Massachusetts and other States—I would hope that because of the change in population areas that every State would reexamine this problem and attempt to insure equality of voting rights. There's no sense of a Senator's representing 5,000,000 people sitting next to a Senator representing 10,000 people, and then when no relief comes, to say the Court is taking action where it should not. It's the responsibility of the political groups to respond to the need, but if no relief is forthcoming, then of course it would seem to the administration that the judicial branch must meet a responsibility.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, what about a successor to Justice Whittaker? This will be the first opportunity, the first occasion you have had to appoint a Supreme Court Justice. Do you have any general thoughts on the process you would follow in selecting one, and is Secretary Ribicoff one of those whom you would consider?

THE PRESIDENT. We will have—what I am announcing today is the resignation of Justice Whittaker. I think it would be ap-

propriate to announce his successor on another occasion, and his successor will be announced shortly.

Q. In that connection, will there be any general principle you would follow? Would you consult the Bar Association, or how would you go about the process of selecting a successor?

THE PRESIDENT. I would think that we could—when the time comes that we make the selection, I think it would be appropriate to respond in any way that anyone would like to ask me the reason for the selection.

[14.] Q. Could you comment on the visit here of the President of Brazil next week?

THE PRESIDENT. We welcome him. Brazil is a vital country in Latin America, the largest, and we are therefore extremely anxious to have the President visit us.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, a two-part question on steel: Although the contract is not yet buttoned up, in view of what you now know about the proposed agreement, do you see any justification for an increase in the steel industry's prices this year? The second part: If the steel industry gets the multimillion dollar tax saving envisioned in the investment press, and also the faster writeoffs that Mr. Dillon plans to grant this spring, should the steel producers reduce their prices?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that on the question of the steel, until the contract is signed I think it would not be appropriate to make any comment in response to your question or in response in detail to the potential agreement, itself. I think that the company and the union have carried on their negotiations. I think we should permit that process to be completed before we make any statement. And that won't be done, if it is done, until this weekend.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, in view of economic conditions and in view of the message that you sent to Congress last—or the request that you sent to Congress last Monday, for a public works bill appropriation of \$600 million, two things about the budget: one, do you expect that it will balance next year,

and two, do you feel that it should balance next year?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we can make a better judgment on the budget prospects after we have gone through, really, I would think, not only the March figures but also the April buying, and it's been our hope that the budget would balance. If business recovers in the way that we have hoped it would, the budget would be in balance. In regard to the proposal we sent up, what we are concerned about is that even though unemployment has dropped and even though there is a recovery, an increase of, I think, nearly \$45 billion in the Gross National Product since last year at this time, an increase in wages for our manufacturing workers of nearly 6 percent in the last 12 months, an average of almost \$4.80 a week, even though consumer resources are almost \$20 billion higher than they were a year ago, all these things give us hope that this recovery will be sustained. And we can get a better—and if that is sustained then the budget will be in balance. The problem, of course, is that even in a period of recovery there are these islands of unemployment which have been left behind for many years as a result of successive recessions and technological changes. And these people, with some of them the unemployment may average 10, 13, 15 percent in places like sections of northern Minnesota, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, eastern Kentucky, southern Illinois, and so on, I think we ought to help these people. In addition, this would benefit construction workers, and their rate of unemployment is twice that of manufacturing, so I'm hopeful Congress will pass this bill.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, this morning Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is reported to have said that an invasion of the mainland may come at any time. Under our treaty arrangements with the Republic of Formosa, consultation is required with this Government. Could you tell us whether in fact there have been such consultations under that treaty, and what the view of this ad-

ministration is toward this problem?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not seen the General's statement. There has not been consultation under the treaty of the kind envisioned in the treaty.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, could you elaborate on the idea attributed to you in a magazine article that there may be circumstances under which we would have to take the initiative in a nuclear war?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. I think Mr. Salinger's statement made it very clear that this was intended to be merely a restatement of a traditional position where if a vital area—and I think the area that Mr. Salinger used was West Europe—were being overrun by conventional forces, that the United States would take means, available means, to defend Western Europe. It was not intended to suggest, as Mr. Salinger said, that this meant that the United States would take aggressive action on its own part, or would launch an attack, a so-called preventive attack on its part. That's not our policy nor the policy of previous administrations. The article read in context makes it clear that we're talking about if there was an attack of overwhelming proportions by conventional forces in an area such as Europe, we would meet our treaty commitments.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, your brother, Ted, recently on television said that after seeing the cares of office on you, that he wasn't sure he'd ever be interested in being the President. I wonder if you could tell us whether if you had it to do over again, you would work for the presidency and whether you can recommend the job to others.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the answer is—to the first is "yes" and the second is "no." I don't recommend it to others—[laughter]—at least for a while.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, Secretary Freeman tomorrow is going to reduce support prices for dairy farmers. This is the same thing that Ezra Benson did 8 years ago, to correct a surplus situation. Now, does this mean that the administration's farm program

is the same as the Republican's when the going gets rough?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it isn't at all. As you know, the administration requested agreement by the Congress to permit us to maintain support prices at the present levels till next December, in the hope that in the meanwhile it would be possible for us to work out general legislation which would assist the dairy industry to meet the present problem of overproduction and underconsumption. The agricultural committees of the House and Senate, with the Republican members unanimously voting and joined by some Democrats, voted against giving us this permission.

The law compels the Secretary of Agriculture, therefore, unless agriculture is in short supply—dairy products or milk is in short supply, to reduce the support price, so that he is compelled by statute to take this action.

Now, we have as you know a great surplus of butter and of milk and this has been a matter of concern for some months. I think it would have been far more satisfactory, however, in fairness to the dairy farmers who will be adversely affected, if we had been given consent to carry on our present support price to December. And I think in the meanwhile we could have taken actions, legislative and administrative, which would have given them some relief from the present burden which will be thrust upon them.

I wish the agricultural committee had not taken the position it did, and I wish they would reconsider it.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, could you restate our policy on the Chiang Kai-shek situation? Is it merely to support the Nationalist Chinese on Taiwan, or would we help them in an effort to recapture the Communist mainland?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that—I'm not aware of the statement that's been made. We have not been consulted about, as I stated, in the way that the agreement would call for, and therefore, I would think that there'd be no use in explorations of potential situations. Quite obviously, there's the desire

that—of the people of Formosa—that they be returned, but we have to consider all the responsibilities and problems which all of us bear. And I've not heard that any new proposal is now under consideration.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, again on the court decision. It's been suggested that it might be well for the President of the United States to provide some special leadership and direction as a followup to the apportionment decision. How does that strike you?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it's incumbent upon all of those of us who hold office in the States and in the National Government to take every action that we can to have this matter settled by the responsible political groups. And in my earlier statement, I urged these States and State legislatures to carefully reconsider this problem. As I say, those who object to the court taking the action they are taking, it seems to me, are not on very solid ground when they also do not support actions in the States to bring redress. So that I think all of us, in the States, the National Government, the Congress, ought to consider the matter very carefully.

[23.] Q. Mr. President, supporters of your trade expansion bill feel that you have misjudged the implications of your decision to raise the carpet and glass tariffs. Do you acknowledge the danger of Common Market retaliation, and renewed efforts by every protectionist industry and union to demand further restrictions on imports?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't see the logic of that. I've stated in our first bill, in the bill that we sent up, and I stated at the time, that we would attempt to provide protection to those companies which might be adversely affected. In the new legislation, it gives us a number of means by which that protection can be effectively granted. In this case, there have been seven cases by the Tariff Commission which have come to my desk as President. In the case of three of them, I believe, they were by split decision, four of them were unanimous, two were accepted by me, and two were rejected. Now, in this

case there has been unemployment and loss of jobs which have assumed serious proportions in the carpet industry and in the glass industry. I recognize that this places a burden on foreign producers. But in the cases which we're now talking about, our unemployment is substantially greater than theirs, their balance of payments situation is substantially better than ours—in the case of Belgium, they've been adding gold rather than losing it, their unemployment rate is half of ours. We have therefore, with reluctance, determined that the situation in these two industries is sufficiently serious so that they must be given some protection of the kind which is provided under present law.

Now, I know that this will be a disappointment to those involved abroad, but we have very serious problems in the United States. We are losing gold, we have high unemployment in some industries, and therefore I considered that on balance this protection should be granted.

Now that doesn't, in my opinion, mean that we shouldn't have effective trade legislation. The purpose of the trade legislation is going to be stimulating employment on both sides. But there are areas where, which I hope under the new bill, we'll be able to give protection to the workers through the various provisions which are suggested, which are far broader and far more effective than the ones under the present law.

[24.] Q. Mr. President, there are now a number of Midas and Samos spy satellites circling the earth. Do you think the perfection of these satellites will eventually give the United States the type of surveillance over the U.S.S.R. which will make inspection effective?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't envision that situation.

[25.] Q. Mr. President, as a general proposition, what do you think of the denial of the will of the majority as expressed in the free election, even though this majority may want to promote a nondemocratic form of government?

THE PRESIDENT. Is this a—have special application to a situation?

Q. As a general proposition?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would think that—I would have to—I have stated, in answer to your question, in a general way in—I think in my interview with Mr. Adzhubei¹ where I commented on what the position of the United States is in regard to free elections and the choice of the people. And providing the free choice continues, of course, they must make their judgment. But I'd prefer to keep it—I'll be glad to talk to you about it sometime as an academic question.

[26.] Q. Mr. President, on nuclear testing, last winter from Palm Beach there was a comment that underground testing didn't particularly advance the art of weapons. Why, then, is it necessary—this may be a naive question—but why is it necessary, then, to insist on inspections which will detect every last underground test?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think our inspection system says that. I think there should be, however, a potential. And I'm not sure that we can—the view which was—which you state that I had—I think the underground tests potentially could be more rewarding than they may have been in the past, number one. We don't say they should investigate every test. There is a—I think we could—we have said we would settle for a limited number of inspections, but I don't think that we could. As we are an open society, obviously we could not test; they could test. And unless we have at least the right to, on

occasions, examine whether tests are being carried out, I would think that we were not being responsive to the security of the United States. They could carry on their underground tests, then carry them, and suddenly begin as they did their atmospheric tests, in breach of the treaty, in breach, certainly, of the understanding of the moratorium last summer. So that I think we have to have some inspection.

[27.] Q. Mr. President, there are a number of bills before Congress urging Federal aid for construction of new State hospitals for the treatment of narcotic addicts. Would you indicate your attitude toward such legislation?

THE PRESIDENT. There is legislation which has been—

Q. It proposes—

THE PRESIDENT. —building the hospital in New York?

Q. —building of new State hospitals for treatment of narcotics addicts.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Well, I would certainly support a sufficient number of hospital beds to provide effective treatment for addicts. And if our hospitals in Texas and Kentucky, our two hospitals are not sufficient, I will certainly support others. And I know that there's been a good deal of interest in the hospital in New York, which is now being examined.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's twenty-ninth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 11 o'clock on Thursday morning, March 29, 1962.

116 Statement by the President on Nuclear Test Inspection.

March 29, 1962

I STATED on March 2, the United States earnestly desires a test ban treaty with effective controls.² The essential element upon which the United States has insisted, however, is that there be an objective interna-

tional system for ensuring that the ban against testing is being complied with. This means that there should be an international organization for operating seismic stations and for verifying that seismic events have been detected, located and are appropriate for inspection. Most important of all, the

¹ See 1961 volume, this series, Item 483.

² See Item 71.

organization should have the power to conduct a limited number of on-site inspections to verify whether a seismic event was an earthquake or an explosion. Without these inspections there can be no confidence in any system of detection, because it will not tell us whether an underground event is a nuclear explosion or an earthquake.

On this subject one must distinguish carefully between detection and identification. We can detect and locate significant underground events by seismic means, but of course the same seismic means detect many shallow earthquakes. The problem is to identify a particular detected event as an explosion or as an earthquake. Seismic means alone simply will not do the job. This matter has been reviewed again and again by the best technical minds of the United States and Great Britain, and the answer is always the same. And no serious technical evidence to the contrary has been produced by any other country. A few of the larger earthquakes can be identified as such, and very large underground tests outside of seismic areas can be identified with a high measure of probability; this was the case with the Soviet test on February 2nd. But the seismic records from the large majority of the events are such that they could be from either earthquakes or explosions. In other words they cannot be identified.

The only way we know to perform this identification is to have a scientific team go to the site of the event and examine it. By studying the rocks and the radioactivity and by drilling holes one can find out with satisfactory certainty whether it was an explosion. This is the on-site inspection which we insist is the only way to verify the character of an underground event.

Now the Soviet Government objects to our April 1961 draft treaty on the test ban quite simply because it provides for international inspection in Soviet territory. It objects specifically to having any control posts for test detection in their territory. This is a sharp and inexplicable regression from the Soviet position of even a year ago. In addi-

tion, the Soviets object to any on-site inspections whatsoever.

In earlier years the Soviet Government, at all levels, clearly accepted both the idea of control posts and the basic principle of on-site inspection. Now it is claimed that such control posts and inspections are useful only for purposes of espionage.

As Mr. Rusk pointed out in Geneva last Friday, such fears of espionage from the proposed system of control and inspection are wholly unjustified.

Members of fixed control posts would be under Soviet supervision at all times and could go nowhere at all without Soviet approval. Members of inspection teams would be under constant Soviet observation and would be limited to the execution of technical tasks in an area which, at the very most, would never exceed more than one part in 2000 of Soviet territory in any year—and most of this work would be done in the earthquake areas of the USSR, far from centers of military or industrial activity. Finally, occasional air sampling teams would fly in Soviet planes under fully controlled conditions. I submit that no one interested in espionage would go at it by the means of control and inspection worked out in this treaty after years of effort involving Soviet scientists as well as our own.

Nevertheless the Soviet Government is now absolutely opposed not only to this particular system of inspection, carefully supervised and narrowly limited as it is, but to any inspection at all. This position has been made very clear both publicly and privately—most plainly by Mr. Gromyko on the United Nations radio on March 27.

We know of no way to verify underground nuclear explosions without inspections, and we cannot at this time enter into a treaty without the ability and right of international verification. Hence we seem to be at a real impasse. Nevertheless, I want to repeat with emphasis our desire for an effective treaty and our readiness to conclude such a treaty at the earliest possible time.

117 Remarks on the 20th Anniversary of the Inter-American Defense Board. *March 29, 1962*

General, gentlemen:

I want to express my great pleasure at welcoming you to the White House on the occasion of your 20th anniversary.

As you know, I have been and this Government is extremely interested in building stronger and stronger ties between the countries of this hemisphere. I consider it our most direct responsibility. And therefore this Board, which I feel plays a most important part in binding us closer together and providing the kind of security behind which a more happy life can be provided for our people, this work is most vital.

As the General said, the kind of aggression which we were threatened with 20 years ago, when the Board was founded, is different from the kind of aggression and subversion which threatens the hemisphere today. We meet new techniques—though the general threat in a sense is unchanged. But these new techniques require the most sophisticated, informed judgments; it requires a knowledge far beyond the usual technical subjects which occupy so much of our military studies, requires a knowledge of political, social, and economic conditions, requires

a knowledge of the past as well as the future—so that this is a great challenge for us all. And I am delighted, therefore, to welcome you here.

I am particularly interested in the resolutions which you have passed to make more effective use of our military forces for social work, economic work—the kind of work that our engineers do and the kind of work your engineers do.

Also I want you to know that we are putting great emphasis on the Inter-American Defense College at Fort McNair, which we are giving strong support to and which I think can serve as an admirable center for a study of the methods by which the new aggression can be countered.

So, gentlemen, you are most welcome—on behalf of yourselves and your own work and on behalf of our sister Republics which you represent.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in the Rose Garden at the White House. His opening word "General" referred to Lt. Gen. Robert W. Burns, USAF, Chairman, Inter-American Defense Board, who had made a few introductory remarks on the work of the Board.

118 Special Message to the Congress Transmitting Reorganization Plan 2 of 1962. *March 29, 1962*

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1962, prepared in accordance with the provisions of the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended, and providing for certain reorganizations in the field of science and technology.

Part I of the reorganization plan establishes the Office of Science and Technology as a new unit within the Executive Office of the President; places at the head thereof a Director appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate

and makes provision for a Deputy Director similarly appointed; and transfers to the Director certain functions of the National Science Foundation under sections 3(a)(1) and 3(a)(6) of the National Science Foundation Act of 1950.

The new arrangements incorporated in Part I of the reorganization plan will constitute an important development in executive branch organization for science and technology. Under those arrangements the President will have permanent staff resources capable of advising and assisting him on

matters of national policy affected by or pertaining to science and technology. Considering the rapid growth and far-reaching scope of Federal activities in science and technology, it is imperative that the President have adequate staff support in developing policies and evaluating programs in order to assure that science and technology are used most effectively in the interests of national security and general welfare.

To this end it is contemplated that the Director will assist the President in discharging the responsibility of the President for the proper coordination of Federal science and technology functions. More particularly, it is expected that he will advise and assist the President as the President may request with respect to:

(1) Major policies, plans and programs of science and technology of the various agencies of the Federal Government, giving appropriate emphasis to the relationship of science and technology to national security and foreign policy, and measures for furthering science and technology in the Nation.

(2) Assessment of selected scientific and technical developments and programs in relation to their impact on national policies.

(3) Review, integration, and coordination of major Federal activities in science and technology, giving due consideration to the effects of such activities on non-Federal resources and institutions.

(4) Assuring that good and close relations exist with the Nation's scientific and engineering communities so as to further in every appropriate way their participation in strengthening science and technology in the United States and the Free World.

(5) Such other matters consonant with law as may be assigned by the President to the Office.

The ever-growing significance and complexity of Federal programs in science and technology have in recent years necessitated the taking of several steps for improving the organizational arrangements of the executive branch in relation to science and technology:

(1) The National Science Foundation

was established in 1950. The Foundation was created to meet a widely recognized need for an organization to develop and encourage a national policy for the promotion of basic research and education in the sciences, to support basic research, to evaluate research programs undertaken by Federal agencies, and to perform related functions.

(2) The Office of the Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology was established in 1957. The Special Assistant serves as Chairman of both the President's Science Advisory Committee and the Federal Council for Science and Technology, mentioned below.

(3) At the same time, the Science Advisory Committee, composed of eminent non-Government scientists and engineers, and located within the Office of Defense Mobilization, was reconstituted in the White House Office as the President's Science Advisory Committee.

(4) The Federal Council for Science and Technology, composed of policy officials of the principal agencies engaged in scientific and technical activities, was established in 1959.

The National Science Foundation has proved to be an effective instrument for administering sizable programs in support of basic research and education in the sciences and has set an example for other agencies through the administration of its own programs. However, the Foundation, being at the same organizational level as other agencies, cannot satisfactorily coordinate Federal science policies or evaluate programs of other agencies. Science policies, transcending agency lines, need to be coordinated and shaped at the level of the Executive Office of the President drawing upon many resources both within and outside of Government. Similarly, staff efforts at that higher level are required for the evaluation of Government programs in science and technology.

Thus, the further steps contained in Part I of the reorganization plan are now needed in order to meet most effectively new and

expanding requirements brought about by the rapid and far-reaching growth of the Government's research and development programs. These requirements call for the further strengthening of science organization at the Presidential level and for the adjustment of the Foundation's role to reflect changed conditions. The Foundation will continue to originate policy proposals and recommendations concerning the support of basic research and education in the sciences, and the new Office will look to the Foundation to provide studies and information on which sound national policies in science and technology can be based.

Part I of the reorganization plan will permit some strengthening of the staff and consultant resources now available to the President in respect of scientific and technical factors affecting executive branch policies and will also facilitate communication with the Congress.

Part II of the reorganization plan provides for certain reorganizations within the National Science Foundation which will strengthen the capability of the Director of the Foundation to exert leadership and otherwise further the effectiveness of administration of the Foundation. Specifically:

(1) There is established a new office of Director of the National Science Foundation and that Director, *ex officio*, is made a member of the National Science Board on a basis coordinate with that of other Board members.

(2) There is substituted for the now-existing Executive Committee of the National Science Board a new Executive Committee composed of the Director of the National Science Foundation, *ex officio*, as a voting member and chairman of the Committee, and of four other members elected by the National Science Board from among its appointive members.

(3) Committees advisory to each of the

divisions of the Foundation will make their recommendations to the Director only rather than to both the Director and the National Science Board.

After investigation I have found and hereby declare that each reorganization included in Reorganization Plan No. 2 of 1962 is necessary to accomplish one or more of the purposes set forth in section 2(a) of the Reorganization Act of 1949, as amended.

I have found and hereby declare that it is necessary to include in the reorganization plan, by reason of reorganizations made thereby, provisions for the appointment and compensation of the Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Science and Technology and of the Director of the National Science Foundation. The rate of compensation fixed for each of these officers is that which I have found to prevail in respect of comparable officers in the executive branch of the Government.

The functions abolished by the provisions of section 23(b) of the reorganization plan are provided for in sections 4(a), 5(a), 6(a), 6(b), and 8(d) of the National Science Foundation Act of 1950.

The taking effect of the reorganizations included in the reorganization plan will provide sound organizational arrangements and will make possible more effective and efficient administration of Government programs in science and technology. It is, however, impracticable to itemize at this time the reductions in expenditures which it is probable will be brought about by such taking effect.

I recommend that the Congress allow the reorganization plan to become effective.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Reorganization Plan 2 of 1962 is published in the Federal Register (27 F.R. 5419). It became effective on June 8, 1962.

119 Statement by the President Upon Appointing Byron White to the Supreme Court. *March 30, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT of the United States has few more exacting responsibilities than the appointment of justices to the United States Supreme Court. I am delighted to announce today that Byron White, the Deputy Attorney General of the United States, has accepted appointment as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. I have known Mr. White for over twenty years. His character, experience and intellectual force qualify him superbly for service on the nation's highest tribunal.

His varied experience in legal practice, in government, and in the Navy—in addition to his remarkable scholarly accomplishments

and his service as law clerk to Chief Justice Vinson—have given him a humane and understanding approach to people and to problems. He has excelled in everything he has attempted—in his academic life, in his military service, in his career before the bar and in the federal government—and I know that he will excel on the highest court in the land. I am gratified, in addition, that the American Bar Association has rated Mr. White as “exceptionally well qualified” for his new responsibilities.

NOTE: The statement was read by the President to a group of newsmen called into his office at the White House during the evening.

120 Statement by the President on the Need for Extending the Unemployment Compensation Program. *March 31, 1962*

IN MY LETTER to the Congress on March 12, I expressed my concern about the effect on the large number of long-term unemployed of the imminent expiration of the Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation program.¹ I urged therefore that early consideration be given by the Congress to the legislation calling for permanent improvement of the Federal-State unemployment insurance system.

It is becoming increasingly apparent, however, that the Committees before whom this legislation is pending have such heavy schedules that they will be unable this year to give to this legislation the consideration it deserves.

In view of the fact that the present tempo-

rary program is expiring, and in view of the dire need of the large number of long-term unemployed, I believe that something must be done immediately to help them after they exhaust regular benefits. Accordingly, I shall shortly send to the Congress recommendations for appropriately extending the Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation program, with retroactivity to those unemployed who exhaust their benefits after April 1 in order to prevent injustice pending prompt congressional action on the requested extension. About 1,500,000 long-term unemployed workers throughout the country would be aided by such an extension; and it would give the Congress the opportunity to consider my proposals for permanent improvements promptly after it convenes in January, 1963.

¹ See Item 80.

121 Telephone Messages to Labor and Management Leaders Following the Steel Settlement. *March 31, 1962*

Mr. McDonald (Mr. Cooper), your fellow officers of the United Steel workers of America (and the representatives of the steel industry) those who served on the negotiating committees, members of the International Wage Policy Committee, and all who belong to the Steel Workers' Union:

I know that I speak for every American in congratulating you on the early and responsible settlement in steel. The contract that you have agreed upon with the steel industry is a document of high industrial statesmanship.

When I appealed to you and to the industry to begin negotiations early enough to avert an inventory build-up that would have had detrimental consequences for all, I did so with firm confidence that your union and the industry would serve the national interest. That confidence has been fully justified.

Of central importance to the value of your settlement is the fact that you reached it through free collective bargaining, without the pressure of a deadline or the tension of a strike threat. It is a settlement not forced but chosen. That is the true mark of responsibility in economic life.

Under this contract, the welfare of your members, of the industry, and of the public are equally secured.

It is obviously non-inflationary and should provide a solid base for continued price stability. At the same time, it provides new and imaginative benefits in areas most vital to employees—job and income security. The vacation savings plan is a new and distinct contribution to collective bargaining. You and the industry deserve great credit for developing this imaginative program. Improvements in Supplemental Unemployment Benefits, current vacations, pensions and other rights also contribute to improving job security and in alleviating the effects of involuntary unemployment.

I am sure that the Nation will agree with me that the most notable aspect of this settlement is that it demonstrates that the national interest can be protected and the interests of the industry and of the employees forwarded through free and responsible collective bargaining.

I want again to congratulate all concerned, to extend to you the thanks of the American people, and to extend to you my very warmest personal regards.

NOTE: The President's calls were made from his office in the White House. He read the statement first to David McDonald, President, United Steelworkers of America, and then to R. Conrad Cooper, Executive Vice President, United States Steel Corporation.

122 Message to the UNESCO Meeting of Asian Ministers of Education in Tokyo. *April 1, 1962*

IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE, both personally and officially, to extend the sincere good wishes of the Government and the people of the United States to the Meeting of Ministers of Education of Asian Member States convened in Tokyo by UNESCO in association with the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

In this period of history, when the com-

plexities of national and international life require that we counsel and act together to a much greater extent than in the past, I know of few meetings more important for the future of all of us than those which deal, as does this one, with educational planning.

Education is indeed the principal means available to society to liberate individuals from hunger, ignorance, and all forms of

tyranny; and to give every individual, however humble his birth, the opportunity to develop himself as a free individual in a free society.

There is today an almost universal faith in the elevating and enriching power of education and the pursuit of knowledge. As I recently told an academic gathering at the University of California, "Knowledge, not hate, is the passkey to the future—knowledge transcends national antagonisms—it speaks a universal language—it is the possession, not of a single class, a single nation or a single ideology, but of all mankind."

The U.S. Observer Delegation, which we are honored to send to this Meeting, will put its principal emphasis on the greater development of human resources as an essential foundation for national growth and progress. We are pleased to note that economists and educators alike, throughout the world, are attaching increased importance to such development.

We in America share with you the vision of the revolutionary role which education can play in building strong, free, and independent nations. We have a profound conviction that education is not a secondary asset for a nation's independence and growth, but the very lifestream of its development—political, economic, social, and spiritual. It is in this spirit that I wish to express, on behalf of the American people and myself, our sincere hope that this Meeting attains every possible measure of success.

NOTE: Members of the U.S. Observer Delegation were Charles B. Fahs, U.S. Information Service, Tokyo, who served as Chairman; Robert H. B. Wade, Special Assistant, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, who served as Vice Chairman; James H. Faulhaber, Office of Financial Support, Agency for International Development; Joseph B. Jarvis, Special Assistant to the Commissioner of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and William A. Wolfner, Office of Technical Support, Agency for International Development. The meeting was held in Tokyo April 2-11.

123 Statement by the President on the 50th Anniversary of the
International Joint Commission, United States and Canada.
April 2, 1962

FIFTY YEARS ago today, the International Joint Commission, a body provided for by the International Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, held its first semiannual meeting. This institution, which was created with the objective of resolving amicably disputes and problems confronting the two nations with regard to the lakes and rivers common to both of them, has had a distinguished record. It has set a standard for later organizations created by Canada and the United States for the resolution of problems and for the development of common policies. The International Joint Commission worked on a very large number of problems and projects dealing with water resources. The Commis-

sion's studies and recommendations have served as a basis for important agreements which have brought great profit to both the United States and Canada.

These quiet but important efforts deserve recognition, as do the present Chairman of the United States Section of the International Joint Commission, the Honorable Teno Roncalio, and his Commissioners, and the distinguished Chairman of the Canadian Section, General Andrew G. L. McNaughton, and his colleagues. It is certainly the hope of everyone that the International Joint Commission will, in the next half century, continue its record of outstanding achievement.

124 Remarks of Welcome to President Goulart of Brazil at
Andrews Air Force Base. *April 3, 1962*

Mr. President, members of your administration:

It is a great satisfaction to me to welcome you to the United States, to have this opportunity to discuss with you the great opportunities as well as responsibilities which our two countries face in the days ahead in this great hemisphere.

It has been a source of pride to us that the United States was the first country early in the nineteenth century to recognize your country as an independent and sovereign state. And from that time till the present the United States and Brazil have moved hand in hand together—in war as allies during two great struggles for freedom, and in peace in a common effort to build a better life for the people who live in our countries and who live in our hemisphere.

Twenty-six years ago, President Franklin Roosevelt, in visiting Brazil during the administration of President Vargas, committed the United States to a great national and international effort to provide a more prosperous and fruitful life for the people of the Western Hemisphere.

Brazil has attempted, in the years since then, to do that within her own country and within Latin America in Operation Pan America. And we have been attempting together in the Alianza para Progreso in the last 15 months to work together for that effort: to provide housing for our people, education for our children, employment for our workers, security for our older citizens, a better and more secure life for our farmers—to realize in this hemisphere the hope of those who originally came here so many centuries ago.

So, Mr. President, we look to the future and we look to the future with hope, and our hope comes in part because of the leadership

that you are giving to your own great country.

We value this visit, and we want you to know that we extend the hand of friendship to you and to the people of your great country who occupy such a position of significance today on the world scene.

Mr. President, you are most welcome!

NOTE: President Goulart responded (through an interpreter) as follows:

Mr. President:

It is with deep emotion that I am thanking you for the very generous words you have just spoken addressed to the Brazilian Government and addressed to the Brazilian people.

I am very glad to have this opportunity to visit this great and friendly nation, attending your very kind invitation, an invitation which bears witness to the fact that the people of the United States hold the people of Brazil in the very greatest of esteem.

President Kennedy, the people of Brazil still remember with great emotion that momentous meeting of two great Presidents, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and President Getulio Vargas. And at the time this meeting of those two Presidents consecrated the unity of our two countries in the struggle for the defense of liberty and democracy, and also the peoples who were present in that struggle, as the men of our two countries shed their blood on the battlefield in that defense of democracy and liberty, a feeling which is deeply rooted in the very soul and the consciousness of the Brazilian people.

I am very grateful for this invitation, President Kennedy, and I am bringing to you, together with my own personal greeting, a very warm greeting from the people of Brazil—from the people of Brazil in all walks of life, and they are bringing this greeting to the courageous and extraordinary people of the United States, which are being led with such distinction and such courage and such vision by the competent statesman that is President Kennedy.

It is my hope and my certainty that this visit is going to strengthen evermore the ties that unite our great countries, and that this visit is also served as an incentive for greater friendship and greater understanding among the nations of the Americas.

125 Toasts of the President and President Goulart.

April 3, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

I know that I speak for all of us in welcoming our distinguished guest, the President, here to the White House.

Brazil and the United States have been very intimately bound together, but I don't think it's explained so much by geography because, after all, we are separated by great distances, nor is it represented, I think, by a common cultural experience, because our cultural experience has been somewhat different. I think what has bound us together is the sense of great adventure by those who settled both our countries, in coming to the New World for a similar purpose which was a free life.

The purpose of the governments of Brazil and the United States since revolutionary days has been to maintain that free life. Our task I believe, Mr. President, is to prove that the free life and the abundant life go hand in hand. And that is the central responsibility, of course, of those who occupy positions of responsibility in the Americas in the sixties—to prove that prosperity and the fruitful experience go hand in hand with liberty.

If we can do that, we shall have succeeded. If we cannot do that, then of course our failure will be most awesome.

So I am delighted to have you visit the United States. Our relations are that of allies and partners by choice, and I hope that in the coming months and years that

it would be possible for us to work more and more intimately together for the best interests not only of this hemisphere but of the entire free world.

Mr. President, we also want to express our high esteem for you personally for having taken over the affairs of your country at a critical time, and having worked as vigorously as you have to bring the promises of freedom to your people. This is what we want to do here. So we welcome you, a long way from your country.

I hope all of you will now join and drink with me to the people of Brazil, its government—and particularly to the President.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House.

In his response (through an interpreter) President Goulart referred to the difficult moment in the history of Brazil when his administration came into office in 1961. "But it is gratifying to remember here," he added, "that the people of Brazil showed at that moment a deep and abiding love for democratic institutions, and showed their determination to fight in every possible way, even at the cost of great sacrifices, so that freedom and democracy would continue to survive."

Speaking of Washington as a beautiful city and as the living symbol of the democratic world, President Goulart concluded by stating that Brazil looked to U.S. participation in world affairs with great hopes and expectations. "We are looking at the plans you are making, particularly the Alliance for Progress, as a great contribution to making life in the Americas ever closer to that in the United States—and to help Latin American nations come ever closer towards total economic fulfillment."

126 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Goulart of Brazil. *April 4, 1962*

THE MEETINGS of the President of the United States of Brazil and the President of the United States of America during the past two days have been marked by a spirit of frankness, cordiality, and mutual understanding. During their talks the two Presi-

dents examined relations between their two countries with respect to topics of world-wide and hemispheric, as well as bilateral, concern. On the conclusion of these extremely fruitful talks, they agreed to publish the following joint communique:

They reaffirm that the traditional friendship between Brazil and the United States has grown through the years as a consequence of the faithfulness of the Brazilian and the American peoples to common ideals of representative democracy and social progress, to mutual respect between the two nations, and to their determination that both Governments work together in the cause of peace and freedom.

The two Presidents declared that political democracy, national independence and self-determination, and the liberty of the individual are the political principles which shape the national policies of Brazil and the United States. Both countries are joined in a worldwide effort to bring about the economic progress and social justice which are the only secure foundations for human freedom.

The Presidents discussed the participation of their countries in the Geneva disarmament talks and agreed to continue to work to reduce world tensions through negotiations insuring progressive disarmament under effective international control. Resources freed as a result of such disarmament should be used for peaceful purposes which will benefit peoples everywhere.

The two Presidents reaffirmed the dedication of their countries to the Inter-American system and to the values of human dignity, liberty, and progress on which that system is based. They expressed their intention to strengthen the Inter-American machinery for regional cooperation, and to work together to protect this hemisphere against all forms of aggression. They also expressed their concern that political crises in American nations be resolved through peaceful adherence to constitutional government, the rule of law, and consent of the people expressed through the democratic processes.

The Presidents reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of the Charter of Punta del Este and their intention to carry forward the commitments which they assumed under that Charter. They agreed on the need for rapid execution of the steps necessary to make the Alliance for Progress effective—na-

tional programming to concentrate resources on high priority objectives of economic and social progress; institutional reforms, including reform of the agrarian structure, tax reform, and other changes required to assure a broad distribution of the fruits of development among all sectors of the community; and international financial and technical assistance to accelerate the accomplishment of national development programs.

The Presidents stressed the important role which trade unions operating under democratic principles should play in advancing the goals of the Alliance for Progress.

President Goulart stated the intention of the Government of Brazil to strengthen the machinery for national programming, selection of priorities and preparation of projects. President Kennedy indicated the readiness of the United States Government to assign representatives to work closely with such Brazilian agencies to minimize delays in project selection and the provision of external support.

The Presidents noted with satisfaction the effective cooperation of the two Governments in working out an agreement for large-scale United States support of the Brazilian Government's program for development of the Northeast of Brazil. They expressed the hope that this program would provide a fruitful response at an early date to the aspirations of the hard-pressed people of that area for a better life.

The President of Brazil stated the intention of his Government to maintain conditions of security which will permit private capital to perform its vital role in Brazilian economic development. The President of Brazil stated that in arrangements with the companies for the transfer of public utility enterprises to Brazilian ownership the principle of fair compensation with reinvestment in other sectors important to Brazilian economic development would be maintained. President Kennedy expressed great interest in this approach.

The two Presidents discussed the efforts which the Government of Brazil has under-

taken for a program of financial recovery, aiming at holding down the cost of living and assuring a rapid rate of economic growth and social development in a context of a balanced economy. The Government of Brazil has already taken significant action under this program. The Presidents agreed that these efforts, effectively carried through, will mark an important forward step under the Alliance for Progress. The Presidents welcomed the understanding recently reached between the Brazilian Finance Minister and the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, under which the United States is providing support for the program which has been presented by the Government of Brazil.

In order to promote the expansion of Latin American markets and to encourage the most efficient use of available resources, the two Presidents indicated their support for the Latin American free trade area and their intention to speed its development and strengthening.

The two Presidents discussed the major

aspects of the problem of raw materials and primary products. They decided to give full support to the completion of a world-wide agreement on coffee, which is now in process of negotiation. They will jointly support representation to the European economic community looking toward the elimination of excessive excise taxes which limit the sales of such products and customs discrimination which reduces the ready access to European markets for the basic products of Latin American origin.

In conclusion, the two Presidents agreed that their exchange of views had confirmed the close relations between their two governments and nations. President Kennedy reaffirmed his country's commitment to assist the Government of Brazil in its efforts to achieve its people's aspirations for economic progress and social justice. The two Presidents restated their conviction that the destiny of the hemisphere lay in the collaboration of nations united in faith in individual liberty, free institutions and human dignity.

127 Remarks to Representatives of State Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committees. *April 4, 1962*

Mr. Secretary, Under Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Congressman Jensen, ladies and gentlemen:

First, I want to express what I think is the appreciation of all those who are concerned about the welfare of the farmers to our distinguished Secretary, who has worked I think tirelessly. Even though he may not have always proposed programs which every farmer agrees with, I think every farmer does agree that they have now a Secretary of Agriculture who is committed to their progress.

I do want to also tell you how pleased I am to welcome you, and how much we depend upon you. This tremendous increase in productivity in American farms, which has been the result of your work and, that of your predecessors, is really the most astonishing phenomenon in the free world;

and it has been the source of the greatest pride and satisfaction to us.

This is one area where our production serves as the strongest magnet to people all over the world who stand in a crossroads, attempting to decide which road they shall travel.

Our problem is one of overproduction, one of our ability to produce more than we can consume at reasonable prices. The problem of our adversary is, of course, underproduction. And where we have a world in which in so many areas 50, 60, 70, or 80 percent of the people in every nation are committed to the growth of food, this is bound to have the most impressive effects.

So that when we talk about agriculture we should talk about it with pride and not always talk about it as one of our great problems or burdens. It is, really, one of the

great success stories of the United States—and of the whole free world.

In addition, we have to recognize that with this great success story there has come special responsibilities upon us as a people. The Federal Government, after all, is not an organic entity itself, but it is the common interests of all the people, and therefore we are concerned because we depend upon the farmers as consumers. The farmers themselves, who work long and hard, as you know better than anyone, must be assured, for their labor, of an adequate return. And that is what we are attempting to provide.

Now we have to attempt within our governmental policies to provide an adequate balance between supply and demand. If the Government should withdraw its efforts, as some people favor, then there would be a collapse of farm prices, as we saw in the twenties, and disaster would follow from the farms to the cities.

If the Federal Government's policies are merely ineffective, we will have the surpluses piling up, the tremendous cost to the taxpayers, until ultimately the people who live in other sections of the country will grow tired and weary and will refuse to support agricultural policies that promise no solution.

So that we have to promise that there is going to be a solution, that the costs may be high, but at least we are moving towards an adjustment between supply and demand which will protect the interests of the farmer and the consumer and also protect the interests of all the people expressed through their National Government.

We depend upon you to help us achieve that balance, which is most difficult. If it were easy it would have been done long ago—others have tried and failed and the farmers paid a heavy cost in that failure.

We are attempting to meet a problem which is difficult, which is challenging, but nevertheless a problem which I think we can meet. And as I say, while you are prohibited by custom and law, quite rightly,

from involving yourselves in any particular agricultural program, or recommending it, or lobbying it, nevertheless we do value very highly the communication which goes from here to you, because you are our most direct link with the farmers themselves—and you are all farmers—and also what comes from you to us.

Your help last year in the feed grain program was greatly appreciated. It helped insure its success, and we are therefore particularly glad that in the spring—which is the great time of the year for farmers—that you have come to Washington for 2 days to exchange your views with the Secretary.

I hope this will be an exchange not merely from us to you but from you to us, because we live in a rather isolated area. It's not a particularly agricultural center here in Washington, and we depend upon you to tell us what farmers are thinking—not merely what we hear through their organizations and the leaders of their organizations, but what they themselves are thinking. And that's where you serve a most valuable purpose.

We hope you will also see the Members of Congress and acquaint them and the Senators. We don't want them to be, as the Secretary said, lonesome.

I want to tell you again how glad we are to welcome you here. I see some familiar faces, and I hope you will go back from Washington and tell the farmers of America that we are genuinely concerned about their progress, that our efforts are genuinely directed towards insuring their welfare—and that the Secretary of Agriculture represents the farmers in this administration.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke on the South Lawn at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture, Charles S. Murphy, Under Secretary of Agriculture, John P. Duncan, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for Marketing and Stabilization, and Ben F. Jensen, U.S. Representative from Iowa.

128 Letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House Transmitting Bill To Create a Land Conservation Fund.

April 4, 1962

Dear Mr. ————:

Implementing one of the major recommendations in my message of last month to the Congress on Conservation, I am transmitting herewith draft legislation to provide for the establishment of a land conservation fund.

The report of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, and independent recreation surveys undertaken by the National Park Service, the Forest Service, the National Recreation Association, and other public and private agencies confirm the urgent need for public action and public expenditures to acquire and preserve land and water areas of high value for public outdoor recreation purposes. It is clear that we must act now to expand existing recreational resources to meet our present and future needs.

This bill proposes a fiscally responsible means of financing the acquisition of land and water areas essential for an adequate recreational land base: national parks and areas of national scenic, scientific, historic, and recreational significance; lands of high recreation and other conservation values within the national forest system; lands for the preservation of endangered species of wildlife; and lands adjoining Federal reservoirs to assure the maximum recreation and fish and wildlife benefits for the public.

The loss and threatened loss of key public recreation sites to noncompatible uses, the steady escalation of land prices and the unmet and growing public demand combine to justify a sharply increased and regularized program of land acquisition.

The bill establishes or authorizes new revenue sources, and dedicates receipts from these and certain existing revenues to the Federal recreational lands program. Expenditures for developing suitable facilities on both existing and newly acquired areas

will not be financed by the special fund, but through the normal appropriations processes.

The four revenue sources proposed by the bill are:

1. Proceeds from entrance, admission and other recreation user fees on Federal land and water areas.

2. Proceeds from the sale of Federal surplus nonmilitary real property.

3. That portion of the gasoline excise tax for gasoline used in boats which is now refundable under existing law.

4. Revenues from a new system of annual Federal user charges on recreation boats.

The rationale underlying the selection of these revenue sources is that direct beneficiaries of recreational facilities made possible by Federal programs would prefer to have any fees or charges collected from them applied to insuring adequate recreational land and water areas for the future needs of our expanding population. In the case of receipts from the sale of surplus Federal property, it is appropriate to effect what amounts to an exchange of unneeded land for what clearly is land essential to a worthwhile Federal purpose.

Dedication of receipts from gas tax revenues paid by boat owners and operators and user charges on recreation boats to a fund of this character is especially appropriate. The services that boat owners receive from the Federal Government are of great value and, for the most part, no compensation is paid for these services. Aside from the improvements to rivers, harbors, beaches, and seashores, significant benefits to boat owners and operators are provided by the Coast Guard, for example, in the fields of navigation aids, education, rescue, safety and registration—services which must continue to be available and made even more effective as the number of boats on our lakes, rivers, and seashores increases.

Revenues realized from these sources would be deposited in a separate account in the Treasury and handled in the following manner: (a) a portion of the revenues will be transferred to the general fund of the Treasury to help offset the costs of acquiring additional lands for public recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement at Federal reservoirs, financed through project appropriations to water-resources agencies; and (b) the remaining revenues will be transferred to the Land Conservation Fund established by the bill. In addition, the legislation would authorize advance appropriations of \$500 million to the Fund to be used for an 8-year program (through fiscal year 1970) to permit the acquisition program to be initiated without delay. These advances would be repaid from the sources outlined above.

It is my intention to create a Land Conservation Commission consisting of the Secretary of the Interior, as Chairman, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of the Army to advise me on the establishment of user fees on Federal land and water areas which would be authorized by the bill and on the division of the revenues between the Land Conservation Fund and general treasury receipts.

The proposed Land Conservation Fund is for the acquisition of lands by the Federal Government. But, as the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission emphasizes, State and local governments must also increase their investment in recreational lands and waters if national needs are to be met. Indeed, the greatest portion of the

burden must ultimately be borne by State and local governments.

Local governments are now assisted in the acquisition of urban open space under provisions of the Housing Act of 1961, and new legislation is being proposed in keeping with the recommendation in my message on Conservation to assist the States through matching grants for comprehensive statewide outdoor recreation planning.

It has been traditional to regard the out-of-doors as "free." In fact, however, outdoor recreation programs have been supported through a combination of general revenues and special levies such as National Park admission fees, fishing and hunting stamps and licenses, and Federal excise taxes on fishing tackle and sporting arms and ammunition. This bill broadens the application of established principles as a means of assuring continued outdoor recreation opportunity.

In conserving our national outdoors areas, opportunities delayed generally mean opportunities lost. The need is both real and immediate. I urge prompt and favorable action on these proposals.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The report of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, transmitted to the President on January 31, 1962, is entitled "Outdoor Recreation for America" (Government Printing Office, 1962, 246 pp.).

129 Special Message to the Congress on Transportation.

April 5, 1962

To the Congress of the United States:

An efficient and dynamic transportation system is vital to our domestic economic growth, productivity and progress. Affecting the cost of every commodity we consume or export, it is equally vital to our ability to

compete abroad. It influences both the cost and the flexibility of our defense preparedness, and both the business and recreational opportunities of our citizens. This Nation has long enjoyed one of the most highly developed and diversified transportation sys-

terms in the world, and this system has helped us to achieve a highly efficient utilization of our manpower and resources.

Transportation is thus an industry which serves, and is affected with, the national interest. Federal laws and policies have expressed the national interest in transportation particularly in the last 80 years: through the promotion and development of transportation facilities, such as highways, airways, and waterways; through the regulation of rates and services; and through general governmental policies relating to taxation, procurement, labor and competition. A comprehensive program for transportation must consider all of these elements of public policy.

During the last session of Congress, action was taken to place our Federal-aid highway program on a sounder fiscal basis. Initial steps were taken to improve the operations of our regulatory agencies through reorganization. A beginning was also made toward meeting the needs of our cities for mass transportation. By Executive Order, I recently assigned to the Department of Commerce authority for emergency transportation planning.

But pressing problems are burdening our national transportation system, jeopardizing the progress and security on which we depend. A chaotic patchwork of inconsistent and often obsolete legislation and regulation has evolved from a history of specific actions addressed to specific problems of specific industries at specific times. This patchwork does not fully reflect either the dramatic changes in technology of the past half-century or the parallel changes in the structure of competition.

The regulatory commissions are required to make thousands of detailed decisions based on out-of-date standards. The management of the various modes of transportation is subjected to excessive, cumbersome and time-consuming regulatory supervision that shackles and distorts managerial initiative. Some parts of the transportation in-

dustry are restrained unnecessarily; others are promoted or taxed unevenly and inconsistently.

Some carriers are required to provide, at a loss, services for which there is little demand. Some carriers are required to charge rates which are high in relation to cost in order to shelter competing carriers. Some carriers are prevented from making full use of their capacity by restrictions on freedom to solicit business or adjust rates. Restraints on cost-reducing rivalry in rate-making often cause competition to take the form of cost-increasing rivalry—such as excessive promotion and traffic solicitation, or excessive frequency of service. Some carriers are subject to rate regulation on the transportation of particular commodities while other carriers, competing for the same traffic, are exempt. Some carriers benefit from public facilities provided for their use, while others do not; and of those enjoying the use of public facilities, some bear a large part of the cost, while others bear little or none.

No simple Federal solution can end the problems of any particular company or mode of transportation. On the contrary, I am convinced that less Federal regulation and subsidization is in the long run a prime prerequisite of a healthy inter-city transportation network. The constructive efforts of State and local governments as well as the transportation industry will also be needed to revitalize our transportation services.

This Administration's study of long-range transportation needs and policies convinces me that current Federal policies must be reshaped in the most fundamental and far-reaching fashion. While recognizing that a revision of the magnitude required is a task to which the Congress will wish to devote considerable time and effort, I believe the recommendations below are of sufficient urgency and importance that the Congress should begin consideration of them at the earliest practicable date. If direct and decisive action is not taken in the near future, the undesirable developments, inefficiencies,

inequities, and other undesirable conditions that confront us now will cause permanent loss of essential services or require even more difficult and costly solutions in the not-too-distant future.

A BASIC NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION POLICY

The basic objective of our nation's transportation system must be to assure the availability of the fast, safe and economical transportation services needed in a growing and changing economy to move people and goods, without waste or discrimination, in response to private and public demands at the lowest cost consistent with health, convenience, national security and other broad public objectives. Investment or capacity should be neither substantially above nor substantially below these requirements—for chronic excess capacity involves misuse of resources, and lack of adequate capacity jeopardizes progress. The resources devoted to provision of transportation service should be used in the most effective and efficient manner possible; and this, in turn, means that users of transport facilities should be provided with incentives to use whatever form of transportation which provides them with the service they desire at the lowest total cost, both public and private.

This basic objective can and must be achieved primarily by continued reliance on unsubsidized privately-owned facilities, operating under the incentives of private profit and the checks of competition to the maximum extent practicable. The role of public policy should be to provide a consistent and comprehensive framework of equal competitive opportunity that will achieve this objective at the lowest economic and social cost to the nation.

This means a more coordinated Federal policy and a less segmented approach. It means equality of opportunity for all forms of transportation and their users and undue preference to none. It means greater reliance on the forces of competition and less reliance on the restraints of regulation. And

it means that, to the extent possible, the users of transportation services should bear the full costs of the services they use, whether those services are provided privately or publicly.

For some seventy-five years, common carriage was developed by the intention of Congress and the requirements of the public as the core of our transport system. This pattern of commerce is changing—the common carrier is declining in status and stature with the consequent growth of the private and exempt carrier. To a large extent this change is attributable to the failure of Federal policies and regulation to adjust to the needs of the shipping and consuming public; to a large extent it is attributable to the fact that the burdens of regulation are handicapping the certificated common carrier in his efforts to meet his unregulated competition. Whatever the cause, the common carrier with his obligation to serve all shippers—large or small—on certain routes at known tariffs and without any discrimination performs an essential function that should not be extinguished.

Considerable research and analysis, going far beyond our present findings, will be required before we know enough about the costs and other characteristics of various forms of transportation to guarantee the achievement of these objectives in full. In the meantime, it is clear that the following fundamental reforms in our transportation policy are needed now.

PART I. INTERCITY TRANSPORTATION

Our system of intercity public transportation—including railroads, trucks, buses, ships and barges, airplanes and pipelines—is seriously weakened today by artificial distortions and inefficiencies inherent in existing Federal policies. Built up over the years, they can be removed only gradually if we are to mitigate the hardships that are bound to arise in any program of far-reaching adjustment.

As an initial step, I am requesting the

Chairmen of the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Maritime Commission to meet at frequent intervals to discuss regulatory problems affecting the various modes of transportation and to seek coordinated solutions in the form of legislation or administrative action that will improve the regulatory process.

(A) Equal competitive opportunity under diminished regulation.

(1) Bulk commodities—At present, the transportation of bulk commodities by water carriers is exempt from all rate regulation under the Interstate Commerce Act, including the approval of minimum rates; but this exemption is denied to all other modes of transportation. This is clearly inequitable both to the latter and to shippers—and it is an inequity which should be removed. Extending to all other carriers the exemption from the approval or prescription of minimum rates would permit the forces of competition and equal opportunity to replace cumbersome regulation for these commodities, while protecting the public interest by leaving intact the ICC's control over maximum railroad rates and other safeguards (such as the prohibition against discrimination, and requirements on car service and common carrier responsibility). While this would be the preferable way to eliminate the existing inequality, Congress could elect to place all carriers on an equal footing by repealing the existing exemption—although this would result in more, instead of less, regulation and very likely in higher though more stable rates. Whichever alternative is adopted, these commodities are too important a part of carrier traffic to continue to be governed so unequally by Federal rate regulation.

(2) Agricultural and fishery products—An exemption similar to that described above, and now available only to motor carriers and freight forwarders, relates to agricultural and fishery products. This exemption from minimum rates should also be

extended to all carriers. Here, too, the ICC should retain control of maximum railroad rates and certain other controls to protect the public interest in those areas where there is no effective truck or water carrier competition to keep rates down.

The combined effect of extending these bulk and agricultural exemptions will be to reduce drastically and equalize fairly the regulation of freight rates in this country. Freed to exercise normal managerial initiative, carriers will be able to rationalize their operations and reduce costs; and shippers should consequently enjoy a wider choice, improved service and lower rates.

(3) Intercity passenger rates—The traveling public, like the commercial shipper, is also uninterested in paying higher rates to subsidize weak segments of the transportation industry. Chronic over-capacity and deficits can be ended in the long run only in an industry made fit, lean and progressive by vigorous competition and innovation. But this is not possible as long as Federal agencies fix uniform minimum rates for passenger travel. I recommend, therefore, that the Congress enact legislation which would eventually limit the control of intercity passenger rates to the establishment of maximum rates only. In the case of the airlines, it may be preferable to initiate this program on a gradual or temporary basis under existing authority.

To prevent the absence of minimum rate regulation under the above three proposals from resulting in predatory, discriminatory trade practices or rate wars reflecting monopolistic ambitions rather than true efficiency, the Congress should make certain that such practices by carriers freed from minimum rate regulations would be covered by existing laws against monopoly and predatory trade practices.

While the above three recommendations relate to the most critical—and controversial—problems of unnecessary or unequal regulatory curbs on transportation, other changes in the Interstate Commerce Act and the Federal Aviation Act are needed con-

sistent with these same principles. I recommend that legislation be enacted to:

(4) Assure all carriers the right to ship vehicles or containers on the carriers of other branches of the transportation industry at the same rates available to non-carrier shippers. This change will put the various carriers in a position of equality with freight forwarders and other shippers in the use of the promising and fast-growing piggyback and related techniques.

(5) Repeal the provision of the Interstate Commerce Act which now prevents a railroad from hauling cargo it owns. The need for this provision, which goes back to the days of oppressive railroad monopoly, has largely passed; and its current effect is to handicap the railroads in competing with other modes of transportation. The anti-trust laws can insure protection against the possible abuse by a railroad of its dual status as shipper and carrier.

(6) Direct the regulatory agencies to sanction experimental freight rates, modifications and variations in existing systems of classification and documentation, and new kinds or combinations of service.

(B) Consistent policies of taxation and user charges.

The same accidents of circumstance that have molded our transportation regulatory policies and programs have largely determined specific transportation taxes. As a result, inequities have developed and in some instances have persisted for many years.

(1) Transportation excise tax. I have already recommended repeal of the 10 percent passenger transportation tax. This tax, a vestige of World War II and the Korean War, has undoubtedly discriminated against public transportation in favor of the automobile. I again recommend repeal of this tax to improve the competitive position of intercity railroad and bus passenger transportation systems, which generally are not publicly supported, and to clear the way for an equi-

table system of user charges for aviation.

(2) Aviation. For commercial airlines, I have suggested (a) continuation of the 2-cents-per-gallon net tax on gasoline and extension of that tax rate to all jet fuels; and (b) a 5 percent tax on airline tickets and on air freight waybills. By delaying until January 1, 1963 the effective date of all proposed changes as they affect aviation—including the repeal of the passenger tax for the airlines—ample time will be allowed for review by the Civil Aeronautics Board of any tariff adjustments that may be required by the carriers to recover the cost of user charges on fuel. The ticket and waybill taxes will be passed on directly to ultimate users.

For general aviation, such as recreational flying and company planes to which ticket and waybill taxes would not be applicable, a fuel tax of 3 cents per gallon is recommended as a minimal step toward recouping the heavy Federal investment in the airways.

All of the above taxes—in effect user charges—will recover only about half of the annual cost of the Federal airways system which is properly allocable to civil aviation. Total airways costs, which are approximately \$500 million annually, have risen steadily in the past decade and will continue to grow as airways facilities and services are improved to accommodate future air traffic. Repeal of the 10 percent passenger tax as it now applies to aviation should not become effective, therefore, until the recommended user charges are in force for all segments of civil aviation.

(3) Inland waterways. Also in the interest of equality of treatment and opportunity, the principle of user charges should be extended to the inland waterways. A tax of 2 cents per gallon should be applied to all fuels used in transportation on the waterways. The recommended effective date, January 1, 1963, will allow time for review by the Interstate Commerce Commission of any adjustments that may be necessary in common carrier rates. This deferral is

recommended even though the bulk of inland waterways traffic is carried by unregulated rather than regulated carriers.

The new tax should include an exemption similar to the current exemption from taxation accorded to gasoline and ships' supplies for vessels employed in the fisheries, foreign trade, or trade between the Atlantic and Pacific ports of the United States or between the United States and any of its possessions. Vessels in domestic trade using facilities and routes similar to those engaged in foreign trade, and vessels in coastal trade which are too large to use the intracoastal waterways, should also be exempted.

This Administration recognizes the responsibility of the Government to maintain and improve our system of inland waterways. Over \$2 billion of Federal funds has already been invested in capital improvements. Expenditures for operating and maintaining the waterways are about \$70 million annually, even though only a small fraction of the traffic consists of common carriers which serve all shippers and the general public. The users of the waterways include some of the largest and financially strongest corporations in the United States today, and it is surely feasible and appropriate for them to pay a small share of the Federal Government's costs in providing and maintaining waterway improvements.

(4) Income taxes. Another effort to improve equity in taxation is being taken by the Treasury Department, which is reviewing the administrative guidelines now governing depreciation rates in the transportation industry. The objective of this Administration will be to give full recognition to current economic forces, including obsolescence, which in their impact upon the lives of depreciable assets may affect quite differently the different modes of transportation and, therefore, their competitive relationships. In addition, I recommend that the Internal Revenue Code be amended to increase from 5 to 7 years the period during which regulated public utilities, including

those in transportation, can apply prior year losses to reduce current income for tax purposes.

(C) *Even-handed Government promotion of inter-city transportation.*

To achieve a better balance of Federal promotional programs:

(1) I urge favorable consideration of legislation proposed by the Civil Aeronautics Board last year to make the domestic trunk air carriers ineligible for operating subsidies in the future. These carriers provide more passenger miles of transportation service than any of the other common carriers; and, while they are experiencing temporary overcapacity and have recently sustained financial losses, they have bright prospects for long-run growth and prosperity which should make them permanently independent of Government support.

(2) With respect to other aviation subsidies, the Congress has limited to \$6 million the funds available in fiscal 1962 for the payment of operating subsidies to the three certificated helicopter services; and the Appropriations Committees have requested the Civil Aeronautics Board to prepare a schedule for the termination of these subsidies. I endorse this position and seek the extension of this principle. I am asking the Board to develop by June 30, 1963, a step-by-step program, with specific annual targets, to assure sharp reduction of operating subsidies to all other domestic airlines as well, within periods to be established by the Board for each type of service or carrier. Rigorous enforcement of the Board's "use-it-or-lose-it" policy and further development of the Class Rate Subsidy Plan which the Board initiated in January 1961 with the cooperation of the local service carriers would clearly facilitate this objective. The development of single airports to serve adjacent cities, or regional airports, is also clearly necessary if these subsidies are to be eliminated and if the Federal Government and local communities are to meet the nation's needs for adequate

airports and air navigation facilities without excessive and unjustifiable costs.

(3) The Federal Government is a major user of transportation services. To assure the greatest practical use of the transportation industry by government, I am directing all agencies of the Government, in meeting their own transport needs, to use authorized commercial facilities in all modes of transportation within the limits of economical and efficient operations and the requirements of military readiness.

(4) I also recommend that the Post Office Department be given greater flexibility in arranging for the transportation of mail by motor vehicle common carrier.

(5) Last year the Congress extended until June 30, 1963, the authority by which the Interstate Commerce Commission has been guaranteeing interest and principal payments on emergency loans to the railroads for operations, maintenance, and capital improvements for which the carriers cannot otherwise obtain funds on reasonable terms. A similar law by which the Government guarantees loans for aircraft and parts being purchased by certain certificated air carriers will expire this year. Since the Department of Commerce is already a focal point for Government transportation activities and since, in the interest of program coordination and consistency of policy these activities should be further consolidated, I recommend that the railroad loan guarantee authority, and the aviation loan guarantee authority if it is extended, be transferred to the Department of Commerce. These problems are not regulatory in nature and are clearly separable from the chief functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Civil Aeronautics Board, and can be acted upon more expeditiously by an executive agency.

(D) *Protection of the public interest.*

(1) *Mergers.* A great resurgence of merger talk has occurred in the railroad and airline industries in the last several years, and

major mergers have been proposed in recent months in both industries. The soundness of such mergers should be determined, not in the abstract, but by applying appropriate criteria to the circumstances and conditions of each particular case. This Administration has a responsibility to recommend more specific guidelines than are now available and more specific procedures for applying them.

Accordingly, I have directed the formation of an inter-agency group to undertake two tasks: first, after proper consultation with interested parties, to formulate general administration policies on mergers in each segment of the transportation industry; and second, to assist the Department of Justice in developing a Government position on each merger application for presentation before the regulatory agencies. This group will consist of agency representatives designated by the Attorney General, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the heads of other agencies involved in a particular case. Under the Chairmanship of Commerce, this group will examine each pending merger in transportation on the basis of the following criteria and others which they may develop:

(a) Effective competition should be maintained among alternative forms of transportation, and, where traffic volume permits, between competing firms in the same mode of transportation.

(b) The goals of economical, efficient, and adequate service to the public—and reduction in any public subsidies—should be secured by the realization of genuine economies.

(c) Affected workers should be given the assistance to make any necessary adjustments caused by the merger.

(2) *Through routes and joint rates.* For many years some regulatory agencies have been authorized to appoint joint boards to act on proposals for intercarrier services; but they have taken virtually no initiative to foster these arrangements which could

greatly increase service and convenience to the general public and open up new opportunities for all carriers. I recommend, therefore, that Congress declare as a matter of public policy that through routes and joint rates should be vigorously encouraged, and authorize all transportation agencies to participate in joint boards.

(3) I have requested the Secretary of Defense and the Administrator of General Services to make the fullest possible use of their statutory powers, and I urge the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary, to encourage experimental rates and services—to explore every promising simplification of rate structures—and to encourage the development of systems that will make rate ascertainment and publication less costly and more convenient. These experiments will be pilot studies for a more general simplification of rates and for the application of new kinds of service to transportation in general.

(4) I am requesting the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, in cooperation with the Interstate Commerce Commission, to develop and urge adoption of uniform State registration laws for motor carriers operating within states but handling interstate commerce. The Congress should, consistent with this effort, give the Interstate Commerce Commission authority to enter into cooperative enforcement agreements with the various States, covering both the economic and the safety aspects of highway transportation.

(5) I recommend that all common carriers, including freight forwarders and motor carriers, be required to pay reparations to shippers charged unlawfully high rates.

(6) Finally, I recommend that the civil penalty now imposed on motor carriers for failure to file required reports be substantially increased; that the same civil penalty be imposed for violations of safety regulations and for operating without authority; and that the safety regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission should be made

fully applicable to private, as well as to common and contract carriers, so as to clarify the ambiguous situation prevailing at present.

PART II. URBAN TRANSPORTATION

I have previously emphasized to the Congress the need for action on the transportation problems resulting from burgeoning urban growth and the changing urban scene.

Higher incomes coupled with the increasing availability of the automobile have enabled more and more American families, particularly younger ones with children, to seek their own homes in suburban areas. Simultaneously, changes and improvements in freight transportation, made possible by the development of modern highways and the trucking industry, have reduced the dependence of manufacturers on central locations near port facilities or railroad terminals. The development of improved production techniques that require spacious, one-story plant layouts have impelled many industries to move to the periphery of urban areas. At the same time the importance of the central city is increasing for trade, financial, governmental and cultural activities.

One result of these changes in location patterns has been a change in the patterns of urban travel. Formerly people traveled mainly along high density corridors radiating to and from downtown. Today traffic patterns are increasingly diverse. Added to traditional suburb-to-city movements are large crosstown flows which existing mass transportation systems are often not geared to handle. Also, the increasing use of automobiles to meet urban transportation needs has resulted in increasing highway congestion, and this has greatly impeded mass transportation service using those highways.

This drastic revision of travel patterns in many urban areas has seriously impaired the effectiveness and economic viability of public mass transportation, which is geared to the older patterns. A steady decline in patronage

and a concomitant rise of unprofitability and financial problems have occurred. This has been particularly true of rail commuter and street car services limited to particular routes by fixed roadbeds.

To conserve and enhance values in existing urban areas is essential. But at least as important are steps to promote economic efficiency and livability in areas of future development. In less than twenty years we can expect well over half of our expanded population to be living in forty great urban complexes. Many smaller places will also experience phenomenal growth. The ways that people and goods can be moved in these areas will have a major influence on their structure, on the efficiency of their economy, and on the availability for social and cultural opportunities they can offer their citizens. Our national welfare therefore requires the provision of good urban transportation, with the properly balanced use of private vehicles and modern mass transport to help shape as well as serve urban growth.

At my request, the problems of urban transportation have been studied in detail by the Housing and Home Finance Administrator and the Secretary of Commerce. Their field investigations have included some 40 metropolitan and other communities, large and small. Their findings support the need for substantial expansion and important changes in the urban mass transportation program authorized in the Housing Act of 1961 as well as revisions in Federal highway legislation. They give dramatic emphasis, moreover, to the need for greater local initiative and to the responsibility of the States and municipalities to provide financial support and effective governmental auspices for strengthening and improving urban transportation.

On the basis of this report, I recommend that long-range Federal financial aid and technical assistance be provided to help plan and develop the comprehensive and balanced urban transportation that is so vitally needed, not only to benefit local communities, but to assure more effective use of

Federal funds available for other urban development and renewal programs. I recommend that such Federal assistance for mass transportation be limited to those applications (1) where an organization, or officially coordinated organizations, are carrying on a continuing program of comprehensive planning on an area-wide basis, and (2) where the assisted project will be administered through a public agency as part of a unified or officially coordinated area-wide transportation system.

(A) *Long-range program.*

Specifically, I recommend that the Congress authorize the first installment of a long-range program of Federal aid to our urban regions for the revitalization and needed expansion of public mass transportation, to be administered by the Housing and Home Finance Agency. I recommend a capital grant authorization of \$500 million to be made available over a three-year period, with \$100 million to be made available in fiscal 1963. Only a program that offers substantial support and continuity of Federal participation can induce our urban regions to organize appropriate administrative arrangements and to meet their share of the costs of fully balanced transportation systems.

This Federal assistance should be made available to qualified public agencies in the form of direct grants to be matched by local, non-Federal contributions. For rights-of-way, fixed facilities, including maintenance and terminal facilities, and rolling stock required for urban mass transportation systems, grants should be provided for up to two-thirds of the project cost which cannot reasonably be financed from expected revenue. The remaining one-third of the net project cost would be paid by the locality or State from other sources, without Federal aid. The extension and rehabilitation of existing systems as well as the creation of new systems should be eligible. In no event should Federal funds be used to pay operating expenses. Nor should parking facilities, except those directly supporting public mass

transportation, be eligible for Federal grants.

While it is expected that the new grant program will be the major Federal support for urban mass transportation, it is important to have Federal loans available where private financing cannot be obtained on reasonable terms. I therefore recommend removal of the time limit on the \$50 million loan authorization provided in the Housing Act of 1961. Federal loans would not be available to finance the State or local one-third contribution to net project cost.

Although grants and loans would be available only to public agencies, those agencies could lease facilities and equipment or make other arrangements for private operation of assisted mass transportation systems. The program is not intended to foster public as distinguished from private mass transit operations. Each community should develop the method or methods of operation best suited to its particular requirements.

A community should be eligible for a mass transportation grant or loan only after the Housing Administrator determines that the facilities and equipment for which the assistance is sought are necessary for carrying out a program for a unified or officially coordinated urban transportation system as a part of the comprehensively planned development of the urban area.

The program I have proposed is aimed at the widely varying transit problems of our Nation's cities, ranging from the clogged arteries of our most populous metropolitan areas to those smaller cities which have only recently known the frustrations of congested streets. There may, however, be some highly specialized situations in which alternative programs, for example, loan guaranties under stringent conditions, would be better suited to particular needs and the Congress may, therefore, wish to consider such alternatives.

(B) *Emergency aid.*

Time will be required by most metropolitan areas to organize effectively for the major planning efforts required. Even more

time may be needed to create public agencies with adequate powers to develop, finance and administer new or improved public transportation systems. Meanwhile, the crisis conditions that have already emerged in some areas threaten to become widespread. Mass transportation continues to deteriorate and even to disappear. Important segments of our population are thus deprived of transportation; highway congestion and attendant air pollution become worse; and the destructive effects upon central business districts and older residential areas are accelerated.

In recognition of this serious situation, I also recommend that the Congress, for a period of three years only, authorize the Housing Administrator to make emergency grants, (a) where there is an urgent need for immediate aid to an existing mass transportation facility or service that might otherwise cease to be available for transportation purposes, (b) where an official long-range program for a coordinated system is being actively prepared, and (c) where the facilities or equipment acquired under the emergency grant can reasonably be expected to be required for the new long-range system. This emergency aid should not exceed one-half of the net project cost. Upon completion of an acceptable area-wide transportation program within three years, these emergency projects, if a part of the ultimate system, should qualify for the balance of the regular Federal assistance available under the long-range program.

(C) *Role of highways.*

Highways are an instrumental part of any coordinated urban transportation program, and must be an integral part of any comprehensive community development plan. Accordingly, I have requested the Secretary of Commerce to make his approval of the use of highway planning funds in metropolitan planning studies contingent upon the establishment of a continuing and comprehensive planning process. This process should, to the maximum extent feasible, include all of the interdependent parts of the metropolitan

or other urban area, all agencies and jurisdictions involved, and all forms of transportation, and should be closely coordinated with policymaking and program administration.

Progress has already been made in coordinated transportation planning for metropolitan areas through the use of funds made available under both Federal highway and housing legislation. To increase the effectiveness of this effort, I recommend that the Federal-aid highway law be amended to increase the percentage of Federal funds available to the States for research and planning. Legislation will be submitted to effectuate this change and to provide that (a) these funds should be available for planning and research purposes only; (b) the funds be matched by the States in accordance with statutory matching requirements; and (c) any funds not used for planning and research lapse.

In addition I recommend that the Federal-aid highway law be amended to provide that, effective not later than July 1, 1965, the Secretary of Commerce shall, before approving a program for highway projects in any metropolitan area, make a finding that such projects are consistent with comprehensive development plans for the metropolitan area and that the Federal-aid system so developed will be an integral part of a soundly based, balanced transportation system for the area involved.

Highway planning should be broadened to include adequate traffic control systems, parking facilities, and circulation systems on city streets commensurate with the traffic forecasts used to justify freeways and major arterial roadways. Provision for transit and highway facilities in the same roadway, permissible under present law and already tested in several cases, should be encouraged whenever more effective transportation will result. Moreover, I have requested the Secretary of Commerce to consider favorably the reservation of special highway lanes for busses dur-

ing peak traffic hours whenever comprehensive transportation plans indicate that this is desirable.

To permit the State highway departments greater flexibility in the use of Federal-aid highway funds to meet urban transportation needs, I further recommend that the Federal-aid highway law be amended to permit more extensive use of Federal-aid secondary funds for extensions of the secondary system in urban areas.

I have asked the Secretary of Commerce and the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to consult regularly regarding administration of the highway and urban mass transportation programs, and to report to me annually on the progress of their respective programs, on the needs for further coordination, and on possibilities for improvement.

(D) *Relocation assistance.*

Last year in a message to the Congress on the Federal-aid highway program, I called attention to the problems of families displaced by new highway construction and proposed that the Federal highway law be amended to require assistance to such families in finding decent housing at reasonable cost. The need for such assistance to alleviate unnecessary hardship is still urgent. The Secretary of Commerce has estimated that, under the Interstate Highway program alone 15,000 families and 1,500 businesses are being displaced each year, and the proposed urban mass transportation program will further increase the number of persons affected.

To move toward equity among the various federally assisted programs causing displacement, I recommend that assistance and requirements similar to those now applicable to the urban renewal program be authorized for the Federal-aid highway program and the urban mass transportation program. Legislation is being submitted to authorize payments of not to exceed \$200 in

the case of individuals and families and \$3,000 (or if greater, the total certified actual moving expenses) in the case of business concerns or non-profit organizations displaced as a result of land acquisitions under these programs.

(E) *Mass transit research and demonstrations.*

Further, I believe that progress will be most rapid and long lasting if the Federal Government contributes to economic and technological research in the field of urban mass transportation. These research activities should be an integral part of the research program described later in this message. Important parts of this program should be carried out by the Housing Administrator directly, through contract with other Federal agencies, private research organizations, universities and other competent bodies, or through the allocation of funds to local public agencies for approved programs.

To facilitate this approach, I recommend that the \$25 million authorized last year for demonstration grants be made available for broad research and development undertakings, as well as demonstration projects, which have general applicability throughout the nation. That amount, plus an additional \$10 million from the proposed capital grant funds for each of the years 1963, 1964 and 1965 should suffice for these purposes. These funds, together with research funds available under the Federal-aid highway program, can contribute to substantial advances in urban transportation.

(F) *Interstate compacts.*

Finally, since transportation in many urban areas is an interstate problem, I recommend that legislation be enacted to give Congressional approval in advance for interstate compacts for the establishment of agencies to carry out transportation and

other regional functions in urban areas extending across State lines.

PART III. INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTATION

We should endeavor, to the maximum extent feasible, to (a) gear international transportation investment to the requirements of our peacetime international trade and travel, and (b) provide incentives to users that will channel traffic to those forms of transportation that provide desirable service at the lowest total cost. The most critical problems associated with these policies are in the national defense area. Determinations must be made as to whether the number and types of ships and aircraft adequate to meet long-range peacetime needs are also adequate to meet probable military emergencies, and if they are not, how best to meet these additional requirements.

(A) *Merchant marine.*

In the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, the United States Government made a new start on the vexing problems of the American merchant marine in the face of repeated failure to improve its condition both before and after World War I. Subsequently, other aids in the form of cargo preference legislation, various "trade-out," "trade-in," and tax incentives devised to stimulate new construction, and a mortgage insurance program with up to 87½ percent Federal guarantees were added to the arsenal of protection against the industry's exposure to low-cost foreign competition.

In spite of these aids, subsidies required for both construction and operations under the 1936 Act have steadily increased. Operating subsidies will rise from \$49 million in 1950 to over \$225 million in 1963. Ship construction costs in U.S. yards are now approximately double those in Japanese and German yards. For this reason and because of an acceleration of the program beginning in 1956 to replace war-built cargo ships, Fed-

eral expenditures for new ship construction will rise to a postwar high of \$112 million in 1963.

At my request, the Secretary of Commerce has undertaken a study of the current problems of the American merchant marine. This review will involve such specific issues as the state of coastal and intercoastal shipping and the costs of service to our non-contiguous territories. It will also consider more fundamental questions of long-term adjustment: Are the criteria adopted in 1936 as guides to the establishment of essential trade routes and services relevant for the future? Are there alternatives to the existing techniques for providing financial assistance which would benefit (a) the public in terms of better service and lower rates and (b) the operators in terms of higher profits, more freedom for management initiative and more incentive for privately financed research and technological advance? What research and development efforts are most likely to increase the competitiveness of our merchant marine? Can defense readiness requirements be met adequately by greater reliance on the reserve fleet and the ships of our allies under NATO agreements? Would a smaller reserve fleet be adequate? Are the international arrangements pursuant to which world shipping operations are carried on conducive to the stability of the industry, fair but effective competition and adequate service?

I have also asked the Secretary of Defense to provide the Secretary of Commerce with estimates, under a range of assumptions as to military emergencies, of what active and reserve tonnages of merchant shipping should be maintained in the interest of national security. In addition, I have established a Cabinet level committee, chaired by the Secretary of Labor, whose study will include the flags of convenience and cargo preference issues. When the findings and conclusions of these studies become available, I shall send to the Congress appropriate specific recommendations concerning our maritime program.

In the meantime, I have directed the Secretary of Commerce to implement fully Section 212(d) of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, for securing preference to vessels of United States registry in the movement of commodities in our waterborne foreign commerce; and I have directed all executive branch agencies to comply fully with the purpose of our cargo preference laws.

I have also recommended a stepped-up research program for developing ways and means of increasing the competitive efficiency of our merchant marine and related industries. Of particular significance in this effort will be the application of the principles of mass production, and the standardization of ship types and ship components, for reduction in the cost of new vessel construction. Also, I am urging that sound development in technology and automation be applied to merchant shipping as rapidly as possible, fully recognizing and providing for the job equities involved, as a major program for enhancing the competitive capability of our merchant marine.

(B) *International aviation.*

An interdepartmental committee, headed by the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, and including representatives from the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the Department of Commerce, the Civil Aeronautics Board, and the Bureau of the Budget, was established at my direction last July to undertake a study of U.S. international air transportation policies and problems. This study is presently under way, and will be completed by late summer. Concurrent with this policy study, the Bureau of the Budget is conducting a study of the organizational structure within which Government agencies carry out activities concerned with international aviation. Once these studies have been completed and evaluated, an Administration policy on international civil aviation will be enunciated, with responsibilities assigned to the agencies involved according to statutory requirements.

PART IV. LABOR RELATIONS AND RESEARCH

(A) *Labor relations.*

Technological advance in transportation must be explored and developed if we are to meet growing requirements for the movement of people and goods. New equipment often requires new skills, sometimes displaces labor, and often requires retraining or relocation of manpower. An over-all reduction in manpower requirements in transportation is not inevitable, however; and the new Manpower Development and Training Act will help those transportation workers in need of new jobs or new skills.

For the long-range benefit of labor, management and the public, collective bargaining in the transportation industry must promote efficiency as well as solve problems of labor-management relations. Problems of job assignments, work rules, and other employment policies must be dealt with in a manner that will both encourage increased productivity and recognize the job equities which are affected by technological change. The Government also has an obligation to develop policies and provide assistance to labor and management consistent with the above objectives.

(B) *Research.*

To understand the increasingly complex transportation problems of the future, to identify the relationships of social, economic, administrative and technical factors involved, to translate scientific knowledge into transportation engineering practice, to weigh the merits of alternative systems, and to formulate new, improved and consistent policies—we need information that can evolve only from a vigorous, continuous and coordinated program of research. Yet, in the field of transportation where we have many unfulfilled opportunities, research has been fragmented, unsteady, inadequate in scope and balance.

Scientific and engineering research will bring to all forms of transportation the benefits of new high strength, low cost and dur-

able materials, compact and economical power plants, new devices to increase safety and convenience—improvements which have characterized the development of jet-propelled aircraft. Experiments in the maritime field have resulted in the development of a nuclear powered merchant ship, the *N.S. Savannah*, which has already begun test cruises, and a hydrofoil ship, the *Dennison*, which is nearing trial runs. Transportation on land, as well as in the air and on the seas, can benefit from accelerated scientific research.

Economic and policy research will improve knowledge about the functioning of our transportation system as a whole and about the interrelation of the major branches of the industry. It should consider the new demands for transportation, the changing markets and products being handled, and the need for speed and safety. For instance, such research can consider the handling of freight as a system beginning in the shipper's plant and ending with the delivery of goods to the very doors of his customers—using new packaging, containerization and cargo handling methods that will take full advantage of new economies and convenience.

Taking advantage of new techniques that would provide convenience and efficiency, we must consider the impact of different forms of transportation investment on economic development; we must combine and integrate systems to take advantage of the maximum benefits of each mode of travel; we must now consider the nation's transportation network as an articulated and closely linked system rather than an uncoordinated set of independent entities.

Just as a transport system must be built and operated as a whole, the different areas of transportation research must be coordinated within an over-all concept. With the advice and assistance of the heads of the principal Federal agencies concerned with transportation and members of my own staff, the Secretary of Commerce is undertaking a broad evaluation of research needs in transportation and of the appropriate methods to

meet these needs. I look to the Secretary of Commerce to develop a comprehensive transportation research program for the Government for later consideration by the Congress. Once such a coordinated and policy-oriented research program is under way it will produce a flow of information of the kind that we must have to implement a comprehensive public policy on transportation.

Improved statistics for private and government use are also urgently needed. The 1963 budget repeats a request made by the previous Administration for funds to prepare for a Census of Transportation. This census will make an important beginning to supplying these much-needed data. I urge early favorable action on this request.

CONCLUSION

The troubles in our transportation system are deep; and no just and comprehensive

set of goals—which meets all the needs of each mode of transportation as well as shippers, consumers, taxpayers and the general public—can be quickly or easily reached. But few areas of public concern are more basic to our progress as a nation. The Congress and all citizens, as well as all Federal agencies, have an increasing interest in and an increasing responsibility to be aware of the shortcomings of existing transportation policies; and the proposals contained in this message are intended to be a constructive basis for the exercise of that responsibility.

The difficulty and the complexity of these basic troubles will not correct themselves with the mere passage of time. On the contrary, we cannot afford to delay further. Facing up to the realities of the situation, we must begin to make the painful decisions necessary to providing the transportation system required by the United States of today and tomorrow.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

130 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting Bill To Broaden Self-Government in the Virgin Islands. *April 6, 1962*

Dear Mr. ———:

I am pleased to transmit with this letter draft legislation which would confer on the people of the American Virgin Islands much greater rights of self-government than that territory now possesses, including the basic right to elect their governor.

Local self-government is among the most cherished of American democratic traditions. This basic concept has persisted in our country from the town meetings of colonial days to the present pattern in which counties, cities, towns, boroughs, parishes and villages have vested in them the broadest authority to manage local affairs through instruments of their own creation and officials of their own choice. This nation is committed to the principle of self-determination and will

continue to support and encourage responsible self-rule throughout the world and particularly in those territories under the jurisdiction of the United States.

The proposal to strengthen the control over local affairs by the people of the Virgin Islands is consistent with this Administration's earlier actions in proposing to the Congress legislation to restore to the people of the District of Columbia the fundamental right of home rule—legislation which I hope can be acted upon promptly. Our commitment to local self-rule is further evidenced by the Executive Order I issued last month substantially increasing representative self-government in the Ryukyu Islands. The special problems of other territories under the jurisdiction of the United States are the

John F. Kennedy, 1962

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subject of continuing studies and appropriate recommendations will be made to the Congress as a result of that study.

It is clear that the American Virgin Islands is capable of exercising enlarged dominion over its own affairs without further delay. This community of more than 30,000 American citizens has demonstrated a maturity and capacity for stable, responsible government. Almost exclusively by local effort, it has capitalized on its magnificent natural features to build a promising economy. Dedicated leadership has instilled in all walks of life a responsive loyalty to our values and traditions. The demonstrated abilities, needs and desires of the people all point toward greater control over their local affairs.

A substantial measure of self-rule is already embodied in existing Federal policy and legislation. But the Organic Act of 1954 and certain related laws still withhold from the people some powers essential to full political maturity and some of the economic tools necessary to self-rule. I therefore recommend for early consideration the following changes in the Act designed to carry out the objectives discussed above:

1. Authorization for the people of the Virgin Islands to elect their own executive officials—the Governor and Government Secretary.

2. Apportionment of legislative representation to assure the most equitable citizen voice possible in the law-making body.

3. Transfer of the assets and activities of the Virgin Islands Corporation to the Government of the Virgin Islands, under terms equitable to both the Federal and local governments.

4. Authorization of the territorial government, under controls customarily applied in other American communities, to finance capital improvements such as schools, highways and other nonrevenue producing facilities through sale of full faith and credit bonds.

These changes will, when enacted, provide the people of the Virgin Islands with the means to attain that high degree of political and economic self-rule which we are convinced they are capable of achieving.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

In the third paragraph the President referred to Executive Order 11010 issued on March 19 "Amending Executive Order No. 10713 Relating to the Administration of the Ryukyu Islands" (27 F.R. 2621).

131 Message to President Macapagal of the Philippines on Bataan Day. *April 9, 1962*

Dear Mr. President:

On this day, we and millions of our fellow citizens will recall the sacrifices of the heroes who were so sorely tested just twenty years ago on Bataan and Corregidor. Although physically defeated, their devotion to our common democratic principles added new meaning to those ideals and made possible the ultimate triumph of freedom and democracy in a vast area of the world.

Our peoples are again united in spirit and in arms in a similar struggle against a new and much more subtle form of imperialism which would enslave us. Let no one overlook the lesson of Bataan that the strength of our common heritage and courage and devotion will prevail to bring free choice and justice to mankind.

I look forward with pleasure to the opportunity the people of the United States soon

will have to express personally to you and to the people of the Philippines their gratification and pride in the enduring partnership which carried us through the dark days of

two decades ago to our present mutual pursuit of peaceful economic and social progress.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

132 Remarks on the 50th Anniversary of the Children's Bureau.

April 9, 1962

Mr. Secretary, Mrs. Oettinger, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

This is a double birthday party today. The Children's Bureau is 50 years old and so is Secretary Ribicoff. This is an awkward birthday for the Secretary, because he is too young to retire and too old to be President!

Chairman Glasser, Miss Lenroot, Dr. Eliot, ladies and gentlemen:

We are here to observe a very important anniversary. Fifty years ago this Nation showed the way in pioneering, in our concern for children, by the establishment of this Children's Bureau. And it is a source of pride and satisfaction to us that in the last 50 years over 20 nations have followed the example of the United States, early in the 20th century.

This Nation first established the Government Bureau solely devoted to the welfare of children, and while this 50th anniversary is an appropriate occasion for us to recall the accomplishments of the Bureau, it is also a more appropriate occasion for us to rededicate ourselves to making the life of every child as fruitful and productive as it possibly can be, and lay the groundwork for a useful and happy adult life.

Fifty years ago, when this Bureau was formed, 10 out of every 100 babies born alive in this country failed to survive their first year of life. Today, fewer than 3 out of 100 babies born alive die in infancy.

Fifty years ago more than 60 out of 10,000 American mothers died in childbirth. Today the number of maternal deaths for every 10,000 live births has been reduced to 4.

Somebody once said that things don't happen, they are made to happen. These statistics, like so many others with which you are familiar, are the result of the tireless dedication of all of you and those who went before you in trying to build and make this country a happy nursery and place for children to grow up.

These are only two of the problems that have been attacked by the Children's Bureau. Equally important has been their effort to stimulate programs that we now all take for granted, which are part of our American governmental structure. It is sometimes hard to remember that 50 years ago and less there was no program to provide services for crippled children, artificial limbs for children born without limbs, regional heart centers for children born with congenital heart diseases, diagnostic services for epileptic children, child health clinics, school health programs, the expansion of foster homes, the improvement of adoption laws, and basic standards for juvenile courts.

I mention all of these because I think it is a welcome reminder that the things which we now take for granted were once regarded as daring pioneer pieces of legislation. And it is a reminder to us today as we seek for new ways by which the National Government, the State, the county, and private groups can function together in providing a better life for our children, that what we regard now as daring and new will 50 years from now be regarded, I hope, as part of the normal, everyday life of Government and of people.

For 50 years the Children's Bureau blazed these trails. In the past year alone the Na-

tional Government has embarked on a new series of efforts in which the findings and skills of the Children's Bureau will play an important part.

The first bill which was passed in the Congress last year was the provision of the aid to dependent children program, to include those in need because the parent is unemployed. It was one of the, I think, unfortunate parts of American life, that for a child to be eligible, if the father was unemployed, for assistance, that the father had to desert the home in order that his child might be taken care of. And now we have been able to amend that sorry situation.

Secondly, we obtained the first legislation by the National Government to begin to tackle the problem of juvenile delinquency.

And third, we have started to enlarge the chronically short supply of specifically trained teachers for deaf children.

And we have established a voluntary but beneficial program, I think, to improve the physical fitness of our school age children. There is nothing, I think, more unfortunate than to have soft, chubby, fat-looking children who go to watch their school play basketball every Saturday and regard that as their week's exercise.

I hope that all of you will join—and everybody in the United States—to make sure that our children participate fully in a vigorous and adventurous life—which is possible for them in this very rich country of ours.

The few pilot projects which we have been able to start in some of our States have yielded astounding results. In the short space of 2 or 3 months boys and girls who failed every physical test given to them are able to pass them. And if we can inculcate into them at an early age the habits of physical discipline, then as they get older they will continue, and it should be a part of their life from the beginning to the very end. And I hope that this will be one of the matters to which all of you who are so active in this field will give the closest attention. Concern not only for those who are underprivileged and sick but also making

sure that those who are well, and therefore privileged, also participate fully in the life around them.

We have also recommended in the pending welfare improvements bill a fundamental reform and expansion of our services to dependent children. And we have set up a commission, which I hope will be reporting shortly, which is now in Europe, to look into the problem of mental retardation—to take that great challenge from under the clouds, and in the darker corners of the rooms, and bring it out into the open. So that all of us as a great national effort can provide the assistance for research and also for treatment for those children who because of nature or accident find their lives blighted at the beginning and never recover.

We had, a few months ago, two children, sisters, in the Mental Retardation Week—one was well and the other was sick—they were both born with the same disease. But because in the intervening 2 years research had shown that diet in the first few months made a decisive difference, one is now well, the younger sister; the older sister will never be well.

When we have as dramatic evidence of what can be done, I am sure that none of us wants to rest until every maximum effort is made to bring everyone into a fuller life.

We therefore realize, on this 50th anniversary, that we have got still a good deal to do, and the purpose, I think, of any anniversary or any birthday is to recommit ourselves to the unfinished business. There are too many children still dropping out of school, many of them the 8th grade or less. In looking at the long-range or the next decade's needs in manpower, the one thing we are going to need less and less of is unskilled labor. What we are going to need more and more of are educated men and women who are able, technically as well as generally, to handle the increasing complexities of modern industrial life.

If you look at the charts, which will probably be shown to you, you will see the sharp drop in the needs for unskilled labor. And

yet any young boy or girl who drops out before the 8th grade, before the 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th—and there are millions of them—and 25 percent who have dropped out are today unemployed, you can realize what a great national problem and challenge this is going to be for all of us.

In addition, there are a good many children who have the talent but lack the means or the motivation—and both can be important in moving from school into college. There is no sense in wasting our most valuable resource, which is an educated and talented and capable young man or woman, particularly today.

And therefore we have to find means of making it possible for them to go on with their education. And this question of motivation, which is so much a part of environment and encouragement, and the accident of a gifted teacher, or church leader, or community, or mother, or father—all this, the final emphasis is on them. But the National Government has a supporting role.

There are still too many epileptic children unable to attend public schools, and still too many with cystic fibrosis who fail to reach maturity. There are still too many preschool children who have never been inoculated against polio or diphtheria or smallpox or whooping cough and tetanus.

There are still too many children in institutions who should be living in foster homes or with adopted families—too many small children at home without care while both of their parents are working full time—too many children of migrant farm workers whose needs receive almost no attention.

And our responsibilities will increase as

our child population grows. By 1970 an estimated 43 percent of our population will be under 21 years of age. We shall not have fulfilled our obligation as a people unless our children, regardless of the circumstances of their birth, regardless of geography, regardless of their color, have the opportunity to grow to wholesome, self-sustaining adulthood and make something of their lives.

This Golden Anniversary of the Children's Bureau, therefore, should initiate another 50 years of increasing concern by all of us for the welfare not only of our own child but the child of our neighbor—a golden opportunity for children, an opportunity for individual health and well-being, an opportunity to make them citizens of the country in every sense of the word.

I want you to know that there's no work which I am sure gives you more satisfaction—there's no work closer to the hearts of all of us. We, all of us, I am conscious, feel that however fortunate our own children may be, we are not fulfilling our obligation as parents until other children have the same opportunities.

I congratulate you and tell you that I am grateful for your past services, and hope together we can make the life of children in the future somewhat easier.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Washington. In his opening remarks he referred to Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; Mrs. Katherine B. Oettinger, Chief of the Children's Bureau; Melvin A. Glasser, Chairman of the Citizens Committee for the anniversary celebration; and Miss Katharine F. Lenroot and Dr. Martha M. Eliot, former Chiefs of the Children's Bureau.

133 Remarks Upon Proclaiming Voluntary Overseas Aid Week.
April 9, 1962

IT IS a pleasure to welcome you as the representatives of American religious and humanitarian agencies engaged in overseas relief work. Your work complements the efforts of the American people as expressed through the United States Government.

Our foreign assistance programs—our participation in the United Nations, the Peace Corps, the Food for Peace programs—have the same objectives as the voluntary agencies: to relieve misery, hunger, and affliction wherever they may be found.

Yours is a mission of mercy, and on behalf of all Americans I should like to thank you for your deep commitment—moral, financial, and technical—to this mission.

I should especially like to thank you for your participation in the Food for Peace program. During the past year you have distributed nearly three billion pounds of our agricultural abundance to a hundred nations. The Congress, by Joint Resolution adopted, calling for a Proclamation designating the week of April 9, 1962, as Voluntary Overseas Aid Week, recognized and voiced its appreciation for your work.

So it is with pleasure and gratitude that I declare the week beginning April 9, 1962, as Voluntary Overseas Aid Week.

I would like to emphasize that I do not believe that our assistance programs abroad, especially those that involve the distribution of food, could possibly be effective unless we

had the very wholehearted cooperation of the voluntary agencies. This partnership between the American people and the National Government and the voluntary agencies which distribute this food, the various religious and charitable organizations, really represents, I think, the best aspirations of our country—making the program infinitely more effective, infinitely more personal, to provide a direct link between the people who are helped and the American people in a way which a merely governmental contribution could not do.

I think it reminds us of the old injunction about feeding those who are hungry, visiting those who are sick, and caring for those who are in prison. So I want you gentlemen to know we are very grateful for your help, for your helping the hundreds of thousands of people who are members of these organizations and the hundreds of people overseas who work very selflessly to bring this aid to needy people.

NOTE: The President spoke in the Cabinet Room at the White House. Among those present were leaders of American voluntary relief agencies, who gave the President a scroll citing his "vigorous championship of constructive assistance to the needy abroad." The presentation was made by Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman of New York, executive vice chairman of the United Jewish Appeal.

Proclamation 3465 "Voluntary Overseas Aid Week" is published in the Federal Register (27 F.R. 3050).

134 Joint Statement With the United Kingdom on Nuclear Testing.
April 10, 1962

DISCUSSIONS among ourselves and the Soviet Union about a treaty to ban nuclear tests have been going on in Geneva for nearly a month. The Soviet representatives have rejected international inspection or verification inside the Soviet Union to determine the nature of unexplained seismic

events which might be nuclear tests.

This is a point of cardinal importance to the United States and the United Kingdom. From the very beginning of the negotiations on a nuclear Test Ban Treaty, they have made it clear that an essential element of such a treaty is an objective international

system for assuring that a ban on nuclear tests is being observed by all parties. The need for such a system was clearly recognized in the report of the scientific experts which was the foundation of the Geneva negotiations. For nearly three years this need was accepted by the Soviet delegation at Geneva. There was disagreement about details, but the principle of objective international verification was accepted. It was embodied in the Treaty tabled by the United States and the United Kingdom on April 18, 1961, which provides for such a system. Since the current disarmament meetings began in Geneva, the United States and the United Kingdom have made further efforts to meet Soviet objections to the April 18 treaty. These efforts have met with no success as is clearly shown by the recent statements of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union and of their representative in Geneva, Mr. Zorin, who have repeatedly rejected the very concept of international verification. There has been no progress on this point in Geneva; the Soviet Union has refused to change its position.

The ground given seems to be that existing national detection systems can give adequate protection against clandestine tests. In the present state of scientific instrumentation, there are a great many cases in which

we cannot distinguish between natural and artificial seismic disturbances—as opposed to recording the fact of a disturbance and locating its probable epicenter. A treaty therefore cannot be made effective unless adequate verification is included in it. For otherwise there would be no alternative, if an instrument reported an unexplained seismic occurrence on either side, between accepting the possibility of an evasion of the Treaty or its immediate denunciation. The opportunity for adequate verification is of the very essence of mutual confidence.

This principle has so far been rejected by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, and there is no indication that he has not spoken with the full approval of his Government. We continue to hope that the Soviet Government may reconsider the position and express their readiness to accept the principle of international verification. If they will do this, there is still time to reach agreement. But if there is no change in the present Soviet position, the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom must conclude that their efforts to obtain a workable treaty to ban nuclear tests are not now successful, and the test series scheduled for the latter part of this month will have to go forward.

135 Message to Admiral Dennison on the 10th Anniversary of the NATO Naval Headquarters at Norfolk. *April 10, 1962*

TEN YEARS AGO today the Headquarters of the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic was established at Norfolk, Virginia. This Headquarters, a part of NATO, is the only international military headquarters ever set up in peacetime on this continent. It has quietly and efficiently carried out the vital work of training allied naval forces for their wartime task. Their mission to provide security of the North Atlantic Ocean and North Sea area is vital to us and our allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

A most striking feature of this international staff is the cooperation and teamwork that exists and which characterizes the resolute will of the NATO countries to resist any encroachment on their freedom.

I extend my best wishes on this Tenth Anniversary Day to the Allied Command Atlantic.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Admiral Robert L. Dennison, Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic, Norfolk, Virginia]

136 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on Extension of Temporary Unemployment Compensation. *April 10, 1962*

Dear Mr. ———:

I am transmitting herewith, for the consideration of the Congress, a draft of the legislation which would extend the Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Program until April 1, 1963.

The present program expired April 1, 1962. But there are still large numbers of long-term unemployed, and I believe that immediate action is required so that the benefits of the program can continue. In my letter of March 12 you will recall I expressed concern about the effect of the termination of the temporary program upon these workers. I therefore urged early consideration by the Congress of legislation which called for permanent improvements in the Federal-State unemployment insurance system. However, in view of the heavy schedule faced by the committees of the Congress before whom that legislation is pending, it seems unlikely that the legislation will be able to receive the consideration it deserves this year. Under these circumstances, pro-

vision should be made for continuation of the temporary program.

The Temporary Extended Unemployment Compensation Program which expired April 1 did not cost as much as had been estimated. Accordingly, \$184 million will be available from the special taxes to be collected on 1962 and 1963 payrolls to help finance the extension I am proposing, and an increase of only 0.1 percent in the tax rate for 1964 is necessary to finance the remaining cost of the extended program.

The Secretary of Labor estimates that 1,500,000 long-term unemployed workers throughout the Nation will be benefited by the new extension of the Unemployment Compensation Program.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

137 Letter to Senator Eastland on Pending Legislation Relating to Drug Marketing. *April 11, 1962*

[Released April 11, 1962. Dated April 10, 1962]

Dear Senator:

In the message I sent to the Congress on March 14,¹ I called attention to the need for new legislative authority to advance and protect the interests of consumers in the marketing of drugs.

S. 1552, which is now pending before your Committee, incorporates the major recommendations I made. It will strengthen and broaden existing laws in the food and drug field, contribute toward better, safer and less expensive medicines, and establish a better

system of enforcement. As you know, the bill is the outgrowth of twenty-eight months of intensive investigation and hearings by your Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly. I believe that early passage of this legislation will substantially improve the ability of the drug industry to serve the Nation and help provide consumers with quality drugs at low competitive prices.

I understand that the members of the Subcommittee on Patents have decided that the compulsory licensing feature of the legislation requires further study and consideration. I would hope that this would not, however,

¹ Item 93.

delay enactment of the other provisions of the bill—provisions which will establish necessary safeguards to assure the reliability and effectiveness of drugs placed on the market, provide for standardization of drug names, and thereby encourage physicians to prescribe drugs by nonproprietary rather than by brand names, require disclosure of adverse as well as beneficial effects of drugs in drug promotion, and assure consideration of therapeutic effectiveness in the granting of patents for drugs that are modifications of other drugs.

The message I sent to the Congress made several other suggestions which, it would seem to me, might appropriately be included in the bill now before your Committee. They are:

1. Drug manufacturers should be required to keep records on and report to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare any indications of adverse effects from the use of a new drug or antibiotic.

2. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare should be empowered to withdraw approval of a new drug on the basis of a substantial doubt of its efficacy or safety.

3. The provisions requiring drug manufacturers to maintain facilities and controls to assure the reliability of their product, and to institute more effective inspection to determine whether drugs are being manufactured in accordance with the law, cannot feasibly be limited to a particular class of drugs and should therefore be made applicable to over-the-counter as well as prescription drugs.

4. An enforceable system of preventing the illicit distribution of habit-forming barbiturates and amphetamines should be provided.

The need for these amendments is based upon the accumulated years of experience of the Food and Drug Administration, and they appear to be properly within the scope of the subject matter dealt with in the extensive hearings of the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly.

In addition, I recommend two minor procedural changes:

1. In the section having to do with the rendering of advisory opinions by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to the Patent Office on the therapeutic effect of modifications and combinations, I suggest that the requirement providing the applicant with an opportunity for a plenary hearing be deleted. Under the provisions of S. 1552 in its earlier form, the Secretary's finding was conclusive and therefore should have required a formal hearing. But since the bill in its present form requires no binding decision to be made by the Secretary, the requirement of the hearing seems inappropriate and would tend to unduly delay the rendition of the Secretary's purely advisory opinion to the Commissioner. The action of the Commissioner is, of course, subject to well established *de novo* judicial review.

2. The provision requiring the filing of patent agreements with the Commissioner of Patents should more properly be in the form of an amendment to the Patent Act rather than the Sherman Act.

I have asked the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to transmit to you promptly any additional recommendations to strengthen, clarify, or improve the bill that it may have and that will not require additional hearings or substantially delay action on the bill.

It would not appear that the consideration of these proposed changes should occasion any further delay in the approval of this important measure.

With the above changes, S. 1552 adequately deals with the most pressing problems in the drug field, and it is my sincere wish that it be enacted during the current session of the Congress. Your cooperation and assistance to this end will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Honorable James O. Eastland, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: For the President's remarks upon signing S. 1552, see Item 442.

138 Remarks of Welcome to the Shah and the Empress of Iran
at the Washington National Airport. *April 11, 1962*

Your Majesties:

I speak on behalf of all of my fellow Americans in welcoming you to the United States. We regard your visit here as most valuable to our country, and I hope the cause of freedom and peace.

I have said on other occasions, Your Majesty, that I thought the strongest force in the world today was the desire for national independence, reaching well beyond any ideology or really any national power.

I do not think the history of any country proves that more clearly than the history of Iran. All of us are familiar with the centuries-long struggle, beginning in the centuries before the birth of Christ, of the people of Persia to maintain their national sovereignty. Occupying as you do in Iran a most important strategic area, surrounded as you are by vital and powerful people, your country has been able to maintain its national independence century after century, until we come to the present date where under great challenges you, Your Majesty, lead that historic fight.

We look, in welcoming you here, not only to the past but also to the future—your great desire, evidenced by the work that you have so intensively carried out, to make a better life for your people, to permit them to share in a more fruitful existence, to permit them to be free. And therefore, Your Majesty, on your shoulders hang heavy burdens and heavy responsibilities.

We are glad that you have come halfway around the world, and that from your ancient

country you come to this young country in the New World. The interest of both of us is the same: to maintain our freedom, to maintain the peace, and to provide a better life for our people. That is the purpose of your visit, Your Majesty, as to how we can jointly concert that effort.

And we are particularly glad to welcome to this country, I believe for the first time, your wife—whom we are particularly glad to have here on this occasion.

This is one of our wonderful spring days, for which we are justly celebrated, and we are glad to wish you and send to you the greetings of the city and the country.

NOTE: The Shah responded as follows:

It is a most pleasant opportunity for the Empress and myself to be able, thanks to your very kind invitation, to visit your great and beautiful country.

Today the name of America has a magic meaning for the most distant communities of the world. It is associated with freedom, progress, love of humanity, and justice. As I am well acquainted with your country and your gallant countrymen, I can truly endorse this conviction.

I am glad that my present visit gives me the occasion to meet you and to greet Mrs. Kennedy, whose stop in our capital was only too brief.

I am aware, Mr. President, that you have assumed responsibilities in the greatest country of the world with new ideas and a dynamic personality which will prove of utmost importance in the shaping of a new world.

I bring with me the heartfelt greetings of my countrymen to your people, with the expression of their sincerest feelings of friendship.

And I extend to you, Mr. President, my warm wishes for the happiness and prosperity of your great and noble nation.

139 The President's News Conference of
April 11, 1962

THE PRESIDENT. I have several announcements to make.

[1.] Simultaneous and identical actions of United States Steel and other leading steel

corporations increasing steel prices by some \$6 a ton constitute a wholly unjustifiable and irresponsible defiance of the public interest. In this serious hour in our Nation's history,

when we are confronted with grave crises in Berlin and Southeast Asia, when we are devoting our energies to economic recovery and stability, when we are asking reservists to leave their homes and families for months on end and servicemen to risk their lives—and four were killed in the last 2 days in Viet-Nam—and asking union members to hold down their wage requests at a time when restraint and sacrifice are being asked of every citizen, the American people will find it hard, as I do, to accept a situation in which a tiny handful of steel executives whose pursuit of private power and profit exceeds their sense of public responsibility can show such utter contempt for the interests of 185 million Americans.

If this rise in the cost of steel is imitated by the rest of the industry, instead of rescinded, it would increase the cost of homes, autos, appliances, and most other items for every American family. It would increase the cost of machinery and tools to every American businessman and farmer. It would seriously handicap our efforts to prevent an inflationary spiral from eating up the pensions of our older citizens, and our new gains in purchasing power.

It would add, Secretary McNamara informed me this morning, an estimated \$1 billion to the cost of our defenses, at a time when every dollar is needed for national security and other purposes. It would make it more difficult for American goods to compete in foreign markets, more difficult to withstand competition from foreign imports, and thus more difficult to improve our balance of payments position, and stem the flow of gold. And it is necessary to stem it for our national security, if we're going to pay for our security commitments abroad. And it would surely handicap our efforts to induce other industries and unions to adopt responsible price and wage policies.

The facts of the matter are that there is no justification for an increase in steel prices. The recent settlement between the industry and the union, which does not even take place until July 1st, was widely acknowl-

edged to be noninflationary, and the whole purpose and effect of this administration's role, which both parties understood, was to achieve an agreement which would make unnecessary any increase in prices. Steel output per man is rising so fast that labor costs per ton of steel can actually be expected to decline in the next 12 months. And in fact, the Acting Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics informed me this morning that, and I quote, "employment costs per unit of steel output in 1961 were essentially the same as they were in 1958."

The cost of the major raw materials, steel scrap and coal, has also been declining, and for an industry which has been generally operating at less than two-thirds of capacity, its profit rate has been normal and can be expected to rise sharply this year in view of the reduction in idle capacity. Their lot has been easier than that of one hundred thousand steel workers thrown out of work in the last 3 years. The industry's cash dividends have exceeded \$600 million in each of the last 5 years, and earnings in the first quarter of this year were estimated in the February 28th Wall Street Journal to be among the highest in history.

In short, at a time when they could be exploring how more efficiency and better prices could be obtained, reducing prices in this industry in recognition of lower costs, their unusually good labor contract, their foreign competition and their increase in production and profits which are coming this year, a few gigantic corporations have decided to increase prices in ruthless disregard of their public responsibilities.

The Steelworkers Union can be proud that it abided by its responsibilities in this agreement, and this Government also has responsibilities which we intend to meet. The Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission are examining the significance of this action in a free, competitive economy. The Department of Defense and other agencies are reviewing its impact on their policies of procurement. And I am informed that steps are under way by those members of the

Congress who plan appropriate inquiries into how these price decisions are so quickly made and reached and what legislative safeguards may be needed to protect the public interest.

Price and wage decisions in this country, except for a very limited restriction in the case of monopolies and national emergency strikes, are and ought to be freely and privately made. But the American people have a right to expect, in return for that freedom, a higher sense of business responsibility for the welfare of their country than has been shown in the last 2 days.

Some time ago I asked each American to consider what he would do for his country and I asked the steel companies. In the last 24 hours we had their answer.

[2.] I've got one other statement here. Mr. Hatcher is going to release a statement in regard to the release of the Guards. Let me say in summary that Secretary McNamara and I have carefully reviewed our progress in achieving permanent increases in our military strength. We have concluded that the rate of progress of this effort is such that if there is no serious deterioration in the international situation between now and August, we shall be able in that month to release all those who were called involuntarily. Our continuing strength after this release will be much increased over what it was a year ago.

Just as an example, the number of our combat-ready Army divisions in active service after the release will be 16, as against 11 a year ago. The release is not the result of any marked change in the international situation, which continues to have many dangers and tensions. It is the result, rather, of our successful buildup of permanent instead of emergency strength.

The units we release will remain available, in a new and heightened state of combat readiness if a new crisis should arise requiring their further service. I know that I speak for all of our countrymen in expressing our appreciation to all those who've served under the adverse conditions of living in camps and

being taken away from their families. And their service and the willingness of the great, great majority of all of them to do this uncomplainingly, I think, should be an inspiration to every American.

[3.] And lastly, last Saturday I issued an Executive order creating a Board of Inquiry to inquire into the issues involved in the current labor dispute in the west coast maritime industry. The Board of Inquiry filed its written report with me today. In its unanimous report, the Board stated:

"The current strike, if continued, will affect approximately 130 cargo and passenger ships, including those which constitute the principal mode of transportation of passengers and vital cargo to and from the State of Hawaii."

Other reports I have received clearly manifest that a continuation of this strike imperils the national health and safety.

I have therefore instructed the Attorney General to seek an injunction against this strike under the national emergency provisions of the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947. While an injunction will restore the west coast maritime industry to full operation and return the striking members to work for 80 days, it should not, and I hope will not, interfere in any way with efforts towards full settlement.

I call upon the parties to make that effort, to achieve that settlement quickly. However, the public interest does not permit further delay in applying for an injunction. Consequently, I have made the decision to direct the Attorney General to apply for an appropriate order.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, the unusually strong language which you used in discussing the steel situation would indicate that you might be considering some pretty strong action. Are you thinking in terms of requesting or reviving the need for wage-price controls?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that my statement states what the situation is today. This is a free country. In all the conversations which were held by members of this administration

and myself with the leaders of the steel union and the companies, it was always very obvious that they could proceed with freedom to do what they thought was best within the limitations of law. But I did very clearly emphasize on every occasion that my only interest was in trying to secure an agreement which would not provide an increase in prices, because I thought that price stability in steel would have the most far-reaching consequences for industrial and economic stability and for our position abroad, and price instability would have the most far-reaching consequences in making our lot much more difficult.

When the agreement was signed, and the agreement was a moderate one and within the range of productivity increases, as I've said, actually, there will be reduction in cost per unit during the next year—I thought, I was hopeful, we'd achieved our goal. Now the actions that will be taken will be—are being now considered by the administration. The Department of Justice is particularly anxious, in view of the very speedy action of the companies who have entirely different economic problems facing them than did United States Steel—the speed with which they moved, it seems to me, to require an examination of our present laws, and whether they're being obeyed, by the Federal Trade Commission and particularly the Department of Justice. I'm very interested in the respective investigations that will be conducted in the House and Senate, and whether we shall need additional legislation, which I would come to very reluctantly. But I must say the last 24 hours indicates that those with great power are not always concerned about the national interest.

Q. In your conversation with Mr. Blough yesterday, did you make a direct request that this price increase be either deferred or rescinded?

THE PRESIDENT. I was informed about the price increase after the announcement had gone out to the papers. I told Mr. Blough of my very keen disappointment and what I thought would be the most unfortunate

effects of it. And of course we were hopeful that other companies who, as I've said, have a different situation in regard to profits and all of the rest than U.S. Steel, they're all—have a somewhat different economic situation.

I was hopeful particularly in view of the statement in the paper by the president of Bethlehem in which he stated—though now he says he's misquoted—that there should be no price increase, and we are investigating that statement. I was hopeful that the others would not follow the example, that therefore the pressures of the competitive marketplace would bring United States Steel back to their original prices. But the parade began. But it came to me after the decision was made. There was no prior consultation or information given to the administration.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, now that General Clay is coming home from Berlin, don't you think that the service wives have borne the brunt of our gold shortage long enough, and should be permitted to join their soldier husbands in Europe? After all, you can almost say that service couples have had to bear a cross of gold alone, and in a very lonely way. And spring is here and everyone knows that the GI's—[laughter]—get into much less trouble and do their jobs better if their wives and kids are with them.

THE PRESIDENT. I agree. And, we're very sympathetic. We are trying to make an analysis of how important this saving is to our general problem. As I've said, it costs us \$3 billion to maintain our forces and bases overseas. That money must be earned by a surplus of exports over imports. And that's—I've asked Secretary McNamara to try to reduce that in the next 12 to 18 months by \$1,100,000,000, in order to try to bring this gold flow into balance. And that means taking a third out of the Defense Department without reducing its strength. So that's why these women are bearing hardships—and these families. And that's why I contrasted such unhappiness to the last 24 hours, because the fact of the matter is, if

we're not able to compete, this results in a larger increase of imports from foreign markets, and therefore lowers our dollar values—and those wives are going to have to stay home.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, when the Strategic Air Command had a false alarm for a few moments last fall, were you notified? And if not, do you think you should have been? And have you made arrangements to be, if there are any cases in the future?

THE PRESIDENT. That story, in my opinion, was overstated. There was a breach in the communications between the base at Thule and at—and our Continental Command. As you know, we were in a 15-minute alert. This lasted for a few seconds. General Power alerted those forces which were on a standby basis. There are constant drills. It was not that we were, as I saw in some papers—primarily those in Europe—a few seconds from war, because the fact of the matter is it would have taken many, many—several hours before they could have taken off and begun to fly, and we were always in control. So that I thought General Power took the right action before anything was done which would in any way have threatened the security of the United States. Of course, the communication would have come immediately. But there is always this problem of being on the alert.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, if I could get back to steel for a minute, you mentioned an investigation into the suddenness of the decision to increase prices. Did you—is the position of the administration that it believed it had the assurance of the steel industry at the time of the recent labor agreement that it would not increase prices?

THE PRESIDENT. We did not ask either side to give us any assurance, because there is a very proper limitation to the power of the Government in this free economy. All we did in our meetings was to emphasize how important it was that there be price stability, and we stressed that our whole purpose in attempting to persuade the union

to begin to bargain early and to make an agreement which would not affect prices, of course, was for the purpose of maintaining price stability. That was the thread that ran through every discussion which I had or Secretary Goldberg had. We never at any time asked for a commitment in regard to the terms, precise terms, of the agreement from either Mr. McDonald or Mr. Blough, representing the steel company, because in our opinion that is—would be passing over the line of propriety. But I don't think that there was any question that our great interest in attempting to secure the kind of settlement that was finally secured was to maintain price stability, which we regard as very essential at this particular time. That agreement provided for price stability—up to yesterday.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, could you interpret for us the significance of General Clay's return? Does it mean that the administration now believes that the Berlin crisis is negotiable?

THE PRESIDENT. No, no. When he came with us, as you know, he was the responsible officer in the Continental Can Company. And he said he would take a leave of absence to January. And then in January we asked him to stay further. But he has said for several months now that he really felt that his obligation was to return. We have—he's recommended very highly the responsible Americans who are there. When he comes back tomorrow I'm going to ask him, and I'm sure he will respond, to continue to act as consultant to me on the matter of Berlin; to make periodic visits and to be available to return there at any time that we should conclude that his presence would be valuable. So that we have—I notice Mayor Brandt said that General Clay might be more helpful to the cause here than he would be even there. And I think what the Mayor meant was that his experience there and his work in the last 7 months would be very valuable to the administration. So his service continues and the problem of Berlin continues.

[9.] Q. In your statement on the steel industry, sir, you mentioned a number of instances which would indicate that the cost of living will go up for many people if this price increase were to remain effective. In your opinion, does that give the steelworkers the right to try to obtain some kind of a price—or a wage increase to catch up?

THE PRESIDENT. No. Rather interestingly, the last contract was signed on Saturday with Great Lakes, so that the steel union is bound for a year, and of course, I'm sure would have felt like going much further if the matter had worked out as we had all hoped. But they've made their agreement and I'm sure they are going to stick with it. It does not provide for the sort of action you've suggested.

Q. Still on steel, Senator Gore advocated today legislation to regulate steel prices somewhat in the manner that public utility prices are regulated and his argument seemed to be that the steel industry had sacrificed some of the privileges of the free market because it wasn't really setting its prices on a supply and demand, but what he called administered prices. Your statement earlier, and your remarks since, indicate a general agreement with that kind of approach. Is that correct?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think that I'd stated that. I'd have to look and see what Senator Gore has suggested, and I'm not familiar with it. What I said was that we should examine what can be done to try to minimize the impact on the public interest of these decisions, but though we had, of course, always hoped that those involved would recognize that. I would say that what must disturb Senator Gore and Congressman Celler and others—Senator Kefauver—will be the suddenness by which every company in the last few hours, one by one as the morning went by, came in with their almost, if not identical, almost identical price increases, which isn't really the way we expect the competitive private enterprise system to always work.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, would you clarify, please, the United States position in the New Guinea dispute between the Netherlands and Indonesia? Recently there have been reports of displeasure from the Netherlands that proposals put forward by the United States were not fair to the Netherlands.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I agree, I think everybody is displeased, really, with our role, because our role is an attempt—Ambassador Bunker's role has been, under the direction of U Thant, to try to see if we can bring some adjustment to prevent a military action which would be harmful to the interests of both countries, with which we desire to be friendly. So I suppose it's hard to think of any proposal that we could make which would be welcome on both sides.

I'm hopeful that if we can be useful, we'll continue to try to be. If both sides feel that we cannot be, then perhaps others can take on this assignment, or perhaps it can be done bilaterally. But I—Ambassador Bunker is a diplomat of long experience and great skill, and our only interest is to see if we can have a peaceful solution which we think is in the long-range interest of the free world, of our allies—with whom we're allied—the Dutch and the Indonesians, whom we would like to see stay free. So that the role of the mediator is not a happy one, and we're prepared to have everybody mad, if it makes some progress.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with the steel situation again, is there not action that could be taken by the executive branch in connection with direct procurement of steel under the administration of the Agency for International Aid—I mean the aid agency. For example I think the Government buys about a million tons of steel. Now, could not the Government decide that only steel—that steel should be purchased only at the price, say, of yesterday, rather than today?

THE PRESIDENT. That matter was considered, as a matter of fact, in a conversation between the Secretary of Defense and myself

last evening. But at that time we were not aware that nearly the entire industry was about to come in, and therefore the amount of choice we have is somewhat limited.

Q. Sir, too, on this thing, in the case of identical bids which the Government is sometimes confronted with, they decide to choose the smaller business unit rather than the larger.

THE PRESIDENT. I'm hopeful that there will be those who will not participate in this parade and will meet the principle of the private enterprise competitive system in which every one tries to sell at the lowest price commensurate with their interests. And I'm hopeful that there will be some who will decide that they shouldn't go in the wake of U.S. Steel. But we have to wait and see on that, because they're coming in very fast.

Q. Mr. President, 2 years ago, after the settlement, I believe steel prices were not raised.

THE PRESIDENT. That is right.

Q. Do you think there was an element of political discrimination in the behavior of the industry this year?

THE PRESIDENT. I would not—and if there was, it doesn't really—if it was—if that was the purpose, that is comparatively unimportant to the damage that—the country is the one that suffers. If they do it in order to spite me, it really isn't so important.

Q. Mr. President, to carry a previous question just one step further, as a result of the emphasis that you placed on holding the price line, did any word or impression come to you from the negotiations that there would be no price increase under the type of agreement that was signed?

THE PRESIDENT. I will say that in our conversations that we asked no commitments in regard to the details of the agreement or in regard to any policies which the union or the company—our central thrust was that price stability was necessary and that the way to do it was to have a responsible agreement, which we got.

Now, at no time did anyone suggest that if such an agreement was gained that it would be still necessary to put up prices. That word did not come until last night.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, there has been a price increase in Cuba as well. Mr. Castro has increased the price that he's put on human life in the release or tentative release of the prisoners captured in the abortive invasion attempt last year. Would you comment on this, please?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that all of us had hoped that the day when men were put on the block had long ago passed from this hemisphere. And it had from every country, until very recently in Cuba. I think Mr. Castro knows that the United States Government cannot engage in a negotiation like that, and he knows very well that the families cannot raise these millions of dollars. It's rather interesting, so what he has done really in effect is sentence them to 30 years in prison. It's rather interesting that Castro himself, when he engaged in an operation under a dictator whom we've been harshly critical of—that he was let out of prison after an open trial in 15 months. He regards for his own countrymen—not the countrymen who from his point of view may have been wrong, but who fought in the open, and who took their chances, and were young men—he regards the appropriate treatment for them and for thousands of other Cubans to be this long prison sentence of 30 years which, in my opinion, is why Mr. Castro is increasingly isolated in the company of free men.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, the steel industry is one of a half dozen which has been expecting tax benefits this summer through revision of the depreciation schedules. Does this price hike affect the administration's actions in this area?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it affects our budget. Secretary Dillon and I discussed it this morning. Of course, all this matter is being very carefully looked into now.

[14.] Q. The Presidents of Mexico and of Brazil announced a principle of adher-

ence to nonintervention between the Communist and the capitalist blocs. Does this accord with what President Goulart told you when he was here in Washington?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. I haven't seen the joint statement, but I'm sure it does. I think we are bound together through the Organization of American States, and it's difficult to comment on a joint statement that I've not read, but I think President Goulart says the same in Mexico as he does in Washington.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, General Lemnitzer has recently conferred our Legion of Merit on a Japanese officer who apparently planned the Pearl Harbor attack. Can you think of any particular reason for this award?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. The reason given was that he had been a distinguished officer of the Japanese Air Force; that his relations with the United States had been extremely cooperative. He was acting as a military officer. And I—I think that this kind of—the days of the war are over, and I thought that it was appropriate. He's a distinguished flyer, and while we all regret Pearl Harbor and everything else—but we are in a new era in our relations with Japan, fortunately.

[16.] Q. Sir, what are you going to do about the American soldiers getting killed in Viet-Nam?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I'm extremely concerned about American soldiers who are in a great many areas in hazard. We are attempting to help Viet-Nam maintain its independence and not fall under the domination of the Communists. The Government has stated that it needs our assistance in doing it. It's very—and it presents a very hazardous operation, in the same sense that World War II, World War I, Korea—a good many thousands and hundreds of thousands of Americans died. So that these four sergeants are in that long roll. But we cannot desist in Viet-Nam. And I think that it is the fact that these men, operating very far from home, very far indeed from Saigon, under great danger—and there are many others—the fact of their contributions, as well as the Wisconsin and Texas National Guard, it is in that setting that I look at the present actions.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's thirtieth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 3:30 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, April 11, 1962.

140 Statement by the President on the Release of National Guard and Reserve Units. *April 11, 1962*

LAST SUMMER we found it necessary to respond rapidly to a rapid increase in the level of international tension. Our response was two-fold. First, we mobilized two National Guard divisions and associated Reserve units, 36 tactical fighter and troop carrier squadrons, and a number of ships and naval air squadrons. Reluctant as we were to disturb the lives and interrupt the careers of American citizens, we found it necessary to act as we did to protect the national security.

An equally important part of our response to the heightened Soviet threat was our decision, supported by the Congress and the

American people, to increase the pace and size of our permanent buildup of nuclear and non-nuclear forces. At that time, we requested and obtained from the Congress an additional \$3.5 billion to augment the two earlier supplements totalling \$2.5 billion, which had previously been added to our military budget for fiscal 1962.

As soon as our \$3.5 billion budget request was approved by the Congress, Secretary McNamara, at my direction, took steps to obtain the men and the arms required for the buildup, on an accelerated schedule. We set about organizing two additional regular divisions. These divisions will, by the end

of the summer, bring the number of regular combat-ready Army divisions to 16, as against 11 such divisions in June of 1961. We retained 6 wings of B-47 bombers scheduled for inactivation, and we are increasing the number of tactical fighter wings from 16 to 21. We accelerated procurement of new equipment, both for nuclear and non-nuclear combat. We more than doubled the construction rate for Polaris submarines.

Our permanent buildup is, of course, still going on. But I can now report that we have reached the point where we can determine that in August of this year, unless there is a serious deterioration in the international situation in the meantime, we shall be able to release the National Guard divisions and the Reserves who were called to active duty last year.

We are, and will remain, prepared to do what is necessary to protect our own interests and the security of our friends and allies. The substantial increase in combat power that has been achieved in order to

permit release of the Guardsmen and Reservists will be maintained. To the extent that reserve units are now stationed in Europe (as in the case of tactical fighter squadrons), we are making detailed plans to replace them with equivalent regular units.

This release is not the result of any marked change in the international situation, which continues to have many dangers and tensions. It is the result, rather, of our successful build-up of permanent instead of emergency strength. The units we release will remain available, in a new and heightened state of combat readiness, if a new crisis should arise requiring further service.

I know that I speak for all Americans in paying tribute to all those whose emergency service in this year of growing national strength is doing so much for the national interest. Their ready response to our call to duty has been a most important element in the defense of freedom everywhere, in these last months.

141 Toasts of the President and the Shah of Iran.

April 11, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

I know that you all join with me in welcoming our distinguished guest to the United States. His Highness and I have a "burden" that we carry in common; we both paid state visits to Paris last year, and from all accounts we might as well both have stayed at home. We are glad to have him come to the United States again.

It has never been easy to be a Persian, from the oldest times in history till today. But I must say that all history records what all of us know, and that is the determination of the people of his country to maintain their freedom.

His people did it against the Romans, against the Ottoman Empire, against friends from the south and enemies from the north—and he does it today.

Under the American Constitution a Presi-

dent is finished after 8 years, or 4 years by the voters, but he has carried the burden for 20 years, and may have to carry it another 20 years. He not only reigns and deals with the ceremonies of office, but also is a vital force in maintaining the independence of his country.

We are quite aware that were it not for the leadership that he has given, in identifying himself with the best aspirations of his people—whom he is bringing out of an entirely different historic period into today, of surrounding himself with able and dedicated Ministers—we are quite aware that this vital area of the world, which has been as Mr. Molotov made clear, a vital matter of concern to the Soviet Union, for many, many years, would long ago have collapsed.

So, when we welcome the Shah here, we welcome a friend and a very valiant fighter.

We do not live in easy times ourselves. But we do not live in the belly of the bear. But he does—and has done it for years, and his country is still free.

So I hope you all will join me in drinking a toast to his country—and to a very distinguished participant in this struggle.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a dinner in the State Dining Room at the White House. The Shah responded briefly and then read a prepared speech in which he reviewed the history of U.S. relations with Iran, and outlined some of the problems and goals of the Persian people. The full text of the Shah's remarks was released by the Iranian Embassy.

142 Statement by the President on Equal Opportunity in Housing.

April 12, 1962

THE HEARINGS being held today by the Commission on Civil Rights on the status of equal opportunity in housing are of the utmost importance, to our Nation as well as to our city.

Thirteen years ago, in passing the National Housing Act, Congress pledged itself to the goal of a decent home in a suitable living environment for all Americans. It is clear now, as it was then, that this objective cannot be fulfilled as long as some Americans are denied equal access to the housing market because of their race or religion.

In our Nation's Capital the problem is more than assuring equal opportunity to American citizens. When racial discrimination persists here, it sometimes constitutes a personal affront to the diplomats of sovereign nations and always reflects upon our ability as a nation to live up to our Constitutional ideals.

Washington should provide an example of our worthiest professions and best practices, both for the nation and the world. We have made progress toward this goal, but we are not yet there.

Thus, I welcome this inquiry into the status of equal housing opportunity in Washington. As a bipartisan agency composed of distinguished educators from all sections of the United States, the Commission on Civil Rights is uniquely suited to search out the facts, sift the evidence and recommend corrective action. I am following these proceedings with interest and I look forward to the Commission's report and recommendations.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The Commission's report entitled "Civil Rights USA—Housing in Washington" was submitted to the President on October 20 (Government Printing Office, 1962, 44 pp.).

143 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting a Report on Employee Training.

April 12, 1962

Dear Mr. ————:

The Government Employees Training Act (Public Law 85-507) directs the Civil Service Commission to submit annually to the President for his approval and transmittal to the Congress a report with respect to the training of employees of the Government under the authority of the Act. I am

transmitting to you with this letter the Commission's report and review of progress in employee development activities entitled, "Employee Development and Training in the Federal Civil Service, Fiscal Year 1961."

It is significant that the Federal departments and agencies specifically recognize that improved training is an essential ele-

ment in 1) increasing employee skills and knowledge, 2) improving the services rendered the public, 3) introducing new and better work methods, 4) developing a reservoir of management talent, 5) expediting our missile and space programs, 6) developing and establishing new and improved medical techniques in our Federal medical centers, and 7) developing competent personnel to administer international assistance programs.

The Commission reports that training is being conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Government Employees Training Act.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Commission's report (14 pp., processed) is dated January 1962.

144 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the President of the European Economic Community. *April 12, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT and Dr. Walter Hallstein, President of the Commission of the European Economic Community, have met at the White House today.

The President and Dr. Hallstein reviewed with satisfaction important developments of the past year, including the successful completion of the first stage of the Common Market. They agreed that the continuing evolution of a strong, closely knit European entity presents to statesmen of the West a historic opportunity to build an Atlantic Partnership founded on close cooperation between two equal partners.

While congratulating Dr. Hallstein on successful first steps toward establishment of a common agricultural policy and recognizing a common approach to agriculture as essential in the construction of an integrated Europe, the President emphasized the importance of agricultural exports to the trade of the United States and other Free World countries, and repeated his expectation that

the Community would take these factors into account. In this respect, the President referred to the special responsibility of the highly industrialized powers, such as the United States and the European Economic Community, to work for free and non-discriminatory access to their markets for the products of developing nations in Latin America, Africa and Asia.

Dr. Hallstein affirmed his sincere support for the President's trade program and for its objectives of reducing barriers to trade, on a non-discriminatory basis, between the two great trading units of the United States and the European Economic Community. The President and Dr. Hallstein agreed that a program of this nature promises to add great strength and cohesion to the West. Dr. Hallstein expressed the view that the President's trade program offers the basis for fruitful negotiation, in a spirit of genuine reciprocity, between the United States and the European Economic Community.

145 Statement by the President Following a Meeting With General Clay on the Berlin Situation. *April 12, 1962*

GENERAL CLAY and I have had a thorough discussion of the situation in Berlin and of his own role in it. General Clay has served for several months beyond the duration of this assignment as originally ex-

pected. He has served with great effectiveness in helping to sustain the close partnership and mutual understanding of the people of West Berlin with the United States in a time of grave danger.

While there is still no settlement of the differences among the great powers over Germany and Berlin, and while the defense of the freedom of West Berlin remains a matter of the highest concern to the United States, General Clay has reported to me that the morale and economy of the city are such that his full-time presence as my Personal Representative is no longer required. This is particularly true as allied planning and coordination have advanced rapidly in the last several months.

While personal considerations would not lead General Clay to ask to be relieved in time of emergency, he should not be called upon to stay indefinitely when his immediate mission is over. With regard to his work in Berlin, General Clay's contributions to the situation there are too well known to

require comment other than to say that I am glad that he will remain in service on call as my adviser on matters relating to Berlin. In this capacity, he will be returning to the city at frequent intervals in future months, and in case of emergency he is only eight hours away from the city. He will go back to Berlin Sunday where he will remain for a few weeks.

General Clay has made a great contribution in the last autumn and winter, and it is good that this contribution will continue as he comes home from full-time service.

NOTE: The appointment of Gen. Lucius D. Clay as the President's Personal Representative in Berlin, with rank of Ambassador, was announced on August 30, 1961 (see 1961 volume, this series, Item 334 [3]).

146 Letter to President Goulart of Brazil on the Signing of an Alliance for Progress Agreement With Brazil. *April 13, 1962*

Dear Mr. President:

I am deeply gratified by today's signature of an agreement through which our two countries, under the Alliance for Progress, will work together in a program of development in the Northeast of Brazil.

We approach this program with the same sense of urgency and in the same determined spirit that your government has demonstrated in its planning for this region. We share with you the conviction that the twenty million people in the Northeast must be afforded an opportunity to participate in the future growth of Brazil, and that we must make a bold attack on the economic and social problems of the region.

We work together under this program to give full meaning to the Alliance for Progress, confident that this undertaking will move us forward toward the goals set forth last August at Punta del Este. What makes it an Alliance program in the true sense is that the initiative came from Brazil; that the plan was conceived in your country; and that it will be administered by Brazilians.

Our joint program will consist of a two-pronged attack on the problems of the Northeast.

First, we will act to meet specific urgent needs of highest priority to bring pure water to areas that lack water, to create sources of electric power, to provide education that will enhance workers skills, and to establish emergency health units throughout the area.

Second, we will pledge ninety-eight million dollars to the first two years of your five year long-range program of development—a program designed to bring about a steady increase in living standards, rising opportunities, and the integration of the Northeast into the national economy of Brazil.

At the end of the two years we will conduct a joint review of the program and decide together how we can most effectively work toward our goals in the succeeding years.

We are aware that the problems we face are complex and deep-rooted, that they will not yield to slogans or superficial action. Only hard work, patience and persistence in

carrying project after project to completion will achieve what we seek: to change the face of Northeast Brazil and provide a better life for its people.

I am most grateful, Mr. President, for this opportunity to join with you in what we hope will be a major contribution to a better life in our hemisphere.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[His Excellency João Belchior Marques Goulart, President of the Republic of the United States of Brazil, Brasília, Brazil]

NOTE: Under the agreement, signed at Washington on April 13 by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Brazilian Foreign Minister San Tiago Dantas, the United States and Brazil together committed \$276 million to the development of northeast Brazil. The text of the agreement is printed in *Treaties and Other International Acts Series 4990* (13 UST 356).

147 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the Shah of Iran. *April 13, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT and His Imperial Majesty have had a cordial and useful exchange of views during the past three days. The visit afforded an opportunity for the President and the Shah to become acquainted personally and to discuss matters of mutual interest to their countries.

Their talks included a review of political and military situations in the world; a discussion of the progress which Iran is making in economic and social advancement; a review of defense arrangements in which the two countries are associated; and aspects of United States economic and military aid programs in Iran.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and Iranian Foreign Minister Abbas Aram also participated in the talks.

His Imperial Majesty described the form and goals of the Third Iranian Economic Development Plan, which is scheduled to start later this year. The President and His Imperial Majesty agreed on the necessity for further acceleration of economic development in Iran, and on the need for continued external assistance to Iran to enable that country to pursue the goals of its economic development plans.

They discussed and were in complete agreement on the subject of the nature of the threat to the Middle East and to all free peoples. They reaffirmed the provisions of the bilateral agreement of 1959 concerning the maintenance of the independence and territorial integrity of Iran, and agreed on the necessity of collective security arrangements to achieve this end. They also agreed on the necessity of achieving a high level of internal economic development and social welfare in order to continue the internal stability necessary to resist external threats.

The friendly and extensive exchange of views between the President and His Imperial Majesty has been consonant with the close relationship between the two countries and has strengthened the bonds of friendship between them in their quest for common objectives of peace and well-being.

In taking leave of the President, His Imperial Majesty expressed his thanks for the friendly reception accorded him in the United States. Both the President and His Imperial Majesty were gratified by their fruitful discussions and by the spirit of cooperative understanding which marked those discussions.

148 Remarks Aboard the U.S.S. *Enterprise* After Observing Naval Maneuvers. April 14, 1962

Admiral, Captain, gentlemen:

I want to express on behalf of the Members of the Congress, the Ambassadors from many countries, on behalf of myself, and I think the people of the United States, our great appreciation to you, both for your efforts today and your efforts on other days and nights, in spring and in winter and in summer.

The United States Navy helps secure the freedom of countries thousands of miles away. Ships which sail hundreds of miles from coasts to far-off places, preserve the freedom of those countries. And therefore as a former member of the United States Navy, and now as President, I want to express to you our heartfelt appreciation. I hope you realize the contribution that you are making not only to the preservation of

the peace, but to the preservation of the freedom of this country and the over 50 countries which are allied with us, and others which, while not allied, benefit from our strength.

What you have shown us today—the ships, the techniques, and most of all your own skill and courage—makes all of us return to the Capital with a good deal more confidence and hope.

I am very grateful to you, and I want to express my personal thanks to all of you.

NOTE: The President spoke from the hangar deck of the aircraft carrier *Enterprise* at sea off the North Carolina coast, where he had observed a demonstration by the Atlantic Fleet. His opening words "Admiral, Captain" referred to Adm. Robert L. Dennison, Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, and Commander of the Atlantic Fleet, and to Capt. Vincent P. de Poix, Commander of the *Enterprise*.

149 Remarks at the Marine Air Station, Cherry Point, North Carolina. April 14, 1962

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Secretary, Admiral Dennison, General, our friends the Ambassadors and Members of the Congress:

I know I speak on behalf of the entire group that were the guests of the Navy and the Marines today in expressing our great appreciation to all of the officers and men who took part in today's operation. And I don't think that there are any of us who do not leave this base this afternoon prouder than ever that we are citizens of the United States and strong supporters of the efforts of the men who are serving this country so well.

The fact is that the ships and men and marines on the ground and in the air, on this base and nearby, are helping to defend the freedom of countries which are thousands of miles away. We are most appreciative to them for their efforts, and it is, I know, day

in and day out doing routine jobs which keep this country free and at peace.

We also want to express our appreciation to their families who are here today. We are obligated to all of you. And I know that you share a sense of satisfaction that in this critical time in the life of our country you and your husbands are meeting, and more than meeting, your responsibilities.

We express our thanks to all of you, and we will continue to count upon you to join with all other Americans in meeting and fulfilling their duties. We thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at a combat readiness and weapons demonstration. In his opening words he referred to Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, Adm. Robert L. Dennison, Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, and Commander of the Atlantic Fleet, and Gen. David M. Shoup, Commandant of the Marine Corps.

150 Remarks at a White House Musical Program for Youth.
April 16, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

Mrs. Kennedy and I want to welcome all of you to the White House and to this third in a series of musical afternoons arranged by some of our most active teachers and demonstrating the talents of some of our most gifted boys and girls.

I'm particularly glad to welcome this youth orchestra from greater Boston. And also, from Texas, to welcome the Breckenridge Choir which is going to sing some songs of Texas and of the United States.

We're also glad to welcome Members of the Congress—and Senator Yarborough and the Vice President's daughter, I believe, come from the same State as the choir—and Congressman Burleson, I think, who represents their District in the Congress—and also all of you from parts of Washington.

One of our great assets in this country are the talented boys and girls who devote their early lives to music, to appreciation of music, to an understanding of it. This is a great and I think vital force in American life. It is a part of American life which I think is somewhat unheralded around the world. But this emphasis upon artistic achievement in music I think is a source of satisfaction and pride to all of us.

I want to congratulate all the teachers who

are involved with these boys and girls—from Texas and from Massachusetts—who are symbolic of the hundreds of thousands of dedicated teachers from all parts of the United States who are attempting to give to young boys and girls the same enthusiasm and discipline which has been given to them by other teachers.

So you are very welcome to this house, which belongs to all of you, and to these grounds. We are proud to have you here. I never heard the Star Spangled Banner played with more enthusiasm and precision—and we are looking forward to listening to all of you. And as I said last year, I will keep the door of my office open all afternoon.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke on the South Lawn at the White House.

The Greater Boston Youth Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Marvin Rabin, and the Breckenridge Boys Choir of Breckenridge, Tex., directed by Mrs. Ben J. Dean, Jr., entertained more than 600 junior and senior high school students in the third of Mrs. Kennedy's "musical programs for youth by youth."

Among the guests from Texas to whom the President referred were Ralph Yarborough, U.S. Senator, Omar Burleson, U.S. Representative, and the Vice President's daughter, Lynda Bird Johnson.

151 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the
House Concerning the Federal Reserve System. *April 17, 1962*

Dear Mr. ————:

In my Economic Report to the Congress on January 20, I recommended two reforms affecting the Federal Reserve System: (1) revision of the terms of the Chairman and other members of the Board of Governors so that a new President will be able to nominate a Chairman of his own choice at the

beginning of his term, and (2) giving adequate recognition to the important responsibilities of the Board of Governors by increasing their salaries.

Both of these reforms were proposed by the independent and nonpartisan Commission on Money and Credit in its Report last year. Both were endorsed in the Annual

Report of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress on my January 1962 Economic Report.

1. *Revision of Terms*

The Board consists of seven governors appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate for terms of 14 years, staggered so that one term expires on January 31 every second year. The Board shares important responsibilities for the policies of the System with Presidents of the twelve Federal Reserve Banks. By these arrangements the Congress has assured the System both continuity and independence from political influence.

Federal Reserve monetary policies affect, and are affected by, the economic and financial measures of other Federal agencies. Federal Reserve actions are an important part, but not the whole, of Government policies for economic stabilization and growth at home and for the defense of the dollar abroad. Therefore, as has been recognized throughout the history of the Federal Reserve, the principal officer of the System must have the confidence of the President. This is essential for the effective coordination of the monetary, fiscal, and financial policies of the government. It is essential for the effective representation of the Federal Reserve System itself in the formulation of Executive policies affecting the System's responsibilities.

Prior to 1935 the Federal Reserve Act provided that one member of the Federal Reserve Board "be designated by the President as Governor and one as Vice Governor" and specified no definite terms for these officers. Until 1927 the President customarily designated the Governor for one year at a time. Thereafter, until the Banking Act of 1935, a Board member was designated as Governor "until otherwise directed." The Banking Act of 1935 amended the Act to provide that the President shall designate a Chairman and Vice-Chairman from the membership of the Board of Governors "to serve as such for a

term of four years." Evidently the term was set at four years in order to relate it to the Presidential term. However, the timing was not specified, and in practice the terms of the officers of the Board have never coincided with the Presidential term. In fact the timing is a matter of chance, subject to change whenever the offices of Chairman and Vice-Chairman are vacated by death or resignation. From 1936 to 1948, each term of the Chairman expired on January 31 of the final year of the Presidential term. At present it expires on March 31, 1963.

The draft bill which I am transmitting with this letter embodies amendments to the Federal Reserve Act to revise the terms of office as follows:

(a) Beginning in 1965, the term of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman will be four years beginning each February 1 following the election of the President. Should either office be vacated by death or resignation, the President would designate a member of the Board of Governors to fill the vacancy, not for four years but for the unexpired term. As a transitional arrangement, the term of a Chairman or Vice-Chairman appointed prior to January 31, 1965, will expire on that date.

(b) In order that the President may be able to appoint a Chairman of his own choice shortly after his inauguration, he must have an opening on the Board of Governors to fill at the same time. The terms of members of the Board now expire on January 31 in even years. To make them expire in odd years instead, it is proposed that the terms of incumbent governors be extended by one year.

Chairman Martin of the Board of Governors concurs in these proposed changes.

2. *Increase in Salary Status*

The Board of Governors has immense responsibilities for the health of the United States economy. The performance of its tasks requires specialized knowledge and good judgment in exceedingly complex fields of domestic and international eco-

nomics and finance. The salaries of the Governors should be commensurate with their grave responsibilities, sufficient to attract outstanding men and to give them the prestige and status necessary for effective performance of their duties. As I said in my Economic Report, "The United States is behind other countries in the status accorded, by this concrete symbol, to the leadership of its 'central bank,' and I urge that the Congress take corrective action."

From 1913, when the Federal Reserve System was established, until 1925, and from 1935 to 1949, the salaries of members of the Board were the same as those of Cabinet members. At present, under the Federal Executive Pay Act of 1956, the salary of the Chairman is \$20,500 and the salary of other Governors is \$20,000. I recommend that the salary of the Chairman be fixed at \$25,000, equal to that of Department heads,

and that the salary of other Governors be fixed at \$22,000. The Chairman and the other Governors should, of course, receive further salary increases in accordance with their new status whenever the general scale of salaries of Federal executives is revised upward to make it consistent with the increases in civil service salaries I recommended in my message of February 19 on Federal Pay Reform. The draft bill transmitted herewith provides for the necessary amendments of the Federal Pay Act of 1956.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The report of the Commission on Money and Credit is entitled "Money and Credit: Their Influence on Jobs, Prices and Growth" (Prentice-Hall, 1961, 282 pp.).

152 The President's News Conference of *April 18, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. I have several announcements to make.

[1.] The United States has today tabled at Geneva an outline of basic provisions of a treaty on general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world. It provides a blueprint of our position on general and complete disarmament as well as elaboration of the nature, sequence, and timing of specific disarmament measures. This outline of a treaty represents the most comprehensive and specific series of proposals the United States or any other country has ever made on disarmament. In addition to stating the objectives and principles which should govern agreements for disarmament, the document calls for the grouping of individual measures in three balanced and safeguarded stages. We are hopeful through the give and take of the conference table this plan will have a constructive influence upon the negotiations now in progress. I

want to stress that with this plan the United States is making a major effort to achieve a breakthrough on disarmament negotiations. We believe that the nations represented at Geneva have a heavy responsibility to lay the foundations for a genuinely secure and peaceful world starting through a reduction in arms.

[2.] Secondly, I believe it would be appropriate to say a few words to follow up last week's events concerning steel prices.

First, let me make it clear that this administration harbors no ill will against any individual, any industry, corporation, or segment of the American economy. Our goals of economic growth and price stability are dependent upon the success of both corporations, business, and labor and there can be no room on either side in this country at this time for any feelings of hostility or vindictiveness.

When a mistake has been retracted and

the public interest preserved, nothing is to be gained from further public recriminations.

Secondly, while our chief concern last week was to prevent an inflationary spiral, we were not then and are not now unmindful of the steel industry's needs for profits, modernization, and investment capital. I believe, in fact, that this administration and the leaders of steel and other American industries are in basic agreement on far more objectives than we are in disagreement.

We agree on the necessity of increased investment in modern plant and equipment. We agree on the necessity of improving our industry's ability to compete with the products of other nations. We agree on the necessity of achieving an economic recovery and growth that will make the fullest possible use of idle capacity. We agree on the necessity of preventing an inflationary spiral that will lead to harmful restrictions on credit and consumption. And we agree on the necessity of preserving the Nation's confidence in free, private, collective bargaining and price decisions, holding the role of Government to the minimum level needed to protect the public interest.

In the pursuit of these objectives, we have fostered a responsible wage policy aimed at holding increases within the confines of productivity gains. We have encouraged monetary policies aimed at making borrowed capital available at reasonable cost; preparing a new transportation policy aimed at providing increased freedom of competition at lower costs; proposed a new trade expansion bill to gain for our industries increased access to foreign markets; proposed an 8 percent income tax credit to reward investment in new equipment and machinery; and proceeded to modernize administratively Treasury Department's guidelines on the depreciable lives of capital assets; and, finally, taken a host of other legislative and administrative actions to foster the kind of economic recovery which would improve both profits and incentives to invest.

I believe that the anticipated profits this

year for industry in general—and steel in particular—indicate that these policies are meeting with some measure of success. And it is a fact that the last quarter of last year, and I think the first quarter of this year, will be the highest profits in the history of this country, and the highest number of people working, and the highest productivity. So that while there are serious economic problems facing us, nevertheless I believe that progress is being made and can be made and must be made in the future.

[3.] Third, the vast majority, as I stated, of our reservists have responded to the call of service in accordance with our best traditions. Unfortunately, the widespread publicity given to the complaints of a small minority have subjected many of these men to unaccustomed pressures. Upon learning that a private first class faced a court-martial for writing a letter critical of my actions, I contacted the Secretary of the Army who has the difficult task of maintaining proper discipline, and he agreed with me that such offenses are more misguided than criminal in intent. Therefore, I have asked the Army to cancel the trial of Pfc. Larry D. Chidester at Fort Lewis, Wash., and in the same spirit of the Easter Week I have directed the Army to remit the balance of the sentence of Pfc. Bernis G. Owen, at Fort Polk, La.

[4.] Next, we are releasing today the reports submitted by the Presidential Commission on Campaign Costs.¹ I want to express my profound gratitude to this group made up of very experienced men representing those who've been active as students and as participants in the political process, fund-raisers, in both parties, who've come forward with a unanimous report which is now being examined by the administration, and will be the basis of legislative recommendations sent to the Congress which I think can provide a significant advancement of the public interest in this very vital field.

¹ "Financing Presidential Campaigns, Report of the President's Commission on Campaign Costs," dated April 1962 (Government Printing Office, 1962, 36 pp.).

[5.] And lastly, I am happy to announce that Mrs. Eisenhower has agreed to serve as honorary cochairman, with Mrs. Kennedy, of the National Cultural Center. The National Cultural Center, begun in the administration of President Eisenhower, is the most significant cultural undertaking in the history of Washington and is of enormous importance to the cultural life of our Nation as a whole.

I am gratified that Mrs. Eisenhower will be part of this undertaking which we hope to bring to success in the coming months.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, how does the change in the situation between last week and this affect the grand jury investigation in New York? There have been reports it will be soft-pedaled. Are these true or are the potential monopoly aspects still such as to warrant pressing the investigation?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the grand jury has been called in order to investigate a possible violation of the law and this is a matter now before the grand jury. And of course in accordance with the procedures provided this matter will be brought to a—continue to see if such a violation occurred.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, does there remain any considerable doubt on your part as to the necessity for resuming atmospheric testing shortly, and if and when you do resume testing, do you intend to announce it in advance?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the situation is the same as it was on March 2. The United States desires to achieve a responsible agreement to prevent future tests, providing for an effective inspection system. We stand ready now to conclude that test.

The response we received and that Prime Minister Macmillan received to his letter last week, would indicate that the chances of securing that agreement now for an effective inspection have—seem to be very negative; and if we do not get that agreement, then of course we shall proceed, as I stated on March 2.

In regard to any announcements to be

made, they will be appropriately made at the time.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, there are reports that some of your top military advisers are urging the United States to help France with the development of its nuclear striking force. Have you given this problem any consideration, and what do you think about it, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that the policy of the United States, of course, continues to be that of being very reluctant to see the proliferation of nuclear weapons. We are attempting to, in our disarmament offers that we've made we are attempting, and in my speech last September before the United Nations I said that I thought it would be regrettable if nuclear weapons proliferated, or spread. So that our policy continues on that basis, and will continue unless we feel that security requirements suggest a change.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, there has been considerable speculation that the victory you have won in the steel situation will be of great assistance for the passage of your legislative program in Congress. Would you care to comment on that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I hope it's of assistance in passing the tax credit, which is intended to provide, combined with price stability, a means for our industry to modernize itself, and in fact to encourage it. I'm hopeful—in my opinion if the rise in prices had been permitted to stand, it would be extremely difficult to secure the passage of this legislation. I think that the line that has been held provides a much better atmosphere, and I think that if this legislation is passed it will materially help the steel companies and industry in general. And I'm very strongly in support of it.

As far as the rest of the program, I think that that part of the program which is involved with the economy, I think will be helped by the fact that we've been able to maintain at this time a stable price level.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, you said several weeks ago that you would take another

look to see if you should request a supplemental appropriation this year to revive the Federal Flood Insurance Act of 1956. Have you reached any decision on that?

THE PRESIDENT. There is a meeting, as you know, of some of the Governors who were involved. It either has been in the last few hours or is today, and they're meeting with some of our Government officials. This is one of the matters being considered by the Governors and by the Federal Government.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, Mr. Rockefeller told me last night that he thought it was terrible that service wives, of which his daughter Mary is one, cannot join their service husbands abroad. So now we have not only gold and lonely hearts but also politics injected into this situation. And I'm wondering if now that steel prices aren't going up, the ban on service couples getting together might be lifted. It's been more than 7 months.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I understand, and I think I attempted in the last press conference to respond to the question. I stated we have a very serious problem involved in gold, that as I said last time, we're asking the Secretary of Defense to reduce our overseas expenditures by a billion dollars, and the responsibility falls very heavily upon him and upon all of us. We do not desire—obviously, it's against our national social interest to separate these families and we have done it to the extent that we have done it only because of a very serious crisis. Now, we—that crisis—at least that situation in regard to gold continues and Secretary McNamara is continuing to analyze the best way to provide for the saving of a billion dollars.

Q. Yes, I realize that, and I know that the gold situation is very serious, and I am wondering if you directed Secretary Dillon to look into the serious situation of American companies setting up plants abroad so often to escape American tax dollars or to take advantage of the cheaper labor abroad.

THE PRESIDENT. As you know, in the bill which passed the House of Representatives,

there is a section which deals with the problem of companies established abroad in order to evade taxes, and that's a matter now before the Senate. And it is an attempt to discourage that drain on our—on the dollar and gold by tax policies, and so we are attempting to meet it in a whole variety of ways.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, two questions in the wake of last week's developments. First, assuming that a price increase in steel would eventually be necessary and justified, do you have any thoughts as to how this price increase should be reached? And secondly, if some major labor union made excessive demands for wage increases, would you move as sharply against that union as you did last week against steel?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, to take the second part first, we had worked very closely with the steel union in an attempt to persuade them that it was in their interest and the country's interest to meet the standards set by the Council of Economic Advisers, and it was done. And that is why this matter came into particularly sharp focus last week.

Now, as far as the first part, I think that my original statement discussed our general views on it. This is a free economy. These matters are reached by the process of competition and collective bargaining. What we are attempting to do is to try to have them consider the public interest, which after all is their interest—the problems involving price stability, national security, and all the rest. They're very much interrelated, and this is particularly true in the basic industries. But the—our power is that—if the industry is competitive, prices are reached through the normal process of competition, and collective bargaining agreements are reached in the normal way. But we would like both labor and management to be very conscious of the public stake at this time, and that's what we are attempting to bring forth. We hope they'll—be conscious of it.

Q. Mr. President, I asked the first question specifically because the Wall Street Journal and some other spokesmen of busi-

ness have accused you directly of having set the price in steel.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I'm aware of the accusations. What we attempted to do was project before the steel companies the public interest. And it was a combination of the public interest placed upon the table in front of them, and competition which I think brought the price down, by the fact that several companies refused to increase prices, and therefore competition worked its will. We want to be sure that competition is an active force in our economy. But I would not accept the view of the Wall Street Journal in regard to at least my feeling of the description of my actions or of the public interest.

Q. Mr. President, Chairman Miller and other Republican leaders have focused a good deal of criticism on the nocturnal activities of the FBI. Could you shed any light on that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. No, they were attempting to—reporters have called up a good many people in the middle of the night themselves—[*laughter*]. And I—all we were attempting to do was to find out so that we could decide about the grand jury meeting, whether the reports in regard to the quotations which said one thing, and then there was a statement that they were misquoted, and then the next day there was a clarification. We wanted to get the facts on this.

Now, both the reporters were cooperative; I didn't realize they would be woken up at the time they were. The decision was made early in the evening, and I suppose making the connection, the FBI followed ahead, and I—and as I say, all the reporters except that of the Wall Street Journal were most cooperative. But the intention was not to disturb the reporters. The intention was to get the information as quickly as possible so we could determine what action we would take before the grand jury, and as always the FBI carried out its responsibilities immediately.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, would you care to comment on developments in New Or-

leans where the Archbishop excommunicated three people for hindering school desegregation?

THE PRESIDENT. No, the action of the Archbishop related to private acts and private individuals, which did not involve public acts or public policy, so that carrying out the spirit of the Constitution which provides a separation between church and state, I think it would be inappropriate for me to comment on that.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, last week you stated that the administration had not asked for assurances from the steel industry that prices would be kept where they were when the contracts were ratified. I wonder if you can tell us whether you received such assurances, either directly or indirectly, and I am prompted to ask because the day the contracts were ratified you stated that the settlement was noninflationary.

THE PRESIDENT. That's correct—that's correct. I think we responded to this last week, when I stated that I did not ask, for the reasons which I gave, the steel companies to give a commitment that they would not increase prices. But I stated at the time that it was very clear that our whole effort was to secure a noninflationary settlement.

Q. But my question, Mr. President, was directed as to whether such assurances were given to you, regardless of—

THE PRESIDENT. No, I said last week—I said they were not. If you read last week's interview, you will see that they were not asked and they were not given.

Q. And not given, is that right?

THE PRESIDENT. That's correct. On the other hand, during the conversations which were held, it was made very clear the purpose of our attempting to persuade the steel union not to accept an inflationary settlement. And no statement was made during any of those conversations that a price increase would immediately follow the wage accord, particularly if that wage accord were noninflationary. So that while no request was made for a commitment, on the other

hand no statement was made which would have indicated to us that if the union cooperated and accepted a very low increase, that on the other hand there would then still be an automatic price increase.

Q. Mr. President, you agree that it's important for the steel companies to modernize their plants. Does the Government have any ideas about helping steel to do this, that is, aside from the 8 percent tax credit?

THE PRESIDENT. And also the rewriting of schedule F, the depreciation allowances, and already a study has been on for some weeks. We've already done that in the textile industry and we are now analyzing steel and certain other basic industries in order to improve their depreciation position.

Secondly, I do want to say that in regard to profits that the last quarter, and as I said the first quarter, were the highest profits in the history of the United States and, therefore, I feel that while some particular companies and some industries may have special problems that the overall profit situation is not unsatisfactory.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, Mr. Tsarapkin, Soviet delegate to the disarmament conference in Geneva, told representatives of the Women's Strike For Peace that Russia would negotiate a nuclear test ban treaty with the United States if the United States would close down just one of its missile bases overseas as a gesture of good faith. When the women reported to Ambassador Dean he suggested they refer the proposal to you. Would you give us your view, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I've never heard that proposal made by the Soviet Union. In other words, they would agree, as suggested—well, now, I don't think you can read the letter of the Chairman to the Prime Minister and get that impression. There's no—I—we have never heard that they would agree to an effective test ban, an inspection system, if we would close down one base, and my judgment is that there's no evidence for believing they would.

Q. Well, this—they told this to these private people.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, at the conference at Geneva—and I'm sure that if there's—Mr. Dean will be glad to ask if that is so. But my judgment would be based on all the conversations which have gone on for many weeks and, in fact, the 3 years of negotiations. There is no evidence that they would do this. It's a lot different from saying we'll agree to negotiate about it if such an action is taken. They are now negotiating about it. We've been negotiating about it for 3 years. We were negotiating last August when they began testing. So I think that it indicates the long gap, as I said before, between an agreement to negotiate and negotiate an agreement.

Q. Sir, I would like to ask you if the reports from Geneva on the radio this morning about the U.S. disarmament proposal are correct, and that is that the U.S. proposes to scrap all armies and weapons and have a U.N. police force. I could not find out if this was the draft, because the drafts have not been made public to the American people or to all members of Congress yet.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, they're being made public today, Mrs. McClendon, and the description you have given is not an accurate one of our proposal.

Q. You say it is not inaccurate?

THE PRESIDENT. Not—not an accurate one of our proposal.

Q. Would you tell us what it is?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mrs. McClendon, the treaty will be made available to the members of the press today and will describe the various stages upon which we propose that disarmament might be taken, what actions we will take during these various stages, what protections are given to the security of the United States, and I think that when you have read the entire treaty you will realize that my response—the description you have given is not—at least is not comprehensive.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, over the weekend, as you know, there has been somewhat of a flap over some proposals which the United States might make to the Soviets on

Berlin. Could you tell us in this connection, sir, whether you would think it desirable to give the East Germans a technical voice in any international authority which might control access to West Berlin, provided it is part of an arrangement which guarantees our existing rights?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would have to examine that language again that you've just submitted to me. [*Laughter*] The question really is the status, the position, the authority of the East German regime in regard to any access authority. That really is one of the—that has been a basic issue since these discussions started. So that I could not attempt to respond to your question unless we had definitions of the technical commission, its power, the status of the East German regime in that authority, whether they had the authority or whether it was held by the Four Powers, what were the means by which the Four Powers exercised their rights—these are all the questions which are the subjects of negotiations between the Soviet Union and ourselves. This matter, however, certainly is one of the points which are now under discussion with the Soviet Union, how we can reconcile the problem of access, and maintain our position there. But I think as the Department of State has said, the government in West Germany has been kept informed and the proposals that we have talked about before, that we're talking about now, are in the general channel of previous proposals that have been discussed with the Soviet Union.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, some of your critics feel that you set prices or have gone into the field of price control by Executive fiat in the steel situation, and further that this sets a precedent which you have to follow in future situations. Do you feel that you have set a precedent, that as these situations arise you would again have to invoke this sort of power?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the steel—I've stated I think in our statement what I believe to be the general policy of this administration in regard to prices and wages.

Everyone is quite aware of what the powers are of the Government, and the limitation on those powers, and what the presumptions are—that collective bargaining will be free, and that the competitive system, the competition within industry, will maintain prices at a reasonable level. I've attempted to state the public interest involved in all these negotiations and we will have to try to continue, as we have in the past, to bring these matters before labor and management in an attempt to provide the kinds of agreement which will maintain price stability. We're going to attempt to do that. But I have not suggested that our power—that we have powers to set or that those powers would be desirable to set prices or to set wages. But we can attempt, it seems to me, to bring before the parties in the most effective way possible, the public interest that is involved, and must be involved, particularly in these basic industries, when competition, our balance of payments all involve our national security and our military forces abroad. The interrelationship makes the public interest mandatory in these matters, and it's our responsibility to present it to those involved, which is what we tried to do in steel.

[18.] Q. In that connection, Mr. President, the next major round of negotiations appears to be with the aerospace and missile-aircraft industry, with the two unions, the machinists and auto workers, already asserting that they want wage increases considerably above the formula laid down by the Council of Economic Advisers. And they point out that the Government is really a major party to these negotiations since they have the contracts. Would you assert the public interest in these negotiations?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the public interest is very definitely involved, but I—in asserting the public interest we have always recognized the proper limitations of that—of the power of the Government to enforce any collective bargaining agreement. We do not have that power. That power has not been given to us. But we will certainly at-

tempt to describe to the people involved, particularly in a program which is so important to the national security, we will attempt to describe the public interest, which, after all, is their interest as well as that of the Nation. Now, whether these parties will be responsive, as the steel union was, and as, on Friday, the steel companies were, of course, is a matter that will be seen in the future.

[19.] Q. Following up the question on Berlin, sir, our negotiations with the Russians have been carried out in behalf of the other occupying powers as well. In view of the flurry he referred to over the weekend and in view of the definite French reservations, would you tell us a little bit about how we stand as, in effect, the spokesman for the Four Powers at this moment?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that Mr. Von Eckhart, speaking for the West Germans, made a statement that they had been in consultation with us, and that they had confidence in our efforts. The French have had reservations from the beginning in regard to these probes, and we are continuing these probes in order to determine whether there's an effective basis for high negotiations. And we shall continue. The United States—this is a very dangerous area, involving vital interests of both sides, which could—even though at this present time the temperature has been lowered—could blow up anytime. And I don't think that we are meeting our responsibilities to our own people if we do not make every effort, in addition to strengthening ourselves militarily, and indicating a determination to protect our vital interests, to see if an accord can be reached. Because we—obviously it would be in the international interest if this particular area which is so susceptible to pressure because of its geographical position could be—an agreement could be reached. So we're going to continue to do it. Now before any agreement is finally signed, if we ever get that far, of course, the French and

the British and the West Germans would all be very much participants. But the stage we're at now is to see whether such an agreement can be reached.

Q. Can we take it, sir, that as of this moment, the West Germans as the party most directly affected support these proposals that we are putting forward?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that the West Germans are—should really speak for themselves. But I have no reason to believe that the West German Government does not support the efforts we are making to determine whether an accord can be reached. But as far as their own position on each particular matter, I think they would—should state that.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, in view of what you have called the very negative prospects for obtaining an effective nuclear test ban agreement with Russia, have you now set a specific date for the United States to resume testing in the atmosphere?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that the time was described in the March 2d speech.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, there has been a good deal said recently, and I think you have addressed yourself to the fact that—

THE PRESIDENT. But in answer to your question, there's not a specific day been set, no.

Q.—that labor's gain should be tied to productivity and that their wage increases would be. Not much has been said as to whether the investor should also share in this productivity, and apparently they didn't in the recent steel negotiations.

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, the productivity. No, the owners of steel stocks have shared very much in the last 10 years. I don't think there's any question. I think there has been a split of—six times in the United States Steel stock since 1948-49, and they've been paid a very good dividend, and they have very strong equity. And what is true of U.S. Steel is true in even greater extent in other steel companies, and, as I've said,

in industry in general. So that I think the shareholders—and the shareholders will do very well. For example, one of the problems is to increase the cost of steel at a time when you are only using 60, or 65, or 70 percent of your capacity. If you could—there would have been perhaps about a \$260 or \$270 million present capacity increase in profits of the steel companies, but if you could get the capacity of steel up to 85 or 90 percent, you would have had—you would

have a \$500 million increase in their profits at present prices. So the real problem in the steel industry is unused capacity. But in answer to your question, the shareholders have participated in increased productivity.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's thirty-first news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 11 o'clock on Wednesday morning, April 18, 1962.

153 Letter to the Secretary of Commerce and to the Housing and Home Finance Administrator Concerning Urban Transportation. *April 19, 1962*

[Released April 19, 1962. Dated April 18, 1962]

Dear Secretary Hodges and Mr. Weaver:

I have received and reviewed with satisfaction the excellent report that you have submitted to me on the problems of urban mass transportation. As you know, the report was most helpful in the preparation of the Administration urban transportation program proposed in my message to the Congress of April 5.

I noted particularly that you concerned yourselves with the human as well as the technical and financial considerations involved. Many thousands of our citizens, as your report states, must unavoidably surrender their homes and places of business to make way for public transportation improvements. We should not expect them to suffer the heavy personal cost of such public benefits without due recompense and assistance. Where public necessity imposes such sacrifices, it should be accompanied by public concern for the people displaced. The Bureau of Public Roads is to be commended for proposing greater relocation assistance under its program.

Your report makes clear that we are not concerned with the preference of one method of transportation over another, but rather

how all our resources can best be integrated. Your report recognizes that transportation is more than a drafting board operation, that it is an essential element to the direction and form that the growth of our modern urban communities will take. Urban transit, therefore, must be planned in relation to the kind of communities we need, and Federal assistance, as your report emphasizes, will be productive only to the extent that state and local planning and resources are focused on the total urban area.

This report from the Department of Commerce and the Housing and Home Finance Agency signals a new era of common thought and effort by your two agencies that has too long been missing in the past. The Bureau of Public Roads has made a great contribution in helping to bring the urban transit problem into the framework of our national transportation needs, and in its advocacy of progressive planning and human principles in the transportation field. The Housing and Home Finance Agency continues to give leadership and vision to the solution of our most complicated problems of mass transit.

Both of your agencies are to be com-

mended for the thorough study that has gone into this report and for the considered recommendations that have resulted.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Honorable Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce, Washington 25, D.C.; Honorable Robert C.

Weaver, Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington 25, D.C.]

NOTE: The joint report "Urban Transportation" (Department of Commerce release, 18 pp., processed) was submitted to the President on March 28.

154 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on Withholding of Federal Employee Organization Dues. *April 19, 1962*

[Released April 19, 1962. Dated April 18, 1962]

Dear Mr. _____:

I am transmitting for the consideration of Congress a draft bill to authorize Federal agencies to withhold from the pay of Federal civilian employees the dues for membership in certain employee organizations. Withholding of dues would require voluntary authorization by the employee concerned and he would be allowed to withdraw his authorization at reasonable intervals.

Employee organizations granted the privilege of dues withholding would be those organizations sufficiently representative of employees to be consulted regularly on personnel matters. The costs of withholding would be borne by the employee organizations.

The draft bill results directly from the intensive study and subsequent recommendation of the President's Task Force on Employee-Management Relations in the Federal Service, consisting of the heads of the Bureau of the Budget, the Civil Service Commission, Departments of Defense, Labor, and Post Office, and of the Special Counsel to the President. The draft bill is an important step in providing for employee-

management cooperation in the public service. It will assist employee organizations in representing employees and will thus contribute to more effective participation by employees in the formulation and implementation of personnel policies affecting them. It will provide Federal employees with a convenient method of dues payment which has long been available to employees in private industry and which is widespread in State and municipal governments.

The draft bill represents a progressive step in the Federal Government's relations with employee organizations and I hope it will be acted upon promptly.

Also enclosed is a copy of a letter from the Secretary of Labor transmitting the draft bill and an explanatory statement prepared by the Department of Labor.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

For memorandum announcing the appointment of the Task Force and the President's statement on receiving its report, see the 1961 volume, this series, Items 250 and 494.

155 Remarks in Palm Beach Upon Opening by Remote Control
the Seattle World's Fair. *April 21, 1962*

I AM HONORED to open the Seattle World's Fair today. What we show is achieved with great effort in the fields of science, technology and industry. These accomplishments are a bridge which carry us confidently towards the 21st century. Many nations have sent exhibits and will send their people. We welcome them.

This exemplifies the spirit of peace and cooperation with which we approach the decades ahead.

This manner of opening the fair is in keeping with the exposition's space age theme. Literally we are reaching out through space on the new ocean to a star which we have never seen, to intercept sound in the form of radio waves already ten thousand years old, to start the fair.

The sound emanates from Cassiopeia A in the northern sky. Astronomers see only a faint filmy cloud where the entire constellation is located. How different did our globe look ten thousand years ago when that sound started its long voyage. We hope that the light which starts from that star today—ten

thousand years later arrives here—will see a happy and a peaceful world.

I am confident that as this sound from outer space is utilized to open the fair, the fair in turn will open the doors to further scientific gains by letting all see what has been accomplished today.

Before me is a telegraphic key that is of special significance. It has been used by seven Presidents to open great expositions such as the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle in 1909, the Panama Canal, and many others. It was presented to me by your senior Senator Warren Magnuson at the White House last Wednesday.

By closing this key may we open not only a great World's Fair, may we open an era of peace and understanding among all mankind.

Let the fair begin!

NOTE: The President spoke by telephone from the Michael Paul residence in Palm Beach, Fla., where he and Mrs. Kennedy were spending the Easter holidays. His voice was heard by 12,000 persons seated in the stadium on the Fairgrounds in Seattle for the opening ceremonies.

156 Transcript of Interview With Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt Recorded
for National Educational Television. *April 22, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. We are glad to have you at the White House again, Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mrs. Roosevelt: Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, I would like to thank you for being on this program. You probably don't realize this, but in the 3 years that we have run this program, you have been our most distinguished guest, and we are very grateful to you.

Now I would like to ask you, because I have always been interested in women's affairs, and I was very much honored when you made me Chairman of your new Committee on the Status of Women, perhaps you

would be willing to tell the people what prompted you to name this Committee at this time and what you feel is the real need for it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we are attempting to make sure that the women, for example, who work—one-third of our working force are women—we want to try to encourage every company in the United States and certainly stimulate governmental leadership in providing equal pay and equal conditions for women. Twenty-two States do it now, but we can do a much better job on that. We want to make sure that the available talent which we have in this country in

trained women is being used effectively. I think we want to make sure that some recognition is given to the special problems women have as the mother and the housewife, and at the same time their desires to participate usefully in public and private life.

This is a matter of great national concern, and I think that in this great society of ours, we want to be sure that women are used as effectively as they can be, to provide a better life for our people—in addition to meeting their primary responsibility, which is in the home.

Mrs. Roosevelt: Thank you very much. I think that's a very good objective, but there is one thing that I think a great many women are interested in, and that is that here, where women have in many ways a very much better situation than they have in other countries, that still in some of the other countries women can be found in higher positions, policy-making positions or legislative positions, than they are in this country. Have you any idea why it is that in this country we have not, somehow, managed or found people to put into these higher positions?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I suppose it's first the interruption in their careers that takes place in the lives of most women because of their keeping a family—raising children. But I quite agree. I don't think we make the most use of our talent, not only in the Government. And there are an awful lot of women that hold very key positions in the Government. In fact, the other day, when we gave the awards for the five outstanding civil servants, two of them were women of great technical skill. We have women in the U.N. delegation, of which you are a distinguished example, and we have them in the—as Treasurer. But I still think we ought to do better.

I think we ought to do better in the field of medicine, for example. I think that the number of girls who are admitted to medical school, the number of practicing doctors, I don't think we do as good a job in this

country as we ought to. We do better than a number of other countries, but not nearly as well, considering the talented women that we have, the great need for doctors. I think they do a good job in teaching, but in medicine is one of the great areas where I think we should stimulate. I think women make good doctors. They have the personal qualities and the patience. And I think to have 2 or 3 percent of each class admitted to be women is a great lack. But I know, Mrs. Roosevelt, I am always getting letters from you about getting women in these policy-making jobs, and we are very conscious of that responsibility.

Mrs. Roosevelt: Well, I am very conscious of the fact that this ought to happen. But I am also very conscious of the difficulties, and I frequently, in answering foreign people who say that women, because we are such a big country, in this country have greater difficulties because of our ways of life, but a woman in India has a multiple family, she can leave her children, because she lives with grandparents and sisters and brothers, and so forth; and here this is a great problem.

So I see all the problems, but I still think that we should use everything available, and therefore I want to see women used to the very best of their ability. And that's the thing I'd like to ask you about.

We have this high standard and I think women in their homes set the standards in America for many things, both for men and women. And in view of this, I am wondering if American women are using their education to the best possible advantage or whether many women who don't want to leave their families, who don't want to be in outside work, still couldn't do a better job if they used their education better than they have? What do you think about that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think when you look at Radcliffe College, that the curve of academic excellence at Radcliffe is higher than it is at Harvard. And therefore you assume that this is really the most highly developed student body. What happens to

those girls 2 or 3 years later? They get married, many of them become housewives, and all that talent is used in this family life but is not used outside. Now of course it is true that they work on school boards, they work in the League of Women Voters, they work in church groups, in a whole variety of ways they use this talent for strengthening the cohesion of our society. But I wonder whether they have the full opportunity to develop their talents. As the Greeks said, the definition of happiness is full use of your powers along lines of excellence, and I wonder whether they have that opportunity. And this is not true just of Radcliffe, but of colleges and educated women, talented women, all over the country.

Mrs. Roosevelt: Well, of course, one of the things that you have asked us to look for in the status of women is what services could be given which would make it easier to use to the maximum. Do you think before our report even is in, that certain things are going to be done?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think we are going to wait—this, particularly—the problem of how a mother can meet her responsibilities to her children and at the same time contribute to society in general—is the most sensitive and important matter, and I think that's really what I am interested in, what your suggestions would be. We do have legislation, before you do make a report, for example, on this matter of equal pay in interstate commerce, and which I think would be very helpful.

Mrs. Roosevelt: Yes. Well, that of course is one of the things we are studying already. But I do think that we will make—this is one of the studies which we in our mission are going to hope to find recommendations that will be of value. I think as a last thing to ask you, whether you have any objections, to helping women to be employed, from people who say that we should have more women taken out because there are unemployed men?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, in the first place, most of the women who work really need to, to maintain their families. That's the first point. And secondly, most of the women, a high proportion, work in areas which are really more suited to them than to men. And the kind of work, and in some cases the pay, is not competitive with men, so that I don't think that many women are working who are not contributing directly to the maintenance of the household, the family, the children, so that I don't think that there is a broad duplication.

We have to meet this problem of unemployment for men and women, and I think the way to do it is not to attempt to deprive women of the chance to work and contribute, but to try to expand the opportunity generally in the economy. I think that's the direction of our efforts, rather than squeezing the labor force.

Mrs. Roosevelt: That is what I would say, too. And now I am sorry, but our time is up, and I want to thank you so much again, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we are glad to have a chance to. And I think the report of the commission can be extremely useful. All the progress that has been made has been the results of these kind of periodic examinations of the status of women, both privately and in Government. So we are very hopeful.

Mrs. Roosevelt: And I am hopeful it will be useful. Thank you again.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

NOTE: The interview was recorded in the family theater at the White House on April 18 to be included in the "Prospects of Mankind" series for national educational television. The program was produced by WGBH-TV, Boston's educational TV station, in cooperation with Brandeis University.

The President's Commission on the Status of Women was established by Executive Order 10980 of December 14, 1961 (3 CFR, 1961 Supp., p. 138). For the President's remarks at the first meeting of the Commission, see Item 43.

The transcript of the interview was released at Palm Beach, Fla.

157 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Macmillan at Andrews Air Force Base. *April 27, 1962*

Prime Minister, Mr. Secretary, Ambassadors:

It is a great pleasure to welcome you once again to this Capital City. This is the fifth occasion, Prime Minister, since I have become President, in which you and I have had a chance to meet, and it follows a long series of meetings with my distinguished predecessor and your old friend, General Eisenhower.

To those who may wonder what we find to talk about on these occasions, I suggest they take a map of the world and trace those countries scattered around the globe whose integrity, security, and freedom both the United States and Great Britain are committed to maintain. In NATO, in CENTO, in SEATO, in the United Nations, in dozens of areas, Great Britain and the United States work shoulder to shoulder.

We regard the Atlantic as uniting us, not separating us. And I may say, speaking personally, Prime Minister, that it is a source of satisfaction and comfort to me to be associated with you in this most critical time—you, who have for 20 years been a distinguished captain in the field in the defense of the West, and the leader of a country which for more than a thousand years has borne its weight and more.

So, Prime Minister, we welcome you here again. You come at a most significant time, and you come to a country which welcomes you, in a sense, as a native son—by inheritance, and as a friend by deeds.

Prime Minister, we are glad to have you.

NOTE: Prime Minister Macmillan responded as follows:

"Mr. President, I would like to thank you most warmly for the gracious words that you have spoken. These meetings which we have had are becoming not just occasional but, I am happy to say, a normal practice, and although they excite sometimes a certain interest in the press, as to what it is exactly that we are going to do, we do, as you say, Mr. President, generally find something to do which may be useful.

"The last time we met I had the honor of welcoming you to Bermuda, and I think, as you said, this is the fifth occasion that we have met since you became President of the United States. The real truth of it is that however admirable—and they are admirable—our Ambassadors and the representatives that we have in each other's capitals, however excellent are the communications between our Secretaries of State—and they are very good—there is something quite different in being able just to talk over problems, simply, face to face, and in an informal manner. Perhaps it is that that is the very basis of the friendship, partnership, alliance—call it what you will, between your country and mine.

"Each time I come to Washington I am proud to feel that, as you referred to, I am in a sense the product of Anglo-American cooperation, and I hope that I shall have an opportunity of coming again, and of welcoming you, Mr. President, in England on another occasion.

"As I say, these conversations are something unique and valuable to both of us and I am very grateful for the chance of having them, especially at this time, when although there is much cause for anxiety, there is also much need for patience and firmness combined.

"I thank you."

In his opening remarks the President referred to Secretary of State Dean Rusk and to members of the diplomatic corps.

158 Remarks at the White House Correspondents and News Photographers Associations Dinner. *April 27, 1962*

Mr. President, Prime Minister, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, ladies and gentlemen:

I have a few opening announcements. First, the sudden and arbitrary action of

the officers of this organization in increasing the price of dinner tickets by \$2.50 over last year constitutes a wholly unjustifiable defiance of the public interest. If this increase is not rescinded but is imitated by the grid-

iron, radio, TV, and other dinners, it will have a serious impact on the entire economy of this city!

In this serious hour in our Nation's history, when newsmen are awakened in the middle of the night to be given a front page story, when expense accounts are being scrutinized by the Congress, when correspondents are required to leave their families for long and lonely weekends at Palm Beach, the American people will find it hard to accept this ruthless decision made by a tiny handful of executives whose only interest is the pursuit of pleasure! I am hopeful that the Women's Press Club will not join this price rise and will thereby force a recession.

I want to congratulate the new officers of the White House Press Correspondents, the old one, Bill Knighton, and Bob Roth. But I must say that I am intrigued by the selection of the photographers. Last year when I came here, the president was Frank Cellare. And this year it was Arthur Lodovichi. Next year is Del Vecchio. I do not want to suggest anything, but I do understand that there was a meeting in upstate New York last night and that next year's president is going to be one of the Muto boys!

I'm sure I speak in behalf of all of us in expressing our thanks and very best wishes to Benny Goodman and his group, Miss Gwen Verdon and Bob Fosse, Miss Sally Ann Howes, Mr. Reid—who has some talent—and Mr. Peter Sellers. I have arranged for them to appear next week on the

United States Steel Hour! Actually I didn't do it; Bobby did it!

Like members of Congress, I have been, during the last few days over the Easter holidays, back in touch with my constituents and seeing how they felt. And, frankly, I've come back to Washington from Palm Beach and I'm against my entire program! I really feel that the only hope in '64 is to—on the Republican ticket—is to nominate Barry! But to be honest, I thought that before I went to Palm Beach.

We are glad to have the Prime Minister tonight. Last night he was the guest of the publishers, and again he is tonight. We want him to know how welcome he is. Lord Dunsany, a distinguished Irishman, said many years ago, "To fight England is to fight faith." And I choose to believe in 1962 to be associated with England in a great cause is to be associated with faith.

Prime Minister, we are proud to have you here again. [Applause] And I think I speak on his behalf in saying that after having been in the hands of 1400 members of the press for over 4 hours, we haven't got a single complaint!

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke in the main ballroom at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington. In his opening words he referred to William H. Y. Knighton, Jr., outgoing president of the White House Correspondents Association, who presided at the dinner; Prime Minister Harold Macmillan; Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson; and Chief Justice Earl Warren.

159 Remarks to a Group of Descendants of Civil War Medal of Honor Winners. April 28, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to tell you how proud I am as President of the United States to welcome you all—those of you who are descended from those who won this Nation's highest decoration and those of you who carry it now—those of you who are interested and concerned about the great war which we had here a hundred years ago.

Whichever side our interests may lie with, or sympathy, I must say all of us are staggered by the courage and casualties which were shown in so many struggles during the Civil War. When you read about companies and regiments going into the battle—at Sharpsburg or in the Wilderness, Petersburg, and the others—and to see the numbers that came out, gives you, I know—and gives

me as an American a source of satisfaction to realize that we are the inheritors of that great martial tradition—and particularly those who won this medal, which is of course most coveted and most rare.

So I must say I am delighted that you are keeping alive this tradition. I don't think that there is any feat of arms that is more dramatic than the Andrews Raid—and all the actions of the Civil War, the Indian Wars that followed, and the wars in this century.

And I believe that Americans still have

that same spirit and courage. So you're most welcome here. Your credentials to come into the White House are second to none, and we are very glad to have you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. Among the guests were a group of Congressional Medal of Honor winners, the President of the Medal of Honor Society, Luther Skaggs, Jr., officers of the D.C. Civil War Centennial Commission, and members of the national Civil War Centennial Commission.

Prime Minister Macmillan, in Washington on a state visit, was also present and spoke to the group following the President's remarks.

160 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Macmillan. *April 29, 1962*

PRESIDENT KENNEDY and Prime Minister Macmillan have undertaken in Washington during the past day a continuation of the series of discussions which they began in Key West last year. They have conducted a general review of international problems facing their two countries.

In particular, the President and the Prime Minister reviewed the problems of disarmament and of nuclear test control. They reaffirmed their regret that the Soviet Government has not been willing to join in an effective treaty which would end nuclear testing. They expressed the determination of their two governments to continue to work for progress toward disarmament, including the ending of nuclear tests.

The President gave the Prime Minister an account of the recent discussions between Secretary of State Rusk and Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin. They agreed on the importance of maintaining these and other contacts between East and West. They reaffirmed their willingness to consider meetings of Heads of Government whenever there is an indication that such meetings would serve the interests of peace and understanding, and in this respect they took note of the opinion recently expressed by Chairman Khrushchev.

The Prime Minister informed the President of the progress in the Brussels negotia-

tions between Great Britain and the European Economic Community, and explained the importance of preserving the interests of the Commonwealth and EFTA countries. The President and Prime Minister expressed their hopes that these negotiations between the United Kingdom and the EEC would be crowned with success. The President informed the Prime Minister of the progress of proposals for new trade legislation to permit stronger relationships within and beyond the Atlantic Community.

The President and the Prime Minister then reviewed the situation of the NATO alliance in the light of the forthcoming meeting in Athens. They also discussed the situation in Southeast Asia, and strongly reaffirmed their support for an independent and neutral Laos under a government committed to that objective. They discussed problems of mutual commercial interest, including questions of shipping policy, tariffs and commodity problems. The President informed the Prime Minister of the developing efforts of the Western Hemisphere through the Alliance for Progress and explained his concern for the maintenance and development of adequate market opportunities for the products of the Latin American countries.

161 Remarks at a Dinner Honoring Nobel Prize Winners of the Western Hemisphere. April 29, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to welcome you to the White House. Mr. Lester Pearson informed me that a Canadian newspaperman said yesterday that this is the President's "Easter egg-head roll on the White House lawn." I want to deny that!

I want to tell you how welcome you are to the White House. I think this is the most extraordinary collection of talent, of human knowledge, that has ever been gathered together at the White House, with the possible exception of when Thomas Jefferson dined alone.

Someone once said that Thomas Jefferson was a gentleman of 32 who could calculate an eclipse, survey an estate, tie an artery, plan an edifice, try a cause, break a horse, and dance the minuet. Whatever he may have lacked, if he could have had his former colleague, Mr. Franklin, here we all would have been impressed.

In any case, I am delighted to welcome you here. We are delighted to have the Norwegian Ambassador and the Swedish Minister to represent their governments, and we are delighted to have the Nobel prize winners of the Western Hemisphere here at this dinner.

I know that the Nobel prize does not have any geographic or national implications. Mr. Nobel in his will, in fact, made it very clear when he said that he hoped that in the giving of the prize that no attention would be paid to nationality. He declared it to be "my express desire that in awarding the prize, no consideration whatsoever be paid to the nationality of the candidates; that is to say, the most deserving be awarded the prize, whether he or she be Scandinavian or not."

In any case, there is no nationality in the Nobel prize, just as there is no nationality in the acquisition of knowledge. I know that every man here who has won the Nobel

prize, not only does he build on the past, which goes back hundreds and thousands of years, on the efforts of other men and women, but he also builds on the efforts of those in other countries; and therefore, quite rightly, the Nobel prize has no national significance.

But I think we can take some satisfaction that this hemisphere has been able to develop an atmosphere which has permitted the happy pursuit of knowledge, and of peace; and that over 40 percent of the Nobel prizes in the last 30 years have gone to men and women in this hemisphere.

And of particular pleasure today is the fact that 13 Nobel prizes for peace have gone to those who live in this hemisphere. I think the pursuit of knowledge, the pursuit of peace, are very basic drives and pressures in this life of ours—and this dinner is an attempt, in a sense, to recognize those great efforts, to encourage young Americans and young people in this hemisphere to develop the same drive and deep desire for knowledge and peace.

So I want you to know that you are most welcome here. I regard this as the most distinguished and significant dinner that we have had in the White House since I have been here, and I think in many, many years.

And I hope that it will stimulate among all people, in this hemisphere and far beyond, the recognition of the close ties that bind all who labor to provide a better life for their people.

So I hope that you will join me in drinking to the Nobel prize winners of this year and other years—and perhaps more widely, to all those people everywhere whom they serve.

NOTE: The dinner was held in the State Dining Room and the Blue Room at the White House. Early in his remarks the President referred to Lester B. Pearson, Canada's Liberal Party leader, a Nobel

Peace Prize winner in 1957. Later he referred to Ambassador Paul Koht of Norway and to Ambassador Gunnar Jarring of Sweden who was represented by his wife.

The White House announced, on April 28, that the roster of Nobel guests included 46 United States citizens; one Canadian, Lester Pearson; one Frenchman, long resident in Washington, Alexis Leger; and one German who was working in the United States, Rudolf Mossbauer. In addition, other prominent men and women from the arts, education, and science had been invited, among them several university presidents.

Before the dinner, the release stated, the President and Mrs. Kennedy would receive in their private quarters the 1961 Nobel winners: Dr. Melvin Calvin

of the University of California, who was cited for work in photosynthesis; Dr. Robert Hofstadter of Stanford and Dr. Rudolf Mossbauer, of the California Institute of Technology, cited for work in atomic physics; and Dr. George von Békésy of Harvard, cited for discoveries on the mechanism of the inner ear.

Following the dinner, it was also announced, Mr. Fredric March, a two-time winner of the acting award of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, would read excerpts from the works of Sinclair Lewis (Nobel Prize for Literature, 1930); George C. Marshall (Nobel Prize for Peace, 1953); and Ernest Hemingway (Nobel Prize for Literature, 1954).

162 Address Before the United States Chamber of Commerce on Its 50th Anniversary. *April 30, 1962*

President Wagner, Monsignor:

I want to congratulate you on your new president, President Plumley—it's nice to have a president from Massachusetts, and we're glad to have him here. I don't know how widely that view is shared here, but I must say I am delighted to be here this morning with Governor Hodges and to welcome you, on the occasion of your fiftieth anniversary, to the Nation's Capital.

I want to take advantage of your presence in the Capital to convey my thinking about the present and future relationship of government and business, and to penetrate the dust of controversy that occasionally rises to obscure the basic issues and the basic relationships.

Almost all of the great nations of the world have their financial and political capitals located in the same city—London, Paris, Rome, Madrid and the others. Our founding fathers chose differently, in an effort to isolate political leaders from the immediate pressures of political life and national life. But this has placed a special obligation upon all of us—to speak clearly and with precision, and to attempt to understand the obligations and responsibilities which each of us face.

The foundation of the Chamber in April of 1912 marked a turning point in the relations between government and business, and

there are some who say that the events of April of 1962 have also marked a turning point in the relations between government and business. I hope that this is so, in the sense that both sides will have new emphasis upon the obligation to understand each other's problems and attitudes.

In 1960 I do not think it wholly inaccurate to say that I was the second choice of a majority of businessmen for the office of President of the United States, and when I approached the White House the cheers of members of the Chambers of Commerce around the country were not overwhelming or deafening.

But in almost every major problem that I have encountered since assuming this responsibility, I have been impressed by the degree to which the best interests of the National Government and the country are tied to the enlightened best interests of its most important segments.

But I have also been impressed that all the segments, including the National Government, must operate responsibly in terms of each other, or the balance which sustains the general welfare will be lost.

As President my interest is in an economy which will be strong enough to absorb the potential of a rapidly expanding population, steady enough to avert the wide swings

which bring grief to so many of our people, and noninflationary enough to persuade investors that this country holds a steady promise of growth and stability.

My specific interest at this time is in maintaining a competitive world position that will not further stir the gold at Fort Knox.

As businessmen, your interest is profits or the maintenance of an adequate margin of return on your investments. To the extent that you want to protect your profit margins, our interests are identical, for after all we in the National Government have a large stake in your profits. To the extent that you must raise your prices to make these profits, our interests at home and abroad stand in delicate balance.

Union leaders' interests lie in the rate of return on labor for their members. To the extent that their efforts are devoted to securing equitable wages for their workers, our interests are identical, because we must have consumers to absorb our vast productive capacity, and as this year has reminded you the National Government also lives off personal income taxes. To the extent that their efforts take the form of demands which will not upset the balance which has thus far stemmed inflation in this administration, our interests are in concert. These areas where conflict exists between what I would call private interests and the general welfare must be met, it seems to me, by assumption of responsibility by all of us who care for our country.

We have many burdens in Washington—we do not want the added burden of determining individual prices for individual products. We seek instead an economic climate in which an expanding concept of business and labor responsibility, an increasing awareness of world commerce and the free forces of domestic competition will keep the price level stable and keep the Government out of price-setting.

If American business does not earn sufficient revenue to earn a fair profit, this Government cannot earn sufficient revenues

to cover its outlays. If American business does not prosper and expand, this Government cannot make good its pledges of economic growth. Our foreign policies call for an increase in the sale of American goods abroad, but it is business, not Government, who must actually produce and sell these goods.

Our domestic programs call for substantial increases in employment, but it is business, not Government, who must actually perform these jobs. While Government economists can point out the necessity of increasing the rates of investment, of modernizing plant and productivity, while Washington officials may urge responsible collective bargaining and responsible wage-price decisions, we also recognize that beneath all the laws and guidelines and tax policies and stimulants we can provide, these matters all come down, quite properly in the last analysis, to private decision by private individuals.

It is easy to charge an administration is antibusiness, but it is more difficult to show how an administration, composed we hope of rational men, can possibly feel they can survive without business, or how the Nation can survive unless the Government and business and all other groups in our country are exerting their best efforts in an atmosphere of understanding—and I hope cooperation.

We have worked to establish the responsible view that we take of our role in the economy, and I do not think the record of our decisions, taken in totality, has been one to suggest that we are not responsive to the problems of business. I will point to our efforts in the field of inflation, to the balance of payments, to the transportation policy, for example, recently enunciated, as tenders of this concern. I expect to be able to point soon to more realistic income tax guidelines on the depreciable lives of business assets, and to the 8-percent tax credit for investment in equipment and machinery, which has been proposed and is now being considered by the Senate.

I do not regard the vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws, for example, to be antibusiness. These statutes, most of which have a long historic past antedating the life of the Chamber of Commerce, are based on the basic premise that a private enterprise system must be truly competitive if it is to realize its full potential. And it is natural in these important basic industries in which one or two companies may control over 50 percent of the total national production, that the Government should be concerned that the realities of competition exist, as well as their appearance. But this is in the interest of business, and you know quite well that nearly every action taken by this Government and previous administrations, in the field of antitrust actions, or actions by the Federal Trade Commission have been based upon complaints brought by businessmen themselves. This is in the interest, therefore, of business, as well as of the general public.

When I talk of the public interest in these matters, I am not using a rhetorical phrase. It costs the United States \$3 billion a year to maintain our troops and our defense establishment and security commitments abroad. If the balance of trade is not sufficiently in our favor to finance this burden, we have two alternatives—one, to lose gold, as we have been doing; and two, to begin to withdraw our security commitments.

This is the heart of the issue which has occupied the attention of so many of us in recent months, of our efforts to persuade the steel union to accept a noninflationary wage agreement—and to persuade the steel companies to make every effort to maintain price stability.

In the competitive contest for world markets, upon which the balance of payments depends, our record since the end of the Korean War has not been wholly satisfactory, I am sure, to any of us. From the end of the Korean War, our export prices rose about 11 percent, while average export prices in the Common Market held steady. There were significant wage raises during

this period, as we know. Indeed our wage levels in the large manufacturing industries rose 30 percent in the United States but they rose 58 percent in the same period in France and Germany. But their output per man-hour increased so fast that they were able to maintain a stable price level. During this period, our gold stocks declined by \$5½ billion, and the short-term dollar claims of foreigners, a potential call on our gold stock, rose by an equal amount, \$11 billion in the past few years.

I do not mean to say that we have priced ourselves out of world markets. Our merchandise exports of over \$20 billion testify that we have not. And our comparative price performance has improved in the last 2 or 3 years. But if we are to stem the gold outflow, which we must by one means or another, eliminate the deficit in our balance of payments, and continue as I believe we must to discharge our far-flung international obligations, we must avoid inflation, modernize American industry, and improve our relative position in the world markets.

Never in the 50-year history of the Chamber of Commerce has its dedication to a vigorous economy been more in the national and international interest than it is today. This administration, I assure you, shares your concern about the cost-profit squeeze on American business. We want prosperity and in a free enterprise system there can be no prosperity without profit. We want a growing economy, and there can be no growth without the investment that is inspired and financed by profit.

We want to maintain our national security and other essential programs and we will have little revenue to finance them unless there is profit. We want to improve our balance of payments without reducing our commitments abroad, and we cannot increase our export surplus, which we must, without modernizing our plants through profit. We can help through new trade policies that increase the businessman's access to foreign markets, particularly to the expanding markets of nearly 200 million

people which we will have in Western Europe.

And I want to salute the United States Chamber of Commerce for its historic endorsement of the new Trade Expansion Bill. We can help by making more realistic the income tax guideline on the depreciable lives of business assets, a move long called for and needed, and now being carried through. I recognize that many of you would like, as I would, to have far more rapid depreciation schedules. I can assure you that we are limited only by the fact, which you must recognize, that these depreciation changes will, in their early years, mean a loss of governmental revenues. If we wish to bring our budget as closely as possible to balance as far as the economy permits, we do not feel able to relinquish at this time these sources of revenue in toto. But we should look ahead to the maximum extent possible, as we have already done in textiles, and as we are now examining in steel, and we are quite conscious of the competitive advantages which rapid depreciation gives to the Western European manufacturers. We are looking ahead now to make these depreciation schedules more realistic.

We can help, if Congress will pass the pending bill, by granting an 8 percent tax credit for investment in equipment and machinery, and those of you who do not feel that that is sufficient—and it may well not be—must recognize that this particular provision, limited as you may feel it is, will cost the Government in the next fiscal year \$1,800 million in tax revenues if it is accepted by the Senate. And I believe, in the form that it is in, it will result in far more stimulus to business for every dollar of tax revenue foregone than the more familiar alternatives that many of you might have preferred.

I recognize that some of you are opposed to some of the revenue measures which we have recommended to balance revenue losses which we incur from the tax credit. But we cannot responsibly forego such a large amount of our budget unless we consider

alternate means of recouping that loss. We take these steps only for budgetary reasons, and in the case of tax havens abroad in order to make less advantageous the flow of American capital into other countries and to place enterprises there on a fair competitive basis with American companies here which must pay the taxes which they do not.

We can also help by creating a climate of collective bargaining in which increased wages are held within the appropriate limits of rising productivity, a rising productivity that will also provide for investments in modernization, for profits, and even, we hope, lower prices to stimulate increased purchasing.

And may I add at this point that when an administration has not hesitated to seek Taft-Hartley injunctions for national emergencies, has successfully urged moderation on the steel workers and other unions, has expressed a firm and continuing opposition to the 25-hour week, or anything less than the 40-hour week, and has gone on record against featherbedding and racketeering and road blocks to automation, it surely does not need to be asked whether it will invoke the national interest wherever it believes it to be threatened.

In addition, this administration can help alleviate the businessman's cost-price squeeze through new transportation policies aimed at providing increased freedom of competition at lower cost to the shipper, through fiscal and monetary policies aimed at making more capital available at less cost, and through a whole host of other policies on patents, productivity, and procurement.

But perhaps most important of all are our efforts which are aimed at creating conditions of high employment, and what is most important I know to all of you, high capacity utilization. For when the economy is expanding, profits generally are expanding, and not at the cost of the consumer. But when the economy is slack, we not only have unemployment but profits are inevitably slack. Just as there can be no prosperity without profits, so are profits hinged

to prosperity. With the high fixed costs of modern production and business organizations, few American business firms can earn an adequate profit on an inadequate volume. Profits have been under pressure since early 1957 because the economy has been operating below capacity since 1957. To restore profits to an adequate level, to maintain an adequate level of employment, we must restore the economy to full activity.

In short, our primary challenge is not how to divide the economic pie, but how to enlarge it. To fight now over larger slices of the existing pie, by seeking higher margins on lower volume, or higher wages ahead of productivity, can only weaken our effort to expand the economy of the United States.

The recovery of the past year has already raised our total output rate by \$50 billion, corporate profits by \$13 billion, personal income by \$32 billion, employment by 1 million 200 thousand, and industrial production by 13 percent. And this upswing is continuing. Housing starts rebounded vigorously last month. Retail sales are rising. Consumer intentions are encouraging. Business plans an 11 percent increase in its investment in new plant and equipment. And construction awards are at an all-time high. I am convinced that our economy in 1962 will break all records in production, employment,

and profits. But we must, of course, always do better.

For had we achieved these goals of full employment and high capacity, I am confident that none of the events which made this last month so memorable would have taken place at all. And if we can now join in achieving these goals, I am confident that they may never need to take place again.

I realize that we shall not reach these goals overnight, nor shall we achieve them without inconvenience, some disagreement, and some adjustments on every side—among labor, business, and the Government.

But the Bible tells us that “there is a time for every purpose under the heaven . . . a time to cast away stones and a time to gather stones together.” And ladies and gentlemen, I believe it is time for us all to gather stones together to build this country as it must be built in the coming years.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:40 a.m. in Constitution Hall. In his opening remarks he referred to Richard Wagner, retiring president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce; the Right Reverend Monsignor Joseph F. Denges of St. Stephens Church in Washington; H. Ladd Plumley, the incoming president of the Chamber of Commerce; and Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges, former Governor of North Carolina.

163 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on Federal Research and Development Contracts.

May 1, 1962

[Released May 1, 1962. Dated April 30, 1962]

Dear Mr. ———:

I transmit herewith for the information of the Senate (House) a report on Government Contracting for Research and Development, prepared at my request by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, with the participation of the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission, the Administra-

tor of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Director of the National Science Foundation, and the Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology.

I have approved the report and have transmitted it to the heads of departments and agencies for their guidance and action.

The subjects discussed in the report will, I believe, be of particular interest to several

committees of the Congress which are concerned with various aspects of the complex problems resulting from the rapid growth of Federal research and development programs. These include: criteria for deciding whether to contract out research and development work; improving policies and practices applying to research and development contracting; avoiding possible conflicts of interest by Government contractors; and improving the Government's ability to carry out research and development work directly.

It is plain that the Government's research and development effort must continue to rely heavily on contracts with non-Federal institutions, in order to combine the scientific and technical talents and facilities of the Nation's colleges and universities, businesses, nonprofit organizations, and other private institutions with the Government's own scientific and technical resources. This report points the way to a number of improvements in the present system for conducting the Government's research and development program—improvements which can and will be undertaken by the Executive Branch under existing authority.

I wish to call particular attention to the conclusions reached in the report regarding Federal salaries. Those who prepared the report—including the heads of the Government's three largest research and development agencies: the Department of Defense,

the Atomic Energy Commission, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration—have stated in the strongest terms the need to raise Federal salaries, especially in the higher grades, if the Government is to obtain and hold first-class scientists, engineers, and administrators. If we are not able to pay these men salaries reasonably comparable with what they can earn in private employment, we cannot hope to have enough of them in Government to ensure the effective application of science and technology to the great national problems of defense, atomic energy, space exploration, medical research, development assistance, and many other programs heavily dependent on research and development.

Consequently, I most strongly urge action at this session of the Congress to reform the Federal pay structure in accordance with the principle of comparability, as recommended in my message of February 20, 1962.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The report, dated April 30, 1962 (31 pp., processed), was released with the President's message. Also released was the President's memorandum transmitting the report to the heads of departments and agencies.

164 Statement by the President Upon Receiving a Report on Collective Bargaining and Industrial Peace. *May 1, 1962*

I HAVE today received the Report of the Labor-Management Advisory Committee on Free and Responsible Collective Bargaining and Industrial Peace.

As was the Committee's first Report on Automation, this Report is a highly meaningful and significant document.

The fact that public, labor and management representatives are in unanimous agreement that collective bargaining is an essential element of economic democracy is

a mark of our progress as a nation when contrasted with the disagreements on this subject in the not too distant past. The fact that all agree on the necessity that collective bargaining be responsible and responsive to the public, or common interest is a symbol of the maturity of the parties to the collective bargaining relationship.

This Report confirms the essential validity and the strength of free collective bargaining. The Committee unanimously asserts the

good in collective bargaining—and seeks then for ways to make it better. It finds the key in the inter-relationship of freedom and responsibility. To be free, collective bargaining must be responsible; so long as collective bargaining is responsible, it will always be free.

I see in this Report heartening evidence of the increased unity of purpose in all parts of the American economy. Where collective bargaining has been a way of settling disputes and differences, it is becoming even more now a way of achieving new economic strength, achieving new common purpose.

I congratulate the management, labor and public members of the Committee, who have produced a document of lasting contributions to our Country's welfare.

I appreciate very much all of the Committee's recommendations, including those designed to improve the procedures regarding disputes affecting the national health or safety. The recommendations will receive serious consideration in the formulation of the Administration's legislative proposals to the Congress.

The Committee has also today submitted to me its detailed recommendations for the

White House Conference on Economic Issues, to be held on May 21 and 22. I approve of these plans and direct that the Conference proceed on the basis of the recommendations submitted.

This Conference presents an invaluable opportunity for the two-way exchange of information and ideas among the nation's public and private decision makers.

I want to make this meeting—originally suggested by the Committee—the opportunity for the fullest possible exploration with businessmen, labor leaders and public representatives of the economic problems, and the prospects we as a people face today. The heart of the Conference will be the “round-table” discussion meetings which are being arranged.

The agenda of the Conference will be distributed shortly by the White House Press Office.

I want again to thank the members of the Committee for their outstanding and continuing service to the country.

NOTE: The report (26 pp., processed), dated May 1, 1962, was released with the President's statement. For the earlier report on automation see Item 6.

See also Item 203.

165 Statement by the President on the First Anniversary of the Area Redevelopment Act. May 1, 1962

TODAY is the first anniversary of the Area Redevelopment Act, and I am pleased to make public a report of the first year's activities of the Area Redevelopment Administration. It is an encouraging report in terms of the new jobs it has helped to create and the new private investment it has helped to stimulate in areas long beset by chronic unemployment or underemployment. Even more heartening is the new spirit of hope that the Area Redevelopment program has brought to the people in these areas of economic distress.

These first 12 months of operation have demonstrated conclusively that the economic weight of the Federal Government can be

brought to bear to help communities help themselves in alleviating chronic unemployment. The progress that has been made is a result of community initiative, private investment, State action and Federal assistance. This kind of joint action represents the genius of our free enterprise system.

The Area Redevelopment program has made a significant beginning, and Secretary of Commerce Hodges and Area Redevelopment Administrator Batt indicate that the program is gaining momentum daily. However, the long-standing economic problems of these chronically depressed areas cannot be expected to yield to quick and easy solutions. While this program moves forward in help-

ing these communities build a durable foundation for sustained local prosperity, other steps must be taken to ease the plight of the redevelopment areas.

I have asked the Congress, in conjunction with the Stand-by Capital Improvements legislation now pending before it, to initiate an immediate \$600 million public works program for the redevelopment areas and for the communities which have been designated for more than a year as areas of substantial unemployment. Both the stand-by legislation and the immediate capital improvements program will benefit these hard-hit areas—the first by mitigating the effects on these communities of any downturn in the national economy in the future, the second by providing immediate useful work for the unemployed and underemployed and by help-

ing these communities improve their public facilities to make them better places in which to live, to work, and to invest.

These proposals are part of this Administration's continuing efforts to strengthen our economy within the framework of the American system of free enterprise. They are designed to reinforce the investment that America is making, and will continue to make, through the Area Redevelopment program to insure that all areas of the Nation share in our country's economic expansion.

NOTE: The report covering the first year's activities of the Area Redevelopment Administration (6 pp., processed) was released by the Department of Commerce.

On September 14 the President approved a bill providing authority to accelerate public works programs in redevelopment areas and areas of substantial unemployment (Public Law 87-658, 76 Stat. 541).

166 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Providing for Educational Television. May 1, 1962

THIS MARKS a new chapter in the expression of Federal interest in education. One hundred years ago, with the enactment of the Morrill Land Grant College Act, higher education was made a matter of national concern while, at the same time, state operation and control were retained. Today, we take a similar action. The Educational Television Act of 1962 will provide vitally needed Federal support for the construction of educational television stations while assuring, at the same time, state and local operation. The Morrill Act reduced old barriers to education and offered new opportunities for learning. This Act gives equal promise of bringing greater opportunities for personal and cultural growth to every American.

The first decade of educational television has been one of accomplishment and steady growth. Sixty-three stations are now in operation. Program quality has improved stead-

ily. The contribution television can make in extending educational opportunity and improving the quality of education is widely recognized.

In spite of the vigorous efforts of many states and communities, 215 of the television channels reserved for education nine years ago remain unused. At a time when the wide availability of quality education is vital to our national growth and security, we must make effective use of all of our educational resources. This new legislation will provide needed stimulus and financial aid in the development of educational television's potential.

I am delighted to approve an Act which will do so much to assist in the growth of this important educational medium.

NOTE: The Educational Television Act is Public Law 87-447 (76 Stat. 64).

[167] May 3

Public Papers of the Presidents

167 Letter to the President of the National Civil Service League
Concerning Federal Pay Reform. May 3, 1962

[Released May 3, 1962. Dated May 2, 1962]

Dear Mr. Kelley:

It is indeed gratifying to have your letter of April 18 in which you express your support for this Administration's proposals for reform of Federal policy on statutory salaries.

I certainly share your belief that the paramount personnel problems within the Federal service are those that relate to the upper career ranks, both professional and managerial. It is for this reason that I have emphasized the need for establishing a fundamental principle of comparability of Federal salaries with those in the private economy and for making immediate adjustments to help repair the compression in the salary scales that has taken place over the past 17 years.

It is my firm intention and the intention of those who will assist in working with the Congress on this proposed legislation to press vigorously for this reform. The heads of various Federal program activities will participate in this process. It is reassuring and most helpful to know that the support of your outstanding organization on this proposal is assured. Thank you very much for your letter.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Mr. Nicholas Kelley, National Civil Service League, 315 Fifth Avenue, New York 16, New York]

NOTE: Mr. Kelley's letter, dated April 18 and co-signed by Bernard L. Gladieux, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the League, was released with the President's reply.

168 Toasts of the President and Chancellor Gorbach of Austria.
May 3, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

I know that you all join me in welcoming the Chancellor, the Foreign Minister, the State Secretary, and the Ambassador of Austria and the other members of his party, here to the United States. We are very glad to have you here, Chancellor.

I think most of you know something of his life, his distinguished service in World War I, when he lost his leg—and 5 years in Dachau which tested the strength of his political convictions—his efforts since that time to maintain the integrity and the security of his country. And he has been joined in that effort by a number of distinguished Austrians, of whom one of the most distinguished is the Foreign Minister, whom we are very glad to have here today and who has labored under burdens which would

stagger a lesser man to maintain the very delicate balance which maintains his country's position.

So that we are delighted to have them all here. They come at a useful time, particularly when the events occurring in Europe hold such fruitful prospects. We are also glad to have the whole group here because they come from a very outstanding country which was very generous to Mrs. Kennedy and myself last June, and also to Secretary Dillon with the World Bank, and to probably all of us who have visited there at one time or another. All of us have come away with the warmest feelings of friendship for the Austrian people and to know that that friendship is reciprocated.

So, Chancellor, Minister, Ambassador, ladies and gentlemen, I know that you will

join with me in drinking to our guests, to the country they represent—and to the President of Austria.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his response (through an interpreter) Chancellor Gorbach expressed appreciation for the welcome accorded him and his delegation.

"Austria is a country that is militarily neutral," he continued, "but it has never denied its ties with those of the countries which belong to the democratic world, which profess freedom—and Austria will never deny its ties with that part of the world."

After thanking the President and the American people for "the generous aid which the United States gave to the Austrian people in its reconstruction," Chancellor Gorbach added, "but perhaps I also may be allowed to be a bit immodest at this time and assert that the Austrian people are not unworthy of the aid given them. Austria is not

only a free and independent state but it is also an economically viable state. And through our declaration of neutrality and observance of neutrality, we have not permitted ourselves to be relegated to a back seat. We are taking an active part in a number of international organizations. . . . Moreover, thousands of young people from the less-developed nations of the world are studying at the universities in Austria and in addition to technical knowledge they are getting a real insight into the workings of a democratic state."

Chancellor Gorbach concluded by referring to the Austrian State Treaty, the 10th anniversary of which would shortly be celebrated, as a guarantee of Austrian independence, freedom, and sovereignty.

In his remarks President Kennedy referred to Bruno Kreisky and Ludwig Steiner, Austria's Foreign Minister and State Secretary, respectively, Dr. Wilfried Platzer, Austrian Ambassador to the United States, and Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury.

169 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Chancellor Gorbach. *May 3, 1962*

PRESIDENT KENNEDY and Chancellor Gorbach of Austria conferred this afternoon on a number of matters of mutual interest.

In the course of their conversation the Chancellor and Foreign Minister Kreisky clarified the views of the Austrian Government with regard to certain economic problems, including the problem of Austrian

participation in European economic integration. The President expressed his recognition of the special situation of Austria and there was mutual agreement on the need for solutions that would take this into account. The President and the Chancellor reaffirmed the traditional friendship of their two countries.

170 Address in New Orleans at the Opening of the New Dockside Terminal. *May 4, 1962*

Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my thanks to Congressman Boggs for his generous introduction. He serves this District and the United States with distinction. He is the Majority Whip. He has breakfast every Tuesday with the leadership of the Congress and myself and the Vice President, and on those occasions he speaks with vigor for this State and the United States, and I appreciate his introduction.

He is joined today by a distinguished delegation—Senator Ellender, the senior Senator—if he would stand up, let's get a look at him; and Senator Russell Long of Louisiana—Congressman Hébert from this area, Congressman Willis, Congressman Morrison, Congressman Passman, Congressman Thompson, Congressman McSween, Congressman Waggonner. And we brought a Congressman all the way from Massachusetts to see this State, Congressman Boland—and

Congressman Sikes from Florida. Everybody wanted to come on this trip, but we kept the list very exclusive.

I also want to express my appreciation to the Governor for his comments and for his welcome, and to your distinguished Mayor whose troubles are about to begin on Monday when he is inaugurated as the chief executive of this city. And we appreciate his welcome very much.

This port of New Orleans is the second leading port of the United States. I would like to say that Boston is the first, but nevertheless, this great port is symbolized by this great wharf, and I think it most appropriate to come to this city, and this pier, on this river, and say a word about the future trade of the United States. And I'm particularly happy to be in this city. For throughout its history, this happy city has symbolized and served our country and the world at large. Cosmopolitan by nature, tolerant in outlook, the product of many nations, and cultures, and creeds, and races, New Orleans has long represented the strength of diversity working in harmony—and I am confident that the overwhelming majority of the citizens of this city intend to see that this most valuable reputation and character are preserved.

After the battle of New Orleans, Andrew Jackson said that he was fighting for the re-establishment of the American character. And that, in our generation and time, is our responsibility: the re-establishment of the American character. And I speak today of one facet of that character and that is trade. Because trade and competition and innovation have long been a significant part of the American character.

The Founding Fathers—Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin—were men of trade as well as men of affairs. For trade represents widening horizons. This great river which reaches as far as the Rockies, and Pennsylvania in the East, connects this city with the farthest-most points of the world. It represents the spirit of liberty and the

spirit of democracy, and the spirit of trade goes hand in hand with that great institution.

Today this Nation sells more goods abroad than any nation in the world—we buy more goods than any nation in the world—and we gain both from the buying and the selling. One-twelfth of all of our transportable goods—an amount larger than all we purchase for automobiles and auto parts—are bound up in foreign trade, which affects the livelihood of everyone who lives in this city. In 1960 we exported more than 50 percent of all the locomotives we built in this country; 49 percent of all the cotton we grew in the United States; 31 percent of the oil machinery; 57 percent of the rice; 31 percent of the construction and mining equipment; 29 percent of the tobacco; 23 percent of the metal-forming machine tools; and 41 percent of the soybeans. And in return we purchase goods without which there would be no coffee breaks, no banana splits, and no opportunity for us to use dozens of essential materials.

In this city more than in most, your feet are in the water. Last year two billion dollars worth of goods passed through these wharves around the world—feed from the Great Plains, cotton from the South, tobacco from the South, steel plate from Birmingham, automobiles from Detroit, and bananas and coffee from the South American countries. Trade has built New Orleans, trade will sustain New Orleans, trade will develop New Orleans in the coming months—not only on this pier but in your banks, your insurance companies, your oil industries, your chemical industries—your industries which mean the welfare of all of your people are bound up with that river which flows into the ocean.

Louisiana stands fifth, fifth, among all the States of the United States in the percentage of people in this State who work in foreign trade of local employment. And the other four States are Arkansas, Texas, Alabama and Mississippi. The five States of the Union where more people, percentagewise,

are engaged in occupations depending on foreign trade are all here in the South. In short, the five States which will benefit the most from our new trade legislation are here in your neighborhood. All this indicates we must go forward.

In May of 1962, we stand at a great dividing point. We must either trade or fade. We must either go backward or go forward. For more than a quarter of a century the Reciprocal Trade legislation fathered by Cordell Hull of Tennessee and sponsored by Franklin Roosevelt, has served this country well. And on eleven different occasions it has been renewed by Congresses of both parties. But that Act is no longer adequate to carry us through the channels and the locks of world trade today. For the whole pattern of trade is changing and we must change with it. The Common Market uniting the countries of Western Europe together in one great trading group indicates both a promise, or a threat, to our economy. Our international balance of payments is in deficit, requiring an increase in our exports. Japan has regained force as a trading nation, nearly 50 new nations of Asia and Africa are seeking new markets, our friends in Latin America need to trade to develop their capital—and the Communist bloc has developed a vast new arsenal of trading weapons, which can be used against us, and they are ready to take and fill any area in which we leave a gap, whenever American leadership should falter. And we do not intend to give way.

I believe that American trade leadership must be maintained and that is why I come to your city—I believe it must be furthered—and I have therefore submitted to the Congress the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

It is not a partisan measure—its provisions have been endorsed by leaders of both parties. It is not a radical measure—its newest features merely add force to the traditional American concepts. And it is not a measure favoring one section of our country over another—farm, labor, business and consumer

groups, from every part of the nation, support this legislation. I am convinced that the passage of this bill is of vital importance to you and to every other American—not only to those vast numbers of people who are engaged in trade—but to *every* citizen: as a consumer who is concerned about the prices you must pay, as a patriot concerned about national security, as an American concerned about freedom. The basic economic facts make it essential that we pass this legislation this year.

Our businessmen, workers and farmers are in need of new markets—and the fastest growing market in the world is the European Common Market. Its consumers will soon be nearly 250 million people. Its sales possibilities have scarcely begun to be tapped. Its demand for American goods is without precedent—if only we can obtain the tools necessary to open the door.

Our own markets here at home expand as our economy and population expands. But think of the tremendous demand in the Common Market countries, where most consumers have never had the goods which we take so much for granted. Think of the opportunities in a market where, compared to the ratio of ownership in this country, only one-fourth as many consumers have radios, one-seventh television sets, one-fifth automobiles, washing machines, refrigerators!

If our American producers can share in this market it will mean more investment and more plants and more jobs and a faster rate of growth. To share in that market we must strike a bargain—we must have something to offer the Europeans—we must be willing to give them increased access to our markets. Let us not avoid the fact: we cannot sell unless we buy. And there will be those who will be opposed to this competition. But, let those who believe in competition—those who welcome the challenge of world trade, as our predecessors have done—let them recognize the value that will come from this exchange of goods. It will

enrich the choice of consumers. It will make possible a higher standard of living. It will help hold the lid on the cost of living. It will stimulate our producers to modernize their products. A few—a very few—may be adversely affected—but for the benefit of those few we have expanded and refined the safeguards of the Act.

As in the past, tariff reductions will take place gradually over a period of years. As in the past, import restrictions can be imposed if an industry undergoes undue hardship. Tariff policies on some items—such as textiles and oil—are already covered by special arrangements or agreements which give them the necessary assurances.

Finally, under this bill, for the first time, a constructive, businesslike program of adjustment assistance will be available to individual firms and workers, specifically tailored to help them regain their competitive strength. They will not stand alone, therefore, in the marketplace. There will be temporary aid in hardship cases with the creative purpose of increasing productivity, of helping labor and management get back in the competitive stream—instead of using tariff laws as a long-term Federal subsidy or dole, paid by the consumer to stagnant enterprises.

With this variety of tools at our disposal, no one—and I say no one—is going to be sacrificed to the national interest with a medal and an empty grocery bag.

But let us not miss the main point: the new jobs opened through trade will be far greater than any jobs which will be adversely affected. And these new jobs will come in those enterprises that are today leading the economy of the country—our growth industries, those that pay the highest wages, those that are among the most efficiently organized, those that are most active in research, and in the innovation of new products. The experience of the European Common Market, where tariffs were gradually cut down, has shown that increased trade brings employment. They have full employment in the Common Market and

an economic growth rate twice that of the United States. In short, trade expansion will emphasize the modern instead of the obsolete, the strong instead of the weak, the new frontiers of trade instead of the ancient strongholds of protection.

And we cannot continue to bear the burden that we must bear of helping freedom defend itself all the way, from the American soldier guarding the Brandenburg Gate to the Americans now in Viet Nam, or the Peace Corps men in Colombia. Unless we have the resources to finance those great expenditures which in the last year totaled over three billion dollars, unless we are able to increase our surplus of balance of payments, then the United States will be faced with a hard choice, of either lessening those commitments or beginning to withdraw this great national effort.

One answer to this problem is the negative answer: raise our tariffs, restrict our capital, pull back from the world—and our adversaries would only be too glad to fill any gap that we should leave. This Administration was not elected to preside over the liquidation of American responsibility in these great years.

There is a much better answer—and that is to increase our exports, to meet our commitments and to maintain our defense of freedom. I have every confidence that once this bill is passed, the ability of American initiative and know-how will increase our exports and our export surplus by competing successfully in every market of the world.

Third and last, the new Trade Act can strengthen our foreign policy, and one of these points, as Ambassador Morrison knows well, is Latin America. The Alliance for Progress seeks to help these Latin American neighbors of ours. That effort must, and will, continue. But foreign aid cannot do the job alone. In the long run, our sister republics must develop the means themselves to finance their development. They must sell more of their goods on the world market, and earn the exchange necessary to buy the machinery and the technology that they need

to raise their standard of living. The Trade Expansion Act is designed to keep this great market as a part of the world community, because the security of the United States is tied up with the well-being of our sister republics.

And we have a concern for Japan which has maintained its freedom. Last year Japan bought a half a billion dollars more of goods from us than we bought from her, and it is important that she not be locked out of the world markets, because otherwise those who are opposed to freedom can win a victory in the coming years. To pay for her imports, Japan must sell. Many countries seek to discriminate against those goods, and we need the bargaining tools of the new Trade Expansion Act to bring Japan fully into the Free World trading systems.

For we are moving toward a full partnership of all the free nations of the world, a partnership which will have within its area 90 percent of the industrial productive power of the Free World which will have in it the greatest market that the world has ever known, a productive power far greater than that of the Communist bloc, a trillion dollar economy, where goods can move freely back and forth. That is the prospect that lies before us, as citizens of this country, in the year 1962.

Those who preach the doctrine of the inevitability of the class struggle and of the Communist success, should realize that in the last few years the great effort which has been made to unify economically the countries of the Free World, offers far greater promise than the sterile and broken promises of the Communist system. Against the Communist system of iron discipline, the Atlantic partnership will present a world of free choice. Against their predictions of our collapse, it will present a challenge of free na-

tions working in harmony, and it will provide economically an effective answer to those boasts of their ultimately overtaking us.

That is why the passage of the Trade Expansion Act is so important this year. And that is why I salute men such as Chairman Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, of the Ways and Means Committee, and your own Congressman Hale Boggs who are preparing for its passage.

This is a great opportunity for all of us to move ahead. This city would never have developed as it has unless those who have preceded us had had a spirit of initiative and courage. That is what is asked of us today. This wharf demonstrates your confidence in the future. No section of the United States will benefit more in the coming months and years if we are successful.

In the life of every nation, as in the life of every man, there comes a time when a nation stands at the crossroads; when it can either shrink from the future and retire into its shell, or can move ahead—asserting its will and its faith in an uncertain sea. I believe that we stand at such a juncture in our foreign economic policy. And I come to this city because I believe New Orleans and Louisiana, and the United States choose to move ahead in 1962.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. In his opening remarks he referred to Hale Boggs, U.S. Representative from Louisiana. Later he referred to Allen J. Ellender and Russell B. Long, U.S. Senators from Louisiana; F. Edward Hébert, Edwin E. Willis, James H. Morrison, Otto E. Passman, T. A. Thompson, Harold B. McSween, and Joe D. Waggonner, Jr., U.S. Representatives from Louisiana; Edward P. Boland, U.S. Representative from Massachusetts; Robert L. F. Sikes, U.S. Representative from Florida; Jimmie H. Davis, Governor of Louisiana; and Victor H. Schiro, Mayor of New Orleans.

Another text of these remarks was released by the White House prior to the actual delivery.

171 Remarks in New Orleans at a Civic Reception.

May 4, 1962

Mayor Schiro, I want to thank you for your generous welcome—Governor Davis, Congressman Hébert, who serves this district with great credit in Washington, Congressman Boggs of this city who is your Majority Whip in the Congress, Ambassador Morrison who was your distinguished Mayor, your two Senators, Senator Ellender and Senator Long—and members of the Congress from this State—ladies and gentlemen:

I first of all want to express my thanks to all of you for making me an honorary citizen, and I am particularly glad because we have today so many students here—perhaps all of those who are either in school or college could hold up your hands?—well, all those who should be in school or college? I am particularly glad that you are here. I don't know whether you realize how much of what is happening in this country and the world is going to affect this city and State and is going to affect your lives.

The space age, which has been personified by Commander Shepard and Colonel Glenn, is going to have the most far-reaching consequences to all of you who live along the gulf. Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas are going to be the center of a great national effort which will, we believe, someday give us a leadership in space which will make the most profound differences to this city and State and section.

And I want to emphasize how important it is that this city and State prepare itself for the great technological changes which are going to take place in all of our lives. We are going to need in the coming months and years, in order to maintain our position in the world, the best schools and the best colleges, and the best research centers and the best engineers, and the best scientists—and the best citizens that a free democracy can possibly produce.

Those who have these skills, those who are willing to apply themselves to developing their talents, will have the brightest future. This opportunity is being given to this section of the United States. Hundreds of millions and billions of dollars in the next decade will be spent on new industries, using new materials and new skills and new people in bringing all these talents to the Southern United States. This can mean more to this region of the country than any event which has happened in the last hundred years, and this city and State must be prepared to take advantage of it.

All of those of you who are now in school and college must realize that the brightest future lies before those who work, those who grapple with the future, those who recognize what changes are coming.

Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was to say, "I am a citizen of Rome." Today, I believe, in 1962 the proudest boast is to say, "I am a citizen of the United States." And it is not enough to merely say it; we must live it. Anyone can say it. But Americans who serve today in West Berlin—your sons and brothers—or in Vietnam, or in other sections of the world, or who work in laboratories, to give us leadership, those are the Americans who are bearing the great burden.

I recognize in this State and city, which is so much a part of our history, that the strength and vigor of the United States, and our spirit and character, still run strong.

I am proud, therefore, to become an honorary citizen of New Orleans, and I am proud, as President of the United States, to come to this city—which occupies such a vital part in our lives—and to ask you to join with all of us in moving this country forward in this decade.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. at City Hall Plaza in New Orleans. In his opening words he referred to Victor H. Schiro, Mayor of New Orleans; Jimmie H. Davis, Governor of Louisiana; F. Edward Hébert and Hale Boggs, U.S. Repre-

sentatives from Louisiana; deLessups Morrison, United States Representative to the Organization of American States with the rank of Ambassador; and Allen J. Ellender and Russell B. Long, U.S. Senators from Louisiana.

172 Remarks at Eglin Air Force Base, Florida, After Witnessing a Flying Demonstration. May 4, 1962

General Warren, General Sweeney, Secretary Zuckert, Mr. Vice President, General LeMay, Deputy Secretary Gilpatric, ladies and gentlemen:

I know that all of you are connected with this base, that you are either the children or the wives of the people who work here—fliers and those who help man these planes. I would like to express my very great thanks on behalf of all of us to all of you.

I don't think anyone could have watched the flying that we have seen today and the commitment to this country demonstrated by those who manned these airplanes, and

served them, without going back home a good deal happier.

We want to thank you all. I hope that all Americans realize what you're doing.

Thank you.

NOTE: In his opening remarks the President referred to Maj. Gen. Robert H. Warren, Commander, Air Proving Ground, Eglin Air Force Base; Gen. Walter C. Sweeney, Jr., Commander, Tactical Air Command, Langley Air Force Base, Va.; Eugene M. Zuckert, Secretary of the Air Force; Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson; Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Chief of Staff, Air Force; and Roswell L. Gilpatric, Deputy Secretary of Defense.

173 Remarks to a Group of Civil Air Patrol Cadets. May 7, 1962

I WANT to express my thanks to all of you for coming this morning, and for this award. I was invited to this affair by General Spaatz, who was of course the Commander of the Air Force in Europe in World War II, later Commander of the United States Air Force, who emphasized to me the very vital role which the Civil Air Patrol plays in supplying future cadets for the Air Force—supplying assistance to fliers who may be downed. I understand that at least one of you has participated in a rescue operation of a downed flier.

This is a very valuable service which you render to our country. There is still a tremendous need for manned aircraft. The exhibition we saw down at Eglin Air Force Base on Friday of manned aircraft indicates that even though we are, on the one hand, moving into the missile age, there is still

need for fliers and will be for many years to come.

Our experience in Southeast Asia using old planes indicates the kind of difficulties that we may be faced with in many areas of the world, and the particular kind of flying talent which is necessary.

So I do want to emphasize that even though we may be interested and at times stimulated by the movement into the missile space age, the need for manned aircraft is going to continue—certainly for the future that we can see ahead—and will serve a very vital national interest.

I am particularly glad to have you ladies here and participating in this program—I'm sorry I wasn't in it when I was younger.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. in the Rose Garden. Prior to his remarks the cadets presented him an honorary life membership in the Civil Air Patrol.

174 Address in Atlantic City at the Convention of the United Auto Workers. May 8, 1962

President Reuther; distinguished Governor of the State of New Jersey, my friend, Governor Hughes; Emil Mazey; Leonard Woodcock; our visitor from Washington, Jack Conway; Mr. Potofsky; distinguished guests; ladies and gentlemen:

Last week, after speaking to the Chamber of Commerce and the presidents of the American Medical Association, I began to wonder how I got elected. And now I remember.

I said last week to the Chamber that I thought I was the second choice for President of a majority of the members of the Chamber; anyone else was first choice. But it is a source of satisfaction to me that I was the first choice, after the convention, of this organization. And it is a source of satisfaction to me to come to this convention again as President of the United States. Because this organization and this union has not interpreted its responsibilities narrowly. You have not confined yourselves to getting the best possible deal at the bargaining table, but instead year after year you have worked to strengthen the entire United States and the free world. And your action, taken at this convention, of spending over a period of 2 years over \$1,400,000 per year in order to build strong, free trade unions around the world, is an example of public service that this union has rendered. And I commend you.

These are matters which cannot be left to the Government. This is a fight for freedom which involves us all. No greater service to the cause of the free world could possibly come forward than the development of effective, liberal, free trade unions in the newly emerging countries. These are the areas where the Communists concentrate. If they are able to have a great mass of people living in misery and a few in luxury, it suits them to a tee. And the way that progress can be made over a wide spectrum

for the great majority of the people is by having an effective labor movement. And, therefore, your commitment to this cause, your willingness to assist unions to organize, to assist them with techniques, to bring new trade union leaders from Latin America and Africa and Asia to your union headquarters all over the country, to show them how a free and effective and progressive trade union functions—that is a public service of the highest quality. And I want to express my thanks to you.

But on a whole variety of ways—employment, education, the fight for equality of opportunity for all Americans, regardless of their race and their color—these are the things for which America stands, and for which this union stands. And that is why I flew longer—and this will go down in the history books—that is why I flew longer in a helicopter than any President of the United States to come here today. That is the kind of forward-looking administration we have. It was an extremely hazardous flight—but we are here. And I am delighted to have a chance to say a few words about this administration's policy, which has been the subject of a good deal of discussion, acrimony, and controversy on wages and prices and profits.

Now I know there are some people who say that this isn't the business of the President of the United States, who believe that the President of the United States should be an honorary chairman of a great fraternal organization and confine himself to ceremonial functions. But that is not what the Constitution says. And I did not run for President of the United States to fulfill that Office in that way.

Harry Truman once said there are 14 or 15 million Americans who have the resources to have representatives in Washington to protect their interests, and that the interests of the great mass of other people,

the hundred and fifty or sixty million, is the responsibility of the President of the United States. And I propose to fulfill it.

And there are those who say, "Stay out of this area—it would be all right if we are in a national emergency or in a war."

What do they think we are in? And what period of history do they believe this country has reached? What do they believe is occurring all over the world?

Merely because vast armies do not march against each other, does anyone think that our danger is less immediate, or the struggle is less ferocious?

As long as the United States is the great and chief guardian of freedom, all the way in a great half circle from the Brandenburg Gate to Viet-Nam, as long as we fulfill our functions at a time of climax in the struggle for freedom, then I believe it is the business of the President of the United States to concern himself with the general welfare and the public interest. And if the people feel that it is not, then they should secure the services of a new President of the United States.

That does not mean, nor have we ever suggested, that we seek to control by statute prices and wages and profits. This is a competitive economy. We believe that this is the way this country should move ahead. We believe it has served us well, the free enterprise system.

But on the other hand, I believe also that the deliberations which take place on these matters, particularly in the great industries, do have a public impact. If the United States is not competitive, if the United States is not able to earn at least \$3 billion more each year through foreign trade than it takes in—\$3 billion which we spend for national security commitments around the world—then what is the President of the United States to do? Keep pouring out gold? And there is an end to that. Or begin to withdraw his defense commitments, and begin to withdraw the United States from the great arena of the struggle which is now taking place?

This is not a matter which involves a few people who may live in one or two cities, in New York or Pittsburgh, who can meet in a room, without recognizing that their decisions involve the public interest. That is all I am suggesting. When they go to the table of the executive committees of great corporations, or when you negotiate labor and management, I think it is incumbent upon all of us to consider the general welfare and the public interest, because the public interest is your interest, and it is the responsibility of the President of the United States not to seek to compel, but to seek to at least be sure that the parties who are involved in these great decisions are aware of the effect of these decisions upon the national interest and the national security.

No President of the United States should do less—and I intend to meet my responsibilities.

I say all this to you because this is a responsible union. I speak as President of the United States with a single voice to both management and to labor, to the men on both sides of the bargaining table, when I say that your sense of responsibility, the sense of responsibility of organized labor and of management, is the foundation upon which our hopes rest in the coming great years.

This administration has not undertaken and will not undertake to fix prices and wages in this economy.

We have no intention of intervening in every labor dispute.

We are neither able nor willing to substitute our judgment for the judgment of those who sit at the local bargaining tables across the country. We can suggest guidelines for the economy, but we cannot fix a single pattern for every plant and every industry.

We can, and must, under the responsibilities given to us by the Constitution, and by statute and by necessity, point out the national interest. And where applicable we can and must and will enforce the law—on restraints of trade and national emergencies.

But we possess and seek no powers of compulsion, and must rely primarily on the voluntary efforts of labor and management to make sure that their sense of public responsibility, their recognition of this dangerous and hazardous world, full of challenge and opportunity, that in this kind of world, fulfilling our role, that the national interest is preserved.

Fortunately, a sense of this public responsibility is not foreign to this union, its membership, or its leadership. You have recognized it, as I've said, in your efforts to assist unions abroad, to assist your members at home, to speak for the public interest in a whole variety of questions under the leadership of your distinguished president, Walter Reuther.

He and I do not always agree—he is happy to say, and I am not reluctant to say. But he has a proposal; his suggestions are not negative. If they are not accepted then he moves on because he recognizes the necessity and the responsibility of good will prevailing—and he recognizes that I must meet my responsibility as he does his.

And that is the spirit which I believe should govern the relations which must exist between all the great groups in this country. And regardless of what the attitude of some may be, I propose to continue to try to develop and maintain that relationship with all those who are concerned with the welfare of their country.

You've recognized this in your historic fights against prejudice and poverty, and neglected old age. And I remember attending a meeting near Detroit of those members of your union who had retired and who still consider themselves active participants in the United Auto Workers, even though they are now living all around the great city of Detroit, but yet they came and participated in a great Sunday afternoon where I was present.

You demonstrated your responsibility in the resolution which you adopted yesterday, reaffirming your intention, and I quote, "to seek wage increases and improvements in

fringe benefits out of the fruits of advancing technology, and not through price increases." And you recognized it in your 1961 contract with the automobile industry, contracts which have contributed to price stability. For the responsible outlook demonstrated by that agreement which served your members and the community, the industry and this union deserve a vote of thanks from the country.

But your task, like mine and the American people, is never done. The same responsibility for a noninflationary and peaceful settlement applies both to you and to management in your forthcoming negotiations in the aircraft and missile industries. I am confident that you will meet that obligation, exercising the restraint and responsibility which will, in the end, reward you as it rewards the country. For I do not believe it is necessary to remind this audience that neither you nor I believe in the philosophy that what is good for one company or one union is automatically good for the United States.

I believe, instead, that what is good for the United States, for the people as a whole, is going to be good for every American company and for every American union. And that is why I am confident that this union will join me in the fight against inflation.

What good is it to get an increase in wages if it is taken away by an increase in prices?

What counts is the real increase in wages, which comes from increased productivity and technology. And that, I am glad to see, has been recognized for many years by this union.

We have two tasks in economic policy: to create demand so that we will have a market for all that we can produce, and to avoid inflation.

To return to a policy of halting inflation by curbing demand would be self-defeating—but to expand the forces of demand by feeding the fires of inflation would be equally dangerous and delusive.

While individual adjustments may have

to be made to fit the previous patterns in individual industries, in general a wage policy which seeks its gains out of the fruits of technology instead of the pockets of the consumers is the one basic approach that can help every segment of the economy.

This idea was not invented by this administration. It is a simple, inescapable, economic truth that increases in productivity, in output per man-hour—they set the outer limits of our economic progress. This country has the world's highest real wages and living standards simply because our output per man-hour is the highest in the world. No financial sleight of hand can raise real wages and profits faster than productivity without defeating their own purpose through inflation. And I need not tell the members of this union, with its constructive history and policies, that unjustified wage demands which require price increases, and then other demands and then other price increases, are equally as contrary to the national interest as unjustified profit demands which require price increases. But when productivity has been raised—by the skills of better management, the efficiency of labor, and the modernization financed by investors—all three groups can reap the rewards of that productivity, and still pass lower prices on to the consumer.

I don't call for higher productivity in a vacuum. Our great challenge in the 1960's is to do what they have done in Western Europe, where in the last 8 or 9 years wage rates percentagewise have increased faster than they have in the United States since 1953—over 58 percent, in France and Germany, higher than here in the United States. And yet while we have had an 11 percent increase in our price index, their price index has remained the same because they have modernized and increased their productivity per man-hour to maintain the cost constant of the productivity per unit, even though the wages have gone up.

We must achieve what they have achieved, which is full employment, in which automation and employment go hand in hand. Our

economic policies must stimulate both investment and consumption. The great market is here in the United States. I recognize that when we talk of foreign trade we are talking of \$20 billion, and we have a gross national product of \$50 or \$60 or \$70 billion. The great market is here. But there is also a vital market abroad because this is the means by which we protect our national security investments in those countries. And I do not want capital to leave this country and go behind the Common Market curtain and leave us with jobless people who should be working. We seek full plant and labor capacity for all the various parts of our economy, and our national policies and international policies are bound together as never before. That is why this issue has become so important.

I am sure you must wonder why so much emphasis is now put on this. It is because this matter vitally affects our national security. We lost, from 1953 and '54 till now, \$5½ billion in gold of ours, \$5½ billion in new claims on the gold we now have. Our gold is now reserved \$16½ billion, of which \$12 billion are tied to our currency, so that if we continue to lose capital and gold, as we have in the past, there will be no alternative to the President of the United States, whoever he may be, than to begin to cut and withdraw, as other countries have done.

This goes, as I have said therefore, to our security. For all these parts, therefore, are tied together. There can be no lasting increases in wages without industries making a profit. There can be no lasting profit on plants when they are producing less than capacity. And that has been the great problem of the American economy since the end of 1957.

When they talk about the profit squeeze it has been because we have been operating in basic industries at 60 or 70 or 75 percent of capacity, in the steel industry as low as 38 to 40 percent. No wonder there has been, under those conditions, a squeeze on employment—on employment and on the ability to build up capital for reinvestment.

And there can be no increase in sales abroad and at home, unless our prices and costs are competitive as a result of plant investment and modernization and increased productivity in a prosperous economy heading towards full employment.

I do not believe that our tasks are done. There are proposals which we have put forward which we believe will be of assistance in moving this economy toward that full employment which all of Western Europe has achieved for over a period of 15 years, and we are asking Congress for a program that will make this full employment a reality. By stimulating plant modernization and reinvestment so that our productivity will go up, through our investment tax credit; to increase our markets through trade expansion so that capital does not leave us, but instead manufactured goods. To broaden the base of our economy we have proposed a program of \$600 million in capital improvements to be allocated this year to the areas of heaviest unemployment; to give new skills to those who are joining the labor force we have proposed a program of youth employment opportunities.

Seven to eight million of our sons and daughters will leave, in this decade, school before they finished. One out of every four under the age of 20 today are unemployed. Every analysis looking to the future—and this involves your sons and daughters—shows that the great needs will be, in the sixties, for those with skills and those with education. The great lack—the most difficult places to find work in the sixties will be for those boys and girls without a good education and without training. And we want to make sure that every American has a chance to develop his talent. Education is basic to the preservation of a democracy. Imagine in this rich country of ours, eight million children leaving before they finished the 12th grade—one out of four today out of work!

And I hope a program of youth employment opportunity, so strongly worked for

by Secretary Goldberg and others, will finally come out of the Rules Committee so the Members of the House can vote on it.

We need a permanent unemployment insurance program so that those who want to work and can't find a job will not be shifted and living on a marginal income without hope for themselves. These are things which other countries in Western Europe did 30 or 40 years ago. Great Britain—and we regard ourselves as a progressive society—had these provisions at the time of the First World War. And yet this is suggested as a most radical proposal.

I believe that this country has an obligation to those who want to work and can't find it, to make it possible for them to maintain themselves and their families. In 1956 I offered that as an amendment on the Senate floor and got 20 votes. We are going to do better. We may not get it this year, but we are going to get it, because it is fair.

We must increase our investment in higher education. Every one of you who has sons and daughters wants those children to be as well educated as possible. A college education gives a child an opportunity in life which is marked in his income for the rest of his life.

We are going to have twice as many of our sons and daughters trying to get into college in 1970 as tried in 1960. We have to, in the next 8 years, build as many school buildings as we have built in our entire history, in our colleges. And yet we have found it extremely difficult to secure support for this vital program. And I believe that this is the kind of matter which the people of the United States wish to support.

These are some of the things which we still must do. We must eliminate racial barriers. There is no reason why if your skin is colored you have twice as much chance to be unemployed, about a half as much chance to own your house, about a half or a third as much chance of your son or daughter going to college. This country is a free society, in which everyone can succeed or

fail based on what they have inside of them, not what they have outside.

We have done some things: area redevelopment; the most comprehensive Federal housing program, upon which your former associate Jack Conway is second in charge; an increase in the minimum wage, accompanied by the first, even though still limited, increase in protection since the act was passed. Why it is so difficult to secure passage of a minimum wage paying somebody in interstate commerce a dollar or a dollar-ten and fifteen cents, I do not understand, but it is regarded in some circles as highly radical and highly inflationary.

I think that this country must pay people adequately. How else are we going to be able to buy the cars and the refrigerators and the television sets which we produce in such mass?

For the first time, unemployed men can retire at 62. For the first time, and I do not regard this as a particularly radical proposal, dependent children can receive aid for the first time in our history without the wage earner deserting his family. In the old days, before this act was passed, if a child was undernourished it was necessary for the wage earner to desert his wife and family in order that those children should qualify for assistance. But last year that was changed, and I think it's high time.

And this year, we shall pass, I believe—we shall pass medical care for the aged tied to social security. And I am confident that the great majority, in fact all doctors, will treat those who may be covered by this national program.

Our hospitals have been supported under the Hill-Burton Act for years. The Federal Government is the great contributor to financing research and grants under the Institutes of Health. We are suggesting additional programs to develop more doctors and nurses. We cannot leave the 17 million people who have retired, and who may become ill—if they have no money, under the legislation now on the books, they

have a chance to receive some as indigents. But that is not the way we believe it should be done. And if their son happens to have some money in the bank they do not qualify, and he goes and pays out. And it may break him at a time when he has responsibilities to his children.

The ones who are most adversely affected, in fact, are not necessarily those over 65, but those in their forties, whose parents live, and who must educate their children. And they do not want to have to make a choice—and they should not have to.

We have a long way to go. Every year brings new problems, every year continues old problems that are unsolved. Our basic task here at home is to attempt to develop an economy which is not subject to the violent fluctuations where we saw the recession of 1958 and the recession of 1960, and even today have too many people unemployed.

We have suggested three programs to give us standby power: tax reduction, the public works, and others; so that if we see the economy turning down we can move quickly without having to wait till it runs its course over a period of months. This is the great challenge. When Mr. Khrushchev talks about coexistence it is because he believes that the economy of the Soviet Union has enough vitality that over a period of time he can pass this country. And when he does, as he has said, the hinge of history will move.

All of us remember the impact which was seen around the world because this formerly backward country was first in space in the fifties. Well, we are not convinced that they will be in the sixties, because we are going to make a determined effort.

But I can imagine nothing more disastrous to our cause than to have a country which had a gross national product a third of ours, or 40 percent of ours, suddenly pass this great country. That's the problem which involves the interests of all of us. That is why everything that we have talked about,

with which you've been living for years, also involves the interests of all the people and the national security.

And that is why I felt it a privilege to come here and talk to you about these problems, because this involves us all. And if we succeed then all of us succeed; and if we fail all of us fail. And in this great time, when this country is fulfilling so many great responsibilities, I believe this union made up of nearly one million, five hundred thousand people, who have been in the forefront of every fight—I believe this union's commitment to the public interest is such that it can be a trailblazer in these great economic and social areas, as it has been in the past.

Marshal Lyautey, the great French marshal, in the twenties, went out one day to his garden and asked his gardener to

plant a tree. His gardener said, "Why that tree won't flower for a hundred years." He said, "In that case plant it this afternoon."

Well, our trees may flower sooner than a hundred years, in 7 or 8 months, or over a period of several years. But whatever time it may take, we want to plant it and begin it this afternoon.

And I ask the United Auto Workers of America to once again help move this country forward.

NOTE: The President spoke at Convention Hall in Atlantic City. In his opening remarks he referred to Walter P. Reuther, President, United Auto Workers; Richard J. Hughes, Governor of New Jersey; Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer, UAW; Leonard Woodcock, a vice president of UAW; Jack T. Conway, Deputy Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency; and Jacob Potofsky, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

175 Message to the Veterans Association of Brazil on the Anniversary of V-E Day. May 8, 1962

TWENTY years ago Brazil and the United States took up arms together to fight a common enemy of democracy. Our great wartime leaders, Franklin Roosevelt and Getulio Vargas, also laid the foundations for Brazilian-American cooperation in the economic and technical fields. This May 8th anniversary, commemorating our final victory in Europe in 1945, finds us engaged in another kind of war on many different battle fronts. Today the common enemy is poverty, malnutrition, disease, and illiteracy. Under the Alliance for Progress we propose to attack these problems and to move forward to final victory, just as we did together in the war years, united by Man's highest aspirations for peace and prosperity with freedom.

Our common history, experience, and ideals unite us. The names of Mascarenhas de Morias and Mark Clark, Zenobio da Costa and Willis Crittenger immortalize our wartime cooperation and the democratic principles that moved us on to triumph in World War II. Let us rededicate ourselves on this V-E Day anniversary to the ideals of Brazilian-American solidarity and friendship. May I take this occasion to salute the gallant Associacao dos Ex-Combatentes do Brasil, and pay tribute to the brave servicemen of the F.E.B. and the armed forces of Brazil, who gave their lives to the cause of freedom. All honor to you who proudly proclaim the slogan "A Cobra esta Fumando."

JOHN F. KENNEDY

176 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Concerning Standby Authority To Reduce Income Taxes. May 8, 1962

Dear Mr. ————:

I transmit herewith, for the consideration of the Congress, a draft and a technical explanation of a bill which would give to the President, subject to Congressional disapproval, stand-by discretionary authority to reduce personal income tax rates when economic circumstances require such action. This bill implements one of the three proposals advanced in my Economic Report for bolstering the Government's ability to pursue effectively the objectives of the Employment Act of 1946. I have previously sent to the Congress draft legislation to carry out the other two recommended economic stabilizers: a strengthened and permanent unemployment compensation program and a stand-by capital improvements program designed to become effective in the early stages of economic recession.

Under the Employment Act of 1946, the Congress declared that "... it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government to use all practicable means consistent with its needs and obligations and other essential considerations of national policy . . . to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power." Since 1946 the stability of our economy has been substantially greater than in the decade preceding the war, but the record has not been good enough. Recessions which began in 1948, 1953, 1957, and 1960 have resulted in the loss of tens of billions of dollars of potential output and frustration, privation, and degradation for millions of workers who, through recessions, have been unemployed. These recurrent recessions have thrown the postwar American economy off its stride at a time when the economies of other major industrial nations have moved steadily ahead, thus contributing substantially to the failure of the American economy to grow at a pace equal to that of our prin-

cipal competitors. I ask for stand-by authority for prompt, temporary income tax reductions as one means of improving our future performance in meeting the goals of the Employment Act.

As I said in my Economic Report, "Our fiscal system and budget policy already contribute to economic stability, to a much greater degree than before the war. But the time is ripe, and the need apparent to equip the Government to act more promptly, more flexibly, and more forcefully to stabilize the economy—to carry out more effectively its charge under the Employment Act." Authority to introduce promptly a temporary reduction of individual tax rates across the board would constitute a powerful addition to the equipment available to the Government for this purpose. At present income levels, the proposal would grant authority to reduce individual income tax collections at an annual rate of \$2 billion per percentage point, or a maximum of \$10 billion if the full 5 percentage point reduction permitted by the bill is put into effect. The proposed partial temporary tax suspension would be reflected immediately in lower withholding deductions and higher take-home pay for millions of Americans. Markets for consumer goods and services would promptly feel this stimulating influence of the tax suspension. Thus, strong support would be offered to the economy for a timely interval.

The revenue-raising powers of our tax system and the traditional procedures of the Congress for revision and reform of the system would be entirely preserved under this legislation. My proposal, as contained in the draft bill does not ask the Congress to delegate its power to levy taxes. It asks only for authorization for a temporary and emergency reduction of income tax rates by the President, subject to Congressional dis-

approval, in situations where prompt action, whether or not the Congress is in session, is essential. The form of the income tax reduction would be provided for in advance by Congress; it would not be determined by the President. By the term of the draft legislation the fixed statutory rates may be reduced by not more than 5 percentage points and the period of tax reduction would be limited to six months, unless extended by a new plan within the procedures prescribed in the bill. In no event can the period of uninterrupted tax reduction exceed one year without specific affirmative Congressional action. The draft bill authorizes the President to terminate the period of tax reduction on a date earlier than that specified if he finds that a reduction in tax rates is no longer needed.

The draft proposal thus offers a practical plan for cooperative governmental action. Enactment of the proposed legislation would provide the basic legislative determination to use a temporary reduction in the individual income tax rates when economic circumstances require such action, while arming the President with a practical means of implementing the Congressional will. The responsibility to act promptly would be the President's, but Congress would have the opportunity to disapprove the proposed reduction. A plan of tax reduction would, in general, take effect 31 days after submission

by the President, but only if in the course of this period Congress does not disapprove the plan by concurrent resolution. Since the proposed legislation calls for prompt action to achieve its objectives, however, the provisions of the bill permit submission of plans of tax reduction when Congress is adjourned *sine die*. If such a plan is submitted when Congress is adjourned *sine die*, it would take effect in accordance with its terms, but the period during which the tax rate reduction is in effect would terminate not later than the 31st calendar day following the date on which Congress convenes, unless it were continued under the terms of a new plan submitted by the President on that date. The President would be authorized to request one extension of a period of tax reduction; only specific action by Congress could continue uninterrupted temporary tax reduction beyond a maximum of one year. Thus the proposed legislation combines assurance of Congressional control with provision for the flexibility of action needed to achieve the objectives of maximum employment and output, economic stability, and growth.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

177 Remarks to Members of the Commerce Committee for the Alliance for Progress. May 9, 1962

Mr. Grace, gentlemen:

I want to express my thanks to all of you for being willing to take part in this advisory committee of the Alliance for Progress. I do not regard this as a ceremonial function on your part. It is impossible for us, of course, to supply by public means—governmental means—the funds which are necessary for the development of Latin America. They must come through private sources, and private sources and private investment

will be under increasing political pressure in all these countries as the political tensions mount in the very vital areas of Latin America.

So what we would like from you is advice on how we can make the Alliance for Progress more successful, how our programs and expenditures of public funds based on your experience in Latin America can be carried out most efficiently, and also how we can concert the private and the public efforts.

During the recent conversations with the President of Brazil, we had a talk on a matter which I think typifies the kind of interrelationship which must exist between business and government. And I am referring to the proposals which have been made for the purchase of public utilities in Brazil, with an agreement from the American companies that the funds received from this purchase will be placed in manufacturing industries in Brazil.

In nearly every country of Latin America these kinds of questions arise, as to where private funds should be placed, what kind of guarantees the United States Government can give those funds in order to encourage them, what kind of guarantees and atmosphere we should insist upon, and try to insist upon from the local countries, in order to maintain a flow of private investment.

If local capital and American capital dry up, then all our hopes of a decade of development in Latin America will be gone. We play, in our governmental assistance—public assistance—necessarily a supplemental role, and we want to make it most efficient. And we want to make sure that the private effort there is most efficient and most productive to you—those who take the risk—and to the local communities and to the interests of our country. So I think this is a very important work.

I know that it is perhaps easier to stand aside and criticize actions, but I think if you will advise and assist us, I think we can do a better job. And in addition, we provide a much better atmosphere of the

governmental and private together who, in the final analysis, really, can bring about the same results even though they may originate in a different motivation at the beginning.

So I want to thank you and I hope that you will find it possible to take an active part. The very distinguished head of the AID Agency, Ambassador Moscoso, and the whole AID Agency, recognize that the future of assistance really stands or falls on the Alliance for Progress. This is a very key area. It's bound, I know, to bring disappointments. It's very hard to accomplish what everyone hopes. These results are not immediate, but if you will work with us, if we can work out governmental programs which can in the sixties do the same kind of imaginative work which the Export-Import Bank has done since its inception, which represents a partnership, I think that you will benefit, and I know the country will, and the countries of Latin America.

We want to thank you, and I hope you will find it possible to give as much time to it as you can, to register as many disagreements as you think necessary, and to make this not merely one of these general committees which occasionally meets, but a very active body in which you will feel that your participation is regarded as essential.

So I want to thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. His opening words referred to J. Peter Grace, Chairman of the Committee.

178 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Gerhardsen of Norway. May 9, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

I know that you all join me in expressing our very warm welcome to our distinguished visitors, the Prime Minister and his wife.

It is almost "sad" that there are so few issues which are causing intense controversy between Norway and the United States—an

unaccustomed feeling as I welcomed the Prime Minister here. We searched all morning in an attempt to find something that would cause "alarm" in both capitals. But, Prime Minister, we are very proud to have you here.

You have been preceded, as you know, by

many thousands of your countrymen. The Prime Minister was generous enough to bring to me a model of a ship which contained the first group of Norwegian immigrants. It was intended to hold 25, and I think 45 came—a baby was born on the way. They were arrested when they arrived, because they were overcrowded, and John Quincy Adams, from one of our great States, was instrumental as President in exercising his executive influence and having them freed.

As you know, they did not stay in the East but went to the Middle West and the West. A good many of the things which we now take for granted in the field of social legislation—unemployment insurance, social security, the cooperative movement—a good many of these very basic parts of our national life today originated in the influence of the Scandinavian community, of which the Norwegians were most active, coming out as they did, a good many of them, from Wisconsin and the Dakotas and all the rest.

So this has been a most progressive and effective force in our national life in many different ways. In addition, the Norwegian people and government themselves have been closely associated with the United States—in the War, in NATO, in OECD; and now the Norwegian Government is moving closer and playing a full and most effective and valuable role in the development of the great European community.

Norway lives on the precipice of the ocean. The Prime Minister pointed out this morning that only about 4 percent of their land is arable, so they have always looked to the sea. That sea, and their part in it, is one of the most exciting heritages of all of us who are at heart romantic.

So we are very glad to have the Prime Minister and his wife here, and the members of their party. We value very much our association with your Ambassador and his

wife. We value our friendship with your country. You are, Prime Minister, among the warmest of friends, and I hope that all of you will join in drinking to His Majesty the King.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his response (through an interpreter) Prime Minister Gerhardsen conveyed "warm greetings from His Majesty the King" to President and Mrs. Kennedy. He referred to "the deep and friendly feelings that we in Norway have towards the American people. . . . Norwegians came to regard the United States as the land of liberty and of human rights, a land which had blazed a trail for all people living in a state of oppression or under foreign rulers. In this connection, I should like to mention the great role which the American ideals of freedom played for our Founding Fathers, who in 1814 gave Norway her constitution.

"In the course of the nineteenth century, more than half a million Norwegians, out of a population of less than two millions, left their native land to build a new future in the New World on the other side of the Atlantic. The hundreds of thousands of family links between Norwegians and Americans on either side of the Atlantic have played an important role in creating the feeling of close kinship that Norwegians today feel for the American people.

"These bonds, and the confidence we today place in the United States have, however, another and even deeper foundation. These feelings do also spring from our gratitude and admiration for the decisive contribution which the United States has made in the service of liberty and justice in two world wars. In the second of these wars, we were proud to be your allies.

"These feelings grew even deeper in the years following the Second World War, when the United States helped a war-torn and economically paralyzed Europe to get on its feet again, through the generous, farsighted program of aid which so rightly bears the name of the great General Marshall. The Marshall plan and the close economic cooperation it prompted in Europe played an essential role in the postwar economic reconstruction and development of Norway. I should like to say to all Americans today that we shall not forget the aid we received, and what it has meant to our country."

The Prime Minister closed by emphasizing the need for the maintenance of peace through NATO and other regional security pacts and through the United Nations.

179 The President's News Conference of
May 9, 1962

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon.

[1.] I have one announcement, a statement. Because mail received at the White House and by Members of the Senate indicates that a great number of people have been badly misinformed concerning one feature of the pending tax bill, I want to take this opportunity to set the record straight on our proposal to collect taxes which are due on dividends and interest.

The paid advertisements and circulars financed by the savings and loan associations, who have made great profits in recent years and paid very little in taxes—I think something like \$5½ billion, while paying \$70 million in taxes—by banks and others, have led many people to believe (1) that this is a new tax or a tax increase; (2) that it will take money unjustly from honest taxpayers; (3) that it will create a mountain of red tape costing more than it will bring in; and (4) that it will harm the elderly, the widows and orphans, or others in low income.

Not a single one of these charges is true. This bill simply proposes to collect taxes on dividends and interest income in the same fashion that it has been collected on our wages and salaries for the past 19 years. This is not a new tax. It has been on the books for years.

Those recipients of dividends and interest who already pay their taxes will not be affected in any way. Those whose income is too low to be subject to tax will not be affected, for they can exempt themselves from withholding by a simple statement. The only ones affected will be those individuals who are not now paying the taxes they owe on this income, either through neglect or for some other reason.

That is tax evasion, tax evasion of \$800 million a year which must be made up by other taxpayers who pay their taxes. And it should be remembered that about 80 percent of dividend income goes to fewer than

7 percent of the taxpayers whose income exceeds \$10,000 a year. In short, defeat of this provision will not help older people with small incomes who would be either exempt from it or could file each quarter for a prompt income by filling out a simple slip at the Post Office or bank, as is done every year by those who are involved in withholding. It will help—the defeat of this bill—only those whose evasion of present taxes is costing every honest taxpayer dearly.

More enforcement, more education, more electronic brains cannot do the job, but withholding, as we have seen for the past 20 years, will treat all taxpayers fairly. And this country has prided itself on being willing to bear its heavy burdens honestly, and here is \$800 million in taxes which have been on the books for years which is not now being paid and which must be made up by every other taxpayer, particularly those who find themselves, their wages, withheld on wages and salary.

So I am hopeful that those who oppose this bill, particularly savings and loan banks, who have benefited so greatly, who have not been paying their taxes of almost any kind, and who wish to defeat the bill because it does place a just burden on them, and who wish to defeat it by misinforming so many millions of people—I hope they'll start to send out the correct record.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, the newspapers in Detroit and Minneapolis have been closed by a series of strikes for about a month now. The unions, or some of the unions involved, have been taking turns in calling these strikes one at a time in shutting down the newspapers or keeping them shut. I wonder whether you would comment on these strike tactics and whether this blackout on news in these two major cities affects the general welfare and the public interest of the country to a point of being a matter of national concern in your frame of reference?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as to the last part, there's nothing in a strike of this kind that involves national emergency legislation, but of course, any newspaper strike is unfortunate because it affects not only the people involved on the paper, but it affects the whole community, the distribution of news, and business. It's my understanding that on these strikes Federal mediators have been involved in attempting to be of assistance. And this matter was brought up to me this morning and I discussed it with the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Goldberg, who said he would be glad to be of any use that he could, if the parties felt that he could be helpful. I'm hopeful that a speedy solution can be reached.

It seems to me, as I've said on several occasions recently, these responsibilities must be borne by the parties. These aren't matters which can be settled by Government edict, or that should be. But I am hopeful that these and other matters can be settled, and Secretary Goldberg would be glad to be helpful, and the Federal Mediation is already on the scene and has been for some time.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, perhaps in this connection you would comment for us on the press in general, as you see it from the Presidency. Perhaps, its treatment of your administration, treatment of the issues of the day?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am reading more and enjoying it less—[*laughter*]*—*and so on, but I have not complained nor do I plan to make any general complaints. I read and talk to myself about it, but I don't plan to issue any general statement on the press. I think that they are doing their task, as a critical branch, the fourth estate. And I am attempting to do mine. And we are going to live together for a period, and then go our separate ways. [*Laughter*]

[4.] Q. Mr. President, have you any comment on yesterday's election results, insofar as they affect your administration—the primaries?

THE PRESIDENT. I am pleased at the result of the last few days, in Florida and Texas.

Q. You have in the past endorsed some candidates in primaries, where there was opposition.

THE PRESIDENT. I endorsed Congressman Fascell and Senator Smathers, at the dinner in Miami.¹ I think those are the only fights which I took an active part in, in the primaries.

Q. I was thinking of Hale Boggs, too, but that's not important.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it is to Congressman Boggs! [*Laughter*]

Q. I meant it was not important to quibble about.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, that's right, I understand.

Q. But, does the administration have a favorite in Texas between Connally and Yarborough?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know whether "endorse" is the proper word. I spoke as highly of Congressman Boggs as I could, because my opinion of him is that high. But in the case of Texas, I was pleased that both candidates who had been attacked for their connection with the administration did very well. But they're electing a Governor in Texas. This is a decision for the people of Texas, and I am sure they would resent any outside interference and an attempt to talk from Washington about who should be Governor of Texas. They are very qualified to make a judgment, and I'm sure that they will make one which suits them.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, my problem concerns the negotiations with the Soviet Union over Berlin. Chancellor Adenauer, as you know, has been critical in recent days over both the proposal for a 13-nation access control organization, and also toward the idea of the exploratory talks in themselves. Do you contemplate any change in signals in view of the Chancellor's objections?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think, at least from what I can gather—it's not easy. I

¹ See Item 77.

don't think that that would be a correct interpretation of the German Government's position as of this time, as my understanding is that they are interested and support our exploratory talks on the access authority. What has concerned them is the makeup of the access authority, and this has been—since this matter was brought out into the public some weeks ago, before the Athens meeting, this has been the subject of a discussion between the two governments. So I place that in one category. The access authority, itself, which has been before us, really as a suggestion for many months, is not in controversy. It is the organization of the access authority, the relative power and position of the various members of it which has been the subject of some exchanges, which is quite natural.

It's not easy. The United States is attempting to carry on negotiations for several powers and all of them have different ideas how it ought to be done. And we have to attempt to coordinate it, and at the same time present a position which has some hope of working out in a peaceful way. So I put that as one area.

Now, on the talks themselves we have never had any statement from the German Government, or Chancellor Adenauer, that these talks should not continue. These talks are going to continue. As I understand the Chancellor's statement—and I think it is worth reading his entire speech in order to understand exactly what he means, and not fragments—he's not very optimistic about these talks. In fact, he quoted Secretary Rusk as saying that he did not believe that these talks—given the positions of the two parties—that these talks would produce a fruitful result. And maybe they won't. We have never said that they would, and we have never expressed high optimism about them. One of the members of the Foreign Office today said that they support the talks, but that the Chancellor was concerned that there was undue optimism. We have never been unduly optimistic. But we believe that there should be a continuation of these talks.

Everything that was said at Athens, everything that's been said before, everything I have heard in the last 2 days—the German Government supports the position that we should continue the exploratory talks. And I believe we should. No country has done more than the United States in the last 12 months to strengthen our military forces in order to protect our commitments. But we hope, in calling up 160,000 men, adding billions of dollars to our defense budget, which was not done by many other countries who speak with vigor now—I would feel that the purpose of it, we hope, is not to fight a nuclear war but to establish an environment which permits us to have a useful exchange. As Winston Churchill said, "It is better to jaw, jaw than to war, war," and we shall continue to jaw, jaw, and see if we can produce a useful result. We may fail, but in my opinion the effort is worth it when we're dealing with such dangerous matters, and when we've seen the history of this century, when statesmen, and leaders, and others have brought about failure and brought about war as a result. So we're going to see what we can do.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, last February at a news conference you told us that the cease-fire was becoming frayed in Laos and in the event that it was broken, it could lead to a very serious decision. I wonder, Mr. President, now that the cease-fire has been broken, and if efforts should fail to reestablish it, would it cause a reexamination on the part of the United States towards its policy there?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we *are* concerned about the break in the cease-fire. And, as you know, the State Department, the Acting Secretary of State—the Assistant Secretary of State today met with Ambassador Dobrynin—this afternoon. We've already indicated to one of the cochairmen of the British Government our great concern about it. Our Ambassador in Moscow met with the Foreign Secretary of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko. We do believe, and have

said from the beginning, that the negotiations should move much more quickly than they have. The longer this rather frayed cease-fire continues, the more chance we will have of the kind of incidents we've had in the past few days. That's why we were hopeful, after the meetings at Geneva last summer and fall, that the negotiations between the parties involved would take place last fall, and we could organize a government, rather than trying to continue to hold lines which in some cases are exposed and which are subject to this kind of pressure.

So that has been our view. The longer it goes on, and the longer there is not an agreement on a government, the longer some groups stand out from these kinds of conversations, then the more hazardous the situation becomes.

On the particular incident, however, it's a clear breach of the cease-fire. We have indicated it and we hope that the Soviet Union, which is committed to a policy based on the statement at Vienna, in regard to Laos—we are hopeful that we can bring about a restoration of the cease-fire. But we've got to use the time to try to move ahead in our political negotiations. Now, I agree it's a very hazardous course, but introducing American forces which is the other one—let's not think there is some great third course—that also is a hazardous course, and we want to attempt to see if we can work out a peaceful solution, which has been our object for many months. I believe that these negotiations should take place quickly. This is not a satisfactory situation today.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, on another labor-management issue, there's a matter of some concern in northern California. The construction industry there may face a general shutdown because of the dispute between employers and the labor unions. The employers association appealed to the administration for help some time ago, and there has been a strike spreading during this time. Have you personally concerned yourself with this?

THE PRESIDENT. I'm not aware of the appeal. In what way was the appeal made? The Federal mediators are there. In what way was it suggested?

Q. It was an appeal they addressed to the White House, sir, and it has gone as far as the Secretary of Labor, I believe.

THE PRESIDENT. What is the suggestion that they want? What do they want us to do?

Q. They simply want some form of help, from the administration.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, what—do they want us to settle it?

Q. I don't know.

THE PRESIDENT. I want to point out that as I said to the Chamber of Commerce, and as President Wagner of the Chamber of Commerce said, labor and management should settle these matters by themselves. We cannot settle labor matters in disputes across the country, unless they involve those areas where there may be a great national basic industry. But we cannot go from city to city, unless we are going to change the whole pattern of labor-management relations, and you get in, then, to wage and price setting, which we are opposed to. So that we are attempting to set down general guidelines in as effective a manner as we can, which we hope will govern these negotiations. I would hope that they would have an effect upon the construction industry, and its employees, as well as upon other industries. And I know that the Mediation Service is involved in this. I know that the Secretary of Labor in this case also is glad to be of assistance in providing his good offices. But this is a free society, and these gentlemen finally have to make their agreement themselves.

Now, if a shutdown occurs which involves the health and safety, then of course it involves the National Government. But I have the impression that there is a great desire on every side to settle these matters without the United States Government. And we want to give them a fair opportunity to do that.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, back to your relations with newsmen. According to a poll released this morning, a large percentage of our people, or the people who were polled, believe that the newsmen attending, and news ladies, do not ask you really important questions. I want to know what you think of that and at the risk of repetition, one of the questions they seemed to think was most important: Did you have any ideas towards any new steps to ease tensions and promote world peace?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we are attempting in two areas, which are both critical areas. One, I said we're continuing our conversations in Berlin. We have attempted in the last 2 or 3 days to indicate our concern about the matter in Laos. We are participating in Geneva in the disarmament talks. We have put forward the most far-reaching plan of any administration or the American Government ever, in regard to disarmament. We have labored for a long time—even to the point of—it's well known to us—to get an agreement on a cessation of nuclear tests. We are attempting to—lacking an accord, we have maintained our military forces so that through that means we can, as I've said, set an environment for parleys. And we have supported the United Nations in the Congo and elsewhere, which we regard as a very valuable arm in this struggle for peace. We are prepared to go any distance in order to maintain the peace, providing it does not involve the breaking of any commitments of the United States or involve any diminishment of the basic national security of the country.

Q. Do you think we've overlooked any important questions, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I'm sure we have—

Q. —I meant the newsmen asking you.

THE PRESIDENT. —in the sense that we are trying, for example, to strengthen the Alliance for Progress. We've—I exchanged correspondence with Mr. Khrushchev about 2 months ago about our willingness to provide for the cooperation in space. We have supported resolutions at the United Nations

which I believe in, in regard to the peaceful uses of outer space. We have thrown our space program open. It's been maintained chiefly under civilian control and therefore peaceful control. And we are attempting, on every level, cultural exchanges and all the rest to see if it's possible in these two different worlds to let them live together without destroying each other.

But I think we always have to do more and we shall continue to do so. But it really requires a response in order to have peace, and so far we have not been able to evoke a response of sufficient force.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, on the question of the administration's guidelines for wage increases, Mr. Reuther, in his report to the United Auto Workers, said that he disagreed at least in part with the guidelines. He said that the principle of tying increases to productivity should be applied only after certain catch-up wage increases. Now, just before you made your speech up there, he issued a statement indicating that he agreed with the administration. Has the administration been in touch with Mr. Reuther and has there been a meeting of minds on this?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we've been in touch with Mr. Reuther, yes. As I say, I went up there yesterday, and I did see his statement. And I thought it was a fine statement that he made, in which he indicated his general agreement with what we are attempting to do.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, at the time of your controversy with the steel industry, you were quoted as making a rather harsh statement about businessmen. I am sure you know which statement I have in mind.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. You wouldn't want to identify it, would you? [*Laughter*]

Q. Would you tell us about it, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Would I want to comment on it?

Q. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, well, the statement which I have seen repeated, as it was re-

peated in one daily paper, is inaccurate. It quotes my father as having expressed himself strongly to me, and in this I quoted what he said and indicated that he had not been, as he had not been on many other occasions, wholly wrong.

Now, the only thing that was wrong with the statement was that, as it appeared in a daily paper, it indicated that he was critical of the business community—I think the phrase was “all businessmen.” That’s obviously in error, because he was a businessman himself. He was critical of the steel men. He’d worked for a steel company himself. He was involved when he was a member of the Roosevelt administration in the 1937 strike. He formed an opinion which he imparted to me, and which I found appropriate that evening. [*Laughter*] But he confined it, and I would confine it. Obviously these generalizations as repeated are inaccurate and unfair, and he has been a businessman and the business system has been very generous to him. But I felt at that time that we had not been treated altogether with frankness, and therefore I thought that his view had merit. But that’s past, that’s past. Now we’re working together, I hope.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any comment on the so-called reverse freedom rides, whereby some southern segregationists are attempting to send Negroes north?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Well, I think it is a rather cheap exercise in— You know, in this country people are moving every day by the thousands. Twenty-five percent of our population live in different States in the last decade than they did. There are hundreds and thousands of people coming from one State to another. So that this, rather, exercise in publicity to indicate, if I—this man, it seems to me, really doesn’t merit very much comment. I think he’s—we have difficulties in every area. We have people who are out of work in every area. There are people who are inadequately housed in every area. And we ought to do better in

every area. But it seems to me, as I said the other day, there is no city, traditionally, that has enjoyed a happier reputation than New Orleans. And that reputation, in my opinion, based on my visit there Friday, is highly deserved. And I would not let one man possibly blacken it.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, there have been rumors in print in and out of Texas that Vice President Johnson might be dropped from the Democratic ticket in 1964. I’d like to ask if you have any reason whatever to believe that either end of the Democratic ticket will be different in 1964?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don’t know about what they will do with me, but I am sure that the Vice President will be on the ticket if he chooses to run. We were fortunate to have him before—and would again—and I don’t know where such a rumor would start. He’s invaluable. He fulfills a great many responsibilities as Vice President. He participates in all of the major deliberations. He’s been in the Congress for years. He is invaluable. So of course he will be, if he chooses to be, part of the ticket.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, it has been the stated policy, as you said earlier, for this Government to restrict outer space for peaceful objectives only. Will not the proposed H-bomb explosion 500 miles up jeopardize this policy and objective?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don’t think so. I don’t think so. I know there’s been disturbance about the Van Allen belt, but Van Allen says it’s not going to affect the belt, and it’s his! [*Laughter*]

But it is a matter which we are—I’ve read the protests and it is a matter which we are looking into to see whether there is scientific merit that this will cause some difficulty to the Van Allen belt in a way which will adversely affect scientific discovery. And this is being taken into very careful consideration at the present time. So that I want you to know that whatever our decision is, in regard to the Van Allen belt, it will be done only after very careful

scientific deliberation, which is now taking place—during this past week—and will go on for a period. In regard, generally, what we are attempting to do is to find out the effects of such an explosion on our security, and we do not believe that this will adversely affect the security of any person not living in the United States.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, a special emergency panel has recommended a 10.2 cent an hour pay raise for about 500,000 railroad employees, which is estimated to cost about \$100 million a year. You have observed that the Board said it would be noninflationary. Do you believe it would be noninflationary?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would—the Board stated it would be noninflationary, and I stated it was my judgment that they should negotiate a noninflationary statement, a settlement. Now the railroads have objected to the arrangement by saying it's too much, the railway unions too little.

I am hopeful that the parties will negotiate, and we would, of course, be glad to be of any technical assistance we could, if we are asked, in order to determine the extent of—what effect it would have on the cost of living. But it was a good board. They made a very flat statement in regard to it, and I think that what is now incumbent on both parties is to see if they can reach what I would consider a noninflationary agreement.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, there have been various congressional and executive studies in an effort to develop a uniform patent policy covering inventions made under Government contracts, and we're wondering if you intended to submit any legislation to spell out a uniform Government patent policy?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it's a difficult problem, because you have to balance off the gains on the one hand and at the same time the incentives to companies to spend their own funds in order to develop patents which would give them a return in other years. So that we have some differences in the

Space Agency problem, the Department of Defense, and perhaps another agency of the Government. But it is a matter which is being reviewed now by those agencies which are most involved. And if we have any changes to make at the conclusion of that, then I will send recommendations to the Hill.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, more fundamental, perhaps, than the numbers game that is being played between Bonn and Washington over the international access authority and how many members it ought to have, there seems to be a sense of insecurity in Bonn at the moment and in Germany, generally, about the degree to which this administration will support the basic position of no recognition of East Germany, no degree of recognition at all. I wonder if you could define that point just a little bit. How far are we prepared to go?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we've never suggested that the access authority—which was a proposal which could have easily been rejected and alternate language suggested in accordance with the normal exchanges between governments, which is the reason we sent it—it was never suggested that that constituted a *de facto*, or *de jure* recognition of the East German regime, which we have not supported, because we have supported the concept of the reunification of Germany.

We, after all—the East German Government, or regime, and the West German Government were participants in the same room at the 1959 Geneva conference. They didn't sit at the table, but they sat in chairs just behind the table. Now, what did that constitute? After all, the East German regime controls over 90 today—supervises over 90 percent of the traffic into Berlin, and there are these exchanges in regard to that traffic. What does that constitute? I don't think it constitutes recognition. And it doesn't by either *de facto* or *de jure*.

We participate in the Laos convention in Geneva with the Chinese Communists in an attempt to work out an accord in Geneva

on Laos. We don't recognize them either way.

So that what we're attempting to do is to work out a solution which will provide more security for the people of West Berlin. Because when the difficult times come, it is the United States that carries the major burden and is looked to to take the major actions which will sustain the freedom of the city. So that I think we have some rights to at least explore the possibilities of finding a better solution than we now have.

But in answer to your question, we did not believe and do not believe the proposals that we made constitute a kind of recognition. For example, among the 13 of the proposals there was a West Berlin, which is not a separate government, and there was an East Berlin, which is not a separate government. So that it was an authority, which might be compared to the Port of New York and not a government, a governmental group, or a group of governments. But this sort of necessity to debate this matter for a month makes it very difficult to carry on any negotiation with the Soviet Union because all of our proposals are on the table and fought out in public even before they become our official position. So that it seems to me the best thing to do would be to—if anybody has any objection, to tell us—and we have said from the beginning that in our efforts to reach an accord, we certainly recognize the necessity of maintaining unanimity in the alliance.

I don't know whether this is the best way to carry on these negotiations if these matters are going to become so publicly debated. If this isn't the best solution, perhaps some other way should be done, and we'll be glad to hear that suggestion. But we carry the major military burden, we enforce, and have the major military build-up—160,000 Americans called up since last July—and it is not difficult to make suggestions and say, oh, well, you shouldn't do this or that, and at the same time some countries do not play as active a role as we've

been willing to play in an attempt to work this out.

Q. In that connection, sir, I wonder do you have any theory or any information as to the reason for the agitation, the degree of agitation?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think a lot of it—I must say I read his Monday's speech in which he stated—Chancellor Adenauer—that the most important result of Athens can be summarized in one sentence: the unity of the free West. If you think back to the ministers' meeting of NATO in 1961, unless my memory fails me, it was in December—this was Chancellor Adenauer—"there the unity of the free people of the West did not look good. And the unity of the free people of the West, I am convinced, is the best asset of freedom."

But he said this: "The whole political future in the East of Germany finally depends on the unity of the West. And I believe we can be very satisfied with the way this NATO conference went."

So I think that some of this is speculation which does not serve the cause. Mr. Drew Middleton in the *Times* made a very strong article on the work Secretaries McNamara and Rusk had done. He said that they had witnessed "a striking demonstration both of the United States reasons for leading the West and its ability to do so." So I think we had pretty good unity as of Saturday or Sunday, and I hope we will this Saturday or Sunday.

[17.] Q. Would you care to comment on the voting in the Senate today on the cloture petition on the literacy test bill, and whether you think this is possible as a piece of legislation this year?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, there were two votes. One was on the motion to table, and that got a rather large vote against tabling. If that vote indicates that the members are for it, that would be very encouraging—I think it was 63 to 33 or 34. On the motion, however, for cloture, which would permit us to have a vote on this matter, then the members voted differently.

As I understand it, Senator Mansfield is trying again Monday, but if we don't succeed, if the Senate doesn't succeed—if the country doesn't succeed in getting the vote by Monday, cloture, then of course there's no use saying you're for it, because it won't ever come up. And I must say I find it extremely difficult to understand how anybody can—though I respect Senator Cooper, and I know his concern is constitutional, and I respect the others who have various things—but I must say this involves the right to

vote. And I've seen these cases of people with college degrees who were denied being put on the register because they supposedly can't pass the literacy test. It doesn't make any sense. So I'm hopeful the Senate will vote, and there'll be another chance on Monday.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's thirty-second news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, May 9, 1962.

180 Remarks at a Reception for Foreign Students on the White House Lawn. May 10, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen, students:

I first of all have to express rather sad news, that my wife is home—which is over there—in bed with a cold, as a result of christening a ship the other day. So she wanted to express her regret, but she is looking out the window and sends you all her very best wishes. I did not have, almost, sufficient courage to come out here by myself, but we are glad to have you here.

We had an earlier occasion last year in which we welcomed the students from abroad who were studying in Washington. And I hope that in other cities a similar effort will be made to bring together on an occasion the students from different countries who come here to study.

We regard this as a great compliment. I hope you will permit us to do so. And we regard it also as an indication of your curiosity and interest in this free society which we believe develops an intellectual atmosphere which permits progress. The other night we had a reception in the White House in which we had those people from this country who had won the Nobel prize.¹ And though these aren't national prizes, I am pleased, as a believer in a free society, that over 40 percent of all the prizes given in

the last 30 years have been given to people who studied here—and working here. They are not all Americans. Ten or twelve of them grew up in other countries and came here. But I like to believe that this society, which we are attempting to build—and obviously we have not succeeded yet in building it, and I suppose never will, but we are working towards it—permits maximum intellectual development and therefore maximum individual development.

All of us, at least many of us, have been foreign students. The Secretary of State, the Under Secretary of State, the head of the Policy Planning were all Rhodes scholars; the Deputy Attorney General and others; the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. My wife was a student in Paris for a year. I studied at the London School of Economics—my brother did. I am a great believer in the effort which we make to understand each other, and to learn, and to develop.

We have had a lot of foreign students in this country. A lot of them came in the thirties, and many of them went back to be leaders of their country. They may have gotten an impression of the United States, in those days, which may not have been as sympathetic as we would hope it would be today. Those were the days of the depres-

¹ See Item 161.

sion, when we were meeting many serious challenges at home.

I hope that when you go back—and you will be the future leaders of the country—many of you come from countries which have only a handful, as newly independent countries, of educated men and women. You are their investment in the future. And I know you will go home, and I know that you will regard this great effort which has been made, to bring you here and which you have made, not merely as an opportunity to advance your economic interest but to advance the welfare of your country.

I hope that you will think well of this country and recognize what we are trying to do. To run a free society is very difficult. Winston Churchill once said, "Democracy is the worst form of government, except for all the other systems that have been tried." And it is very difficult. It is not easy. And I hope that while you are here you will have an opportunity to gain more knowledge of us—our good things and our bad.

As Oliver Cromwell once said, "Paint me with all my warts and moles," and that's the way we want you to see our country.

The last point I want to make, and that's really addressed to my fellow Americans, I think a good many foreign students come here and are left alone, and feel alone—see other foreign students—don't see many Americans. I hope that we are making progress in that area. This is not an organized society, we treat our own students that way. When I was at Harvard, no one spoke to me for the first 9 months. And I suppose if I hadn't been staying, I might have gone back to another country, and had a conclusion about this country which wouldn't have been accurate.

I hope that those Americans who are desirous of doing something for their country will think of the thousands of foreign students who are here and give them a chance to see American life intimately. That's one of the reasons that you are here. And I hope you will feel that even though your "fun and games" is not organized by the United States Government, fortunately, that that is part of living in a free society: to be left alone, and to sink or swim. And if anybody wants it differently, then of course the Government's responsibilities would have to change. So I'm sure you understand that.

I am sure you realize we are glad to have you here. We regard this as the greatest possible compliment. We are extremely interested in intellectual development and activity, and we believe it's the basis of a free society. So ladies and gentlemen, you are very welcome to this White House, which belongs to the American people.

We know that some other President, in other days, will be greeting you as either the Prime Ministers or the Presidents or the First Ladies of significant countries. And I hope when you do that, you will say that you were at the White House once before.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:30 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. The second annual reception for seniors and graduate students of the 9 universities in the Washington metropolitan area was attended by 800 students, representing 95 countries.

In the fourth paragraph the President referred to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Under Secretary George Ball, and Walt W. Rostow, Counselor and Chairman of the Department's Policy Planning Council; to Deputy Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach; and to Chairman J. W. Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

181 Remarks on Plans for a Permanent Scientific and Industrial
Exposition in Washington. May 10, 1962

I AM PLEASED to learn of the progress that you representatives of many of the Nation's leading industrial and commercial companies have made in furthering the idea of establishing a permanent exposition of United States science and industry in the Washington area.

It seems to me that a permanent exposition in the Nation's Capital is an appropriate means of demonstrating to the many visitors that come to this city, especially school children, the manner in which our Nation's industrial complex operates. Such a project would also provide a means for foreign visitors to this country to familiarize themselves with the complexity and inter-relationship of this country's industrial operations.

One of the most appealing features of this undertaking is that it has been initiated and will be financed by private industry. As I

understand it, your association is arranging for feasibility studies to determine the best format, the best site, and the best financing arrangements for an exposition—this strikes me as reasonable initial steps. And I am glad to see leaders of the city of Washington here also since it seems clear that an undertaking of this character if located in Washington must have the support and cooperation of the local community. You have the encouragement of this administration, and we hope that your efforts will be as successful as your hopes.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:25 a.m. in his office at the White House. The group, an interim study committee composed of 21 representatives of industry and education, met on May 10 and again on October 30 to develop plans for an exposition which would demonstrate the character and vitality of the American free enterprise system.

182 Remarks Upon Presenting Lifesaving Awards to Members of the
School Safety Patrol. May 11, 1962

I SPEAK in behalf of all of us to all of you and tell you how proud we are to have you here.

I want to express my compliments to the American Automobile Association for giving recognition to this work. All of us have seen these boys and girls all around the country, working with their fellow students, and we've admired them.

In addition, all of us—and I want to stress this particularly—regard courage as perhaps the outstanding of the human virtues and particularly in all these cases as I have read them, they required immediate reaction, not a deliberate one.

So you are what we depend upon, and I'm glad to see some attention being given to the good deeds of our young people—and we want to congratulate you.

We have the Prime Minister of Norway here as our guest, and I want him to join me for this ceremony. Prime Minister, we are decorating five young people who have displayed great courage, and I wonder if you would stand here with me and just observe one of the pleasures of this Office.

We are glad to have you all here and I hope that your example encourages others—and we hope we will do this next year again, too.

NOTE: The presentations were made by the President in a ceremony in the Rose Garden at the White House. Recipients of the AAA gold lifesaver medals were: Ralph S. Brannin, Pinellas Park, Fla.; Wayne Brown, New York, N.Y.; Wesley Haines, Dayton, Ohio; Patricia A. Miller, Hereford, Pa.; and John N. Puhak, Hazleton, Pa.

Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen of Norway greeted each of the young people with a handshake as the President pinned on the medals.

183 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Gerhardsen of Norway. *May 11, 1962*

THE PRIME MINISTER of Norway and Mrs. Einar Gerhardsen are in the United States as the guests of President and Mrs. Kennedy. Following their visit in Washington, they will continue on to Florida and New York. The President and the Prime Minister met twice for substantive discussions during the visit and exchanged views on current international developments. The Norwegian visitors were entertained at a White House luncheon on May 9, and on May 10 they gave a reception at Blair House in honor of President and Mrs. Kennedy.

President Kennedy paid tribute to the many common ties and democratic ideals Norway and the United States share. He referred to Norway's vital role in Northern Europe, expressing appreciation for Norwegian contributions to the Atlantic Community in general. Noting Norway's recent decision to apply for negotiations with a view to full membership in the Common Market, the President stated his belief that a small but dynamic nation can play an important role in the European integration movement. He recalled that Norway has received international recognition for its solid work in the United Nations.

Prime Minister Gerhardsen expressed his appreciation for the bonds of friendship and alliance which have long characterized relations between Norway and the United States. He asserted that Norwegian foreign policy stresses strong support of the United

Nations, membership in NATO, and Nordic cooperation.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed it was essential for both countries to back the United Nations as firmly as ever, and reaffirmed their determination to give unstinting support to the NATO Alliance. It is imperative, they recognized, for the West to maintain a position of strength and to stand fast in face of outside provocations or pressures. This is a prerequisite for a peaceful solution of conflicts through negotiations. They also reviewed the dynamic political and economic developments in Europe and the problems which arise for other countries in their relationship with the Common Market. The President and the Prime Minister emphasized the importance of extending aid to the developing nations, and discussed American, and growing Norwegian and joint Scandinavian efforts in this field. There was a valuable exchange of views of shipping matters affecting both countries. The principals agreed that current exchanges of students, teachers, leaders in various fields, and cultural, sport and artistic presentations should be fostered.

President Kennedy and Prime Minister Gerhardsen expressed their fervent hopes that peace and justice would prevail in the world. To this end they felt that all nations, large and small, and all responsible individuals, national leaders and ordinary citizens, should work together.

184 Toasts of the President and André Malraux, French Minister for Cultural Affairs. *May 11, 1962*

Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express a very warm welcome to all of you, and particularly to our distinguished guests, Mr. and Madame Malraux.

This will be the first speech about relations between France and the United States

that does not include a tribute to General Lafayette. It seems that almost every Frenchman who comes to the United States feels that Lafayette was a rather confused sort of ineffectual, elderly figure, hovering over French politics, and is astonished to find that we regard him as a golden, young,

romantic figure, next to George Washington our most distinguished citizen. Therefore he will not be mentioned, but instead I will mention a predecessor of mine, John Adams, who was our first President to live in the White House and whose prayer on occupancy is written here. John Adams asked that on his gravestone be written, "He kept the peace with France."

I am very glad to welcome here some of our most distinguished artists. This is becoming a sort of eating place for artists. But they never ask us out!

I want to tell you how very pleased we are to have so many distinguished writers and artists and actresses and creative thinkers. You know, one of the great myths of American life is that nothing is pleasanter or easier than lying around all day and painting a picture or writing a book and leading a rather easy life. In my opinion, the ultimate in self-discipline is a creative work. Those of us who work in an office every day are actually the real gentleivers of American society.

We do not manage our cultural life in this country, nor does any free society, but it is an important part. It is one of the great purposes. And I would hope that this tremendous energy obtained in the intellectual life of America could be communicated not only to people in this country but all around the world.

There are so many more people playing a musical instrument now, going to symphonies, going to the theater, to art galleries, painting, than anyone realizes. And it is our hope that Americans will begin to look about them and realize that here in these years we are building a life which, as I say, develops the maximum in each individual.

Now we have the best model that we could have this evening in welcoming Mr. and Madame Malraux. I suppose all of us wish to participate in all the experiences of life, but he has left us all behind. We are the descendants of early founders who were themselves men of great variety and vitality.

But he has led an archeological expedition to Cambodia, been connected with Chiang Kai-shek, Mao Tse-tung—and has been active in the civil war—participated in the defense of his country—been involved with General de Gaulle—and has been at the same time a great creative figure in his own right. He has left, I think, most of us way behind.

So we regard him as an honored guest in this country—as participants in the cultural stream and also as admirers of those who travel the far horizons of human destiny. So we are very proud to have him. And we are particularly proud to have him because of his association with a distinguished leader of the West.

A good deal has been written by some of our distinguished correspondents about the difficulties that have occasionally come up between the President of the United States and General de Gaulle. But I want to say that there is a tradition in that regard, with Franklin Roosevelt and Dwight D. Eisenhower. And General de Gaulle continues on his way, and has built for his country and his friends in Europe a strength which is the most valuable source of comfort to us all. I know that there are sometimes difficulties in life but I hope that those who live in both our countries realize how fortunate we are in the last two decades to be associated in the great effort with him. And we are glad to have Mr. Malraux and Madame Malraux here because we believe that they will go back to France and say a kind word for the United States—and its President.

So I hope you will drink to all of us, in the sense that you are leaders in our free society—and particularly to our distinguished leader whom we are very glad to have with us tonight—and most especially to drink to the President of France, General de Gaulle.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a dinner in the State Dining Room and the Blue Room at the White House. In his response (through an interpreter) Mr. Malraux expressed appreciation for

the hospitality accorded him. "You have greeted me here with the masterpieces of the world—and you have greeted me even better by having your masterpieces shown to me by Mrs. Kennedy.

". . . At one time I was in another country, in a country named Russia," he continued, "and there in the enormous expanse of snow I felt something great—a great hope.

"Here I feel also something great—we feel the very spirit of the free world—we feel brotherhood; we feel the brotherhood of man, in this country. This is the brotherhood which so many people for

so long had thought they would find elsewhere, in that other country, but which really exists and lives here.

". . . The United States of America is the only country which has become the leader of the world without having sought to become that leader, the country to which is entrusted the future, the destiny of mankind. . . . And it is really strange," Mr. Malraux concluded, "that in so many millennia there is for the first time today . . . a country which has become the leader not through conquest but by seeking justice."

185 Remarks to Groups Interested in Improving Sales of Agricultural Products Abroad. May 12, 1962

WELL, I want to welcome you all here to the White House, those of you who are Foreign Agricultural Service attachés, and those of you who are producers or processors or sellers. Frank Roosevelt has been trying to sell me some polled herefords for about 3 years, so we are glad to have him here.

I am delighted to have all of you who are involved in a very important American industry essential to our well-being in a variety of ways. It involves about \$11 billion a year, here in the domestic market, and we are particularly concerned about expanding our foreign markets. This brings us in about \$350 million a year, which is an area in which we need a great deal of attention.

We are, as you know, in the Congress attempting to secure the passage of a new trade expansion bill which will give us additional tools to open up new markets. All of you who are attachés know some of the difficulties, some of the problems which we have in attempting to provide for an easy flow of our livestock produce to various countries, the kinds of restrictions which are placed on them, whether they involve fees, or quotas, sanitary provisions, or any others.

What we have to do is attempt, of course, to open up this market. So I want to tell those of you who are involved in this work abroad for the United States Government and the Department of Agriculture, how important your work is.

Agriculture is one of our best dollar earners. The balance of trade in our favor in agriculture we've sold abroad, at least to—for example, just to Europe, was about \$1,900 million. We imported about \$250 million. This was a tremendous source of dollars—and therefore gold—to this country at a very important time. So I want you to realize how important your work is. And when you work in this area you speak for this country, you speak for those who are involved in this vital industry. And I know that you are carrying on your work with a good deal of force and vigor, and we want you to know how much we appreciate it.

Everything you can do to open these markets up means not only a return to the producer, the grower, but also is a very important source of income to the United States in dollars. So I want you to know you are welcome here. We appreciate your being willing to go abroad and work for the Government. We appreciate the cooperation which this meeting shows between those who produce and those who distribute and those who sell abroad. I think it's an example of harmonious cooperation between agriculture and between the United States Government, in the best sense.

So you're welcome to the White House. And we'll be glad to graze a few cattle out here on the lawn!

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

186 Address in Milwaukee at the Jefferson-Jackson Dinner.

*May 12, 1962**My friend Pat Lucey:*

They said it couldn't be done—and it was done. And I want to express my compliments to him in fulfilling his responsibility as the leader of a State organization here, a State which has had a great tradition of political leadership.

I am glad to be back in Wisconsin and I want to express my thanks to you for a most generous welcome. It is not always encouraging, the news we read in Washington, so it's nice to be able to drive from the airport here in Milwaukee into town and get waved at. So I'm grateful to you all.

And I am glad to be here with so many people that I know well. Whatever other qualifications I may have had when I became President, one of them at least was that I knew Wisconsin better than any other President of the United States. That is an unchallengeable statement. My foot-tracks are in every house in this State. And what I don't know about the State, the majority whip, our distinguished friend Senator Humphrey, he knows the rest of it.

When they talk about a cold wind, I look north to Superior and the 10th Congressional District, and I know the difference between the kind of farms they have in the 7th District and the 1st District. And I know what a distinguished university can be—in Madison, Wis.—and I knew all about Vince Lombardi and Green Bay long before they won. And I knew all about the Braves before you did—when they were back in Boston.

I suppose that there is no training ground for the Presidency, but I don't think it's a bad idea for a President to have stood outside of Maier's meat factory in Madison, Wis., just because Senator Proxmire always did it, at 5:30 in the morning, with the temperature 10 above. When I read some of those great editorials about labor, I like to think about how it is to go to work at 6

o'clock in the morning at zero degrees. So I think it's a very valuable experience, and I want you to know that I'm glad to be back here. I am glad to be here with your distinguished Governor who occupies a most difficult and exacting post.

Governors have been politically liquidated all over the United States in recent years, because of the problems that a Governor faces in a growing country and a growing State. All the way in from the airport, all I saw was your children who need to be educated, who want some day to go to the university, who want some day to find a job, who want some day to be able to enjoy the countryside—and all these problems come to rest on the Governor, your distinguished Members of Congress, Senator Proxmire who fulfills a noble tradition in this State of progressive independence and who serves this State with distinction—the Members of your congressional delegation, my old campaign manager Clem Zablocki, and your other Congressman, Henry Reuss—Congressman Kastenmeier, who is interested in thought, which is very challenging—Congressman Johnson who represents the 9th District and who helped indicate a Democratic victory in 1960 by his victory several years ago.

I mention all of them because they are vitally important. I know that I sometimes read in the paper that, well the President's all right but I don't know about his program, and why doesn't the Government just leave us all alone. That argument has been made every decade in this country's history. It was made during the administration of Woodrow Wilson, in the days of the New Freedom, and it was made during the days of Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal—and it is made today.

What are these programs which are regarded with such concern? A bill which makes it possible to retrain men who are

chronically unemployed, who sit in West Virginia coal mines, 17 or 18 percent of the working force at one time, who know only coal mining, who are 50 years of age, and a program to help them be retrained so that they can find constructive work and not depend upon handouts from the Federal Government every month.

A program for youth employment, when one out of every four of our citizens under 20 are unemployed. When we are going to have eight million boys and girls drop out of our schools in this decade, uneducated in the sense of completing their education, untrained at a time when skill in employment is most needed—I do not consider that so far advanced.

A program of medical care for the aged tied to social security. I thought the acceptance of the battle over social security—and the thought and the idea of social security originated in this State—I thought that matter was settled in the administration of Franklin Roosevelt.

Or a program of assistance to higher education. A democracy—a country today is only as strong as its citizens are educated. The people who find work today are those who are educated. Twice as many of the sons and daughters of the people of Wisconsin will want to go to your colleges at the end of this decade as today. We have to build in the next few years as many colleges and dormitories as we have built in 130 years, in a period of 8 or 9 years. And they're all descending upon us—your sons and daughters—and they want to be educated. And I do not regard that as a particularly radical program.

And the farmers of the State of Wisconsin, do they want us to really stop with a program of supports for milk today, which is as you know, far too low? And I remember when Senator Proxmire led the fight to increase it—75 percent of parity, \$3.11 a hundredweight, when the average wage of a farmer here in Wisconsin was 65, 70, 75, or 80 cents an hour. A farmer cannot live on that, and if this level is maintained it will

cost the dairy farmers of this State and country two or three hundred millions of dollars.

Now these programs either pass or fail by one or two votes. What I have mentioned here are the kinds of things a country must do—which other countries have done in many cases years ago. All of these programs have been written into the statute books of nearly every country in Western Europe. And yet they are regarded with concern because they are new—and because they may be somewhat different.

We have to decide, and this is the issue, not so much parties, but between those who feel we should stand still and those who feel we should move ahead. The countries of Western Europe have grown twice as fast as ours economically, and have had full employment for a decade. We have had a recession in 1958, a recession in 1960. We still have not put all the people back to work who want to go. We have made progress in the last year, but we still have much to do.

And everyone who owns a home who recognizes that that home, and the builder who built that home, and the workman who worked on that home, it is because in most cases of the guarantees which were given by earlier programs in the administration of Franklin Roosevelt. So I don't think we should be worried about progress. I think we should make up our minds that this great country of ours, 180 million people, increasing 3 million a year, going to double our population in 40 or 50 years, that we have many tasks still undone, and we can do them. And in my judgment, that is what separates us in the year 1962.

This is important, these Congressmen and Senators, because as I've said these issues are decided by 1 or 2 votes. This week in the House, on the Agricultural Committee, an agricultural bill was reported out by 17 to 16. Medical care for the aged sits in the House committee and will be reported out or defeated by 1 or 2 votes. And the bill on youth employment is in the House Rules Committee, and it will come out or be defeated by 1 or 2 votes. So that these Con-

gressmen and Senators, working with us, I believe have a most important function to fulfill.

Khrushchev talks of burying us economically, and what he means is that he believes within the next 20 or 25 years the Soviet Union will become the most productive power on earth, and when that day comes all the people of the world will believe that his system represents the wave of the future.

We cannot permit this country to stand still, and I believe it is incumbent upon all of us who participate in political activity, not as an end in itself but as a means to an end, I believe that we should associate ourselves with the great traditions of our party.

All those who see thousands of people, hundreds of thousands, who are unable to vote, or can't find a home, or can't find equality of education—I see this country as the most powerful, vital, vigorous country in the history of the world, carrying responsibilities all around the world, and I see it today as a choice between being willing to accept these responsibilities, provide a better life for our people, because from this comes a better life. Or I see it standing still.

And we went all through these same arguments and same struggle in the thirties, and now what all of us in the entire country take for granted, with the object of the most far-reaching struggles as we struggle today.

So I come here to Wisconsin to fulfill one of my responsibilities. As President Truman has said, a President wears four or five hats as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive Officer, but one of them is the head of his party, and a party is important only if it serves a great national function. And I believe that our party can serve a great national function, this year and in the years to come, by committing ourselves to action on all these areas which so vitally affect us.

This is a difficult time in the life of the United States, because the United States bears such heavy burdens. I know that many of us, in fact on occasions all of us, wish for those days when the United States lived an isolated existence. But today the

United States carries the major burden in so many areas—and the people of Wisconsin know this better than most.

The National Guard Division of this State was taken from its homes, on my order—on the advice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—and have been sitting in a camp for many months. And I am sure they wonder why. But that Division, and the other of the 160,000 men who were called up last summer, after the meeting in Vienna with Chairman Khrushchev, in my opinion have made it, by their efforts, directly possible for us, to this day, to maintain our commitments to Berlin, and to ourselves—and also to maintain the peace.

The United States has done this. And the people of Wisconsin have more than borne their share of the responsibility. I would not enjoy sitting in a camp myself. I do not blame anyone who wonders why suddenly his life was taken and put out in the State of Washington. But I hope they realize, as I hope the people of this State realize, that these men are doing what free men must on occasions do. And I think this country owes them a debt of gratitude, which I hope they recognize.

In other areas also we have tried to act. In the Alliance for Progress, in an attempt to bind together the countries of Latin America. In the Disarmament Agency, the fight for which was led by Congressman Kastenmeier in the House. For the first time the United States submitted a proposal, with Great Britain, which has not yet been accepted, for a cessation of nuclear tests, a treaty. And for the first time we submitted the most comprehensive and broadest disarmament plan which unfortunately still today remains unaccepted, but which with good fortune and continued efforts may some day win the attention of those who must realize the dangers to all by our present course of action. Our effort in space, and in the support of the United Nations, all these matters finally come to rest upon you and upon us.

And I come to the State of Wisconsin, not merely to congratulate you for what you've

done, but to ask your support in these challenges which this country faces. That I believe is the effort which we must be willing to make. And I think that it is worthy of the best of all of us.

I don't think our party in this century has ever been led by men who have promised a soft and easy existence. What they have promised, and their names and their slogans distinguish them—Wilson and Roosevelt and Truman—that the word "American," the title "citizen of the United States," will be an honorable one, and one marked by respect and dignity. And it is to that end that the New Frontier is committed.

When I was a candidate for the Presidency, I was given this and signed it, advising us that in order to attend a steel workers meeting in Pittsburgh, "that you hereby promise to come to our town after you are President"; signed William Herrling, president of the village of Mukwonago. Well, I can't go there, but if there's anybody there from Mukwonago—I hate to think how many of these are distributed all over Wisconsin—and I'm going to have to go. You may have to give me several years, but I will go.

But I did want to say that I'm glad to come back to Wisconsin. This is a great State. Out of it has come a great many influential and powerful forces. And in the final analysis, there is nothing that we can do in Washington that can be done without your support. Whether it involves the price

of steel, or the defense of the United States, or whatever it may be, in the final analysis you must decide which direction we are going to go, which burdens we accept, which road we choose. The Government is not a distant force. It depends directly upon what you decide yourself, and I hope that you make the commitment which I believe we must all make.

I don't know with certainty what the future will bring, but I am certain that if we are willing to continue to play our proper part, that it can be happy for all of us.

In the 1920's, Marshal Lyautey, the distinguished French Marshal, told his gardener to plant a tree, and the gardener said, "Well, you don't want to plant that, it's going to take a hundred years to flower." And he said, "In that case, plant it this afternoon."

Well, we don't know whether it will take a hundred years to flower, and it may never flower—but I think we ought to plant it tonight.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 p.m. at the Milwaukee Arena. In his opening words he referred to Patrick J. Lucey, Wisconsin Democratic State Chairman. Later he referred to Hubert H. Humphrey, U.S. Senator from Minnesota; William Proxmire, U.S. Senator from Wisconsin; Gaylord A. Nelson, Governor of Wisconsin; Clement J. Zablocki, Henry S. Reuss, Robert W. Kastenmeier, and Lester R. Johnson, U.S. Representatives from Wisconsin; and William Herrling, president of the village of Mukwonago, Wis.

187 Memorandum on Report "The Competition for Quality" by the Federal Council for Science and Technology. May 13, 1962

Memorandum to Department and Agency Heads:

The Federal Council for Science and Technology has transmitted to me a report entitled "The Competition for Quality" which sets forth steps urgently needed to assure competence within the Government establishment to carry out its program of

scientific research and development. With the increasing importance of science and technology in developing our military defenses, in achieving our foreign policy objectives, and in sustaining the health and welfare of every citizen, the Federal Government must attract and retain its share of talented scientists and engineers at all levels.

The proposals I submitted to the Congress for pay reform which embody the principles of comparability with salaries in the private sector and internal adjustment to permit rewards for competence meet the recommendations contained in Part I of the report.

In Part II the Council suggests additional steps that should be taken to develop a more favorable environment for science within the Government. These are largely administrative in character. I am attaching this portion of the report. All practicable action should be taken to implement these recommendations. The Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology will report to me from time to time as to the measures which have been taken.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The report was based on a study by a panel under the chairmanship of Dr. Allen V. Astin, Director of the National Bureau of Standards. Part I, dated January 1962 (48 pp. processed), deals with salaries; Part II, dated April 1962 (20 pp. processed), with non-salary factors affecting the selection and retention of superior personnel in the scientific service of the Federal Government.

Part II of the report urges that scientists and engineers be accorded greater participation in decision making and that Government laboratory directors be given more technical responsibility and administrative authority. Actions are also suggested for improving public information about the opportunities and challenges offered by science and technology in the public service and for developing within the Government short and long-term career opportunities for scientists and engineers. Other recommendations deal with increasing the flexibility of working schedules, the need for more relocation assistance for transferred employees, and the desirability of governmentwide policy guidelines regarding official travel and attendance at scientific meetings.

188 Remarks at Ceremonies Honoring the Teacher of the Year. May 14, 1962

I TAKE great pleasure in welcoming Mrs. French to the White House. She has been chosen as the Teacher of the Year, and I must say I'm delighted personally to be able to pay tribute to a woman who has done exceptional work in the field of education, who has devoted her life to it, particularly in the field of mathematics—one of our disciplines which we accept with some reluctance. And we are glad to have you come here and in this way not only honor you, Mrs. French, but honor all the thousands of other teachers upon whom the future of our country so much depends. We entrust to our teachers our most valuable resource, our children, for very vital years. And what happens to

them, really, depends upon you and your colleagues.

So I think it is very appropriate that the Office of Education, Look magazine, and the different State Councils of Education should all be participating in singling out a very appropriate winner.

Mrs. French, we are glad to see you, and would you say a word about mathematics and education.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in the Rose Garden. Mrs. Marjorie L. French, chosen "Teacher of the Year," is supervisor of the Mathematics Department, grades 7-12, for the Topeka, Kans., public schools. She also teaches three mathematics classes at the Topeka High School.

189 Remarks to Visiting Members of the Mexican Congress. May 14, 1962

WE WANT to express our welcome to all of you here to the White House, and to tell you how much I appreciate your coming up

here. As a member of the American Congress for 14 years, I feel always sympathy for my brother parliamentarians.

Mrs. Kennedy and I are looking forward very much to our visit to Mexico at the end of June. When we were married we went there for 2 weeks, to Acapulco. And I hope that before you leave the White House that you will come into the Fish Room and see the 10-foot fish which is my only claim to any distinction as a fisherman, which was caught off the Mexican coast.

So we want you to know that you're among friends, and we're delighted to have you here.

I can think of nothing more useful than an exchange such as this, between your delegates and ours, and we hope that our visit down there will be another mark of our great interest in the friendly relations between Mexico and the United States.

This hemisphere must be a source of strength to ourselves, and also, I hope, inspiration to countries around the world, of

how people can live together in amity and friendship over a long period of time.

So I think that in these relations between Mexico and the United States, which should be constantly worked on and not merely be permitted to be assumed, I think this sets a very good precedent for our relations with countries around the world where they may not be so happy.

So we're glad to have you here.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in the Rose Garden at the White House. The Mexican Congressmen were in Washington attending the second annual meeting of the United States-Mexican Parliamentary Group. Senator Manuel Moreno Sánchez, President of the Grand Committee of the Mexican Senate, and José López Bermudez, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, served as co-chairmen of the Mexican delegation. The U.S. delegation was headed by Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama and Representative J. T. Rutherford of Texas.

190 Remarks by Telephone to the Mayors' Conference at Miami Beach. May 14, 1962

Mr. Mayor, gentlemen:

I'm very sorry I cannot be with you personally today, because I've enjoyed that experience in the past. But I have asked my assistant and your good friend, Brooks Hays, to represent me at your conference.

This conference is a matter of great interest to me and to the National Government, because we have been devoting a good deal of our time and effort to attempt to assist you in meeting the problems of our growing urban areas, an area and an environment where over 70 percent of our people live.

Because of this great national challenge, we have in the past months doubled our urban renewal program to help you in your fights against slum and blight. We've developed a program to broaden the housing opportunities for people of low and moderate incomes in our great cities and towns across the country. And after a year of experience with a temporary program, we now

have before the Congress a major proposal on urban mass transportation.

I am confident that the Congress, which is proceeding rapidly in its consideration of this measure, will act on it favorably this year.

We have greatly expanded the water pollution control program in order to join with you in providing adequate supplies of good water to meet urban and industrial needs. And we have recommended to the Congress a comprehensive program in the field of air pollution control.

We have joined in attempting to assist you in the acquisition of much-needed open space land in urban areas, and I believe that last year's enactment of airport aid legislation will assure continuing progress towards meeting the objectives of the national airport plan.

Through the retraining and area redevelopment programs, we are engaged in a pioneering effort to reduce chronic unemploy-

ment in many of our communities. And we have recently recommended to the Congress a public improvements program as an additional means of combating unemployment.

I am sure as city officials you've been heartened by the United States Supreme Court decision requiring more equitable representation of our urban areas in State legislatures, because from that I believe progress can come.

Our urban areas, and I think the country, suffered a set-back in our recent failure in establishing a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing, but I believe that this country will come more and more to realize—and the Congress will—the necessity for us organizing those departments of the Federal Government which are concerned with urban affairs, in such a way as to provide maximum service to your people.

This is a matter of great challenge to us in the years ahead. In a short few decades we've moved from a rural to an urban way of life, and before long we shall be a nation with a vastly extended population, living in great urban areas in housing that does not now exist, served by community facilities that do not now exist, and moved about by means of transportation systems that do not now exist.

These are the facts of life which affect our people, that make it very necessary to strengthen and improve the machinery through which the Federal Government acts to help you meet your urban problems.

This development and these problems are tied up to all of our other great national challenges. It is, for example, the remarkable success of agriculture in increasing the production of food that has made our urban growth possible. Conversely, the welfare of our urban areas is essential to the prosperity of our farm families. Thus, it seems to me, we should approach the matters which concern you from a national rather than merely from a sectional or regional viewpoint.

I have been interested in the matter of our city areas for many years. I have enjoyed your hospitality on other occasions, and I want this Conference of Mayors to know that we believe that you, representing on the most intimate level millions of Americans, will continue your efforts to make our Nation's cities a better place for all of us to live.

And you can be sure—you can be very sure and confident—that the Federal Government will also continue to work with you in achieving this great and worthwhile objective.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, and I wish you great success in your conference. And I appreciate this chance to talk with you.

NOTE: The President spoke from the White House to the opening session of the U.S. Conference of Mayors meeting at the Fontainebleau Hotel in Miami Beach, Fla. His opening words "Mr. Mayor" referred to Mayor Haydon Burns of Jacksonville, president of the conference.

191 Statement by the President on the Postponement of a Visit by the President of the Philippines. May 15, 1962

IT IS with deep regret that I learned of the decision of President Diosdado Macapagal of the Philippines to postpone his visit to the United States next month. I understand that President Macapagal's decision resulted from his country's disappointment over the failure of the Congress on May 9 to enact the Philippine War Damage Bill.

A new bill designed to fulfill this obligation has now been introduced in Congress with bipartisan sponsorship. The Congressional leadership has assured me that it will again give its full support for the legislation, and I am hopeful that the new bill will pass. I am hopeful, too, that this disappointment will not be allowed to alter the harmonious

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relations between our countries and our profound and lasting friendship.

I sincerely hope that the many expressions of good will and sympathy by our people and our press will be accepted by the people of the Philippines as the true measure of our friendship and understanding. We continue to look forward with pleasure and

anticipation to welcoming President Macapagal to the United States in the near future.

NOTE: On August 30 the President signed Public Law 87-616 (76 Stat. 411), an act to authorize payment of the remaining awards for war damage compensation heretofore made by the Philippine War Damage Commission.

See also Item 315.

192 Statement by the President Announcing the Dispatch of Additional U.S. Forces to Thailand. May 15, 1962

FOLLOWING joint consideration by the governments of the United States and Thailand of the situation in Southeast Asia, the Royal Thai Government has invited, and I have today ordered, additional elements of the United States military forces, both ground and air, to proceed to Thailand and to remain there until further orders. These forces are to help ensure the territorial integrity of this peaceful country.

The dispatch of United States forces to Thailand was considered desirable because of recent attacks in Laos by Communist forces, and the subsequent movement of Communist military units toward the border of Thailand.

A threat to Thailand is of grave concern to the United States. I have, therefore, ordered certain additional American military forces into Thailand in order that we may be in a position to fulfill speedily our obligations under the Manila Pact of 1954, a defense agreement which was approved overwhelmingly by the U.S. Senate, and to which

the Secretary of State and Foreign Minister of Thailand referred in their joint statement of March 6, 1962. We are in consultation with SEATO Governments on the situation.

I emphasize that this is a defensive act on the part of the United States and wholly consistent with the United Nations Charter which specifically recognizes that nations have an inherent right to take collective measures for self-defense. In the spirit of that Charter, I have directed that the Secretary General of the United Nations be informed of the actions that we are taking.

There is no change in our policy toward Laos, which continues to be the reestablishment of an effective cease-fire and prompt negotiations for a government of national union.

NOTE: The text of the Manila Pact of 1954 (Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty) is printed in *Treaties and Other International Acts Series* 3170 (6 UST 81). The joint statement of the Secretary of State and the Foreign Minister of Thailand is published in the *Department of State Bulletin* (vol. 46, p. 498).

193 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting a Proposed Senior Citizens Act.
May 15, 1962

[Released May 15, 1962. Dated May 14, 1962]

Dear Mr. ———:

I am transmitting herewith a draft of a bill entitled the "Senior Citizens Act of 1962." The bill has two principal purposes:

First, it will provide assistance for research, demonstration, and evaluation projects leading to the development of new and improved programs to help older persons.

These projects will, in most instances, be under the control of the states, local communities, and nonprofit institutions and organizations.

Secondly, it will encourage and assist universities, professional schools and other institutions, organizations and agencies to increase their programs for training those professional and technical people needed to provide the broad range of services required by older people.

The life expectancy of our population, the number of older people, and the number of years that our citizens spend in retirement are increasing. By 1970, approximately 20 million persons will be over age 65. Many of our older citizens face special problems resulting from reduced incomes, inadequate housing, large medical bills, declining health, unproductive leisure time, and lack of opportunity to continue their useful service to society. While our present programs are helping them to meet their most serious problems, important gaps remain in services for our older people.

The purpose of the proposed Senior Citizens Act of 1962 is to enable the Federal Government to help fill these gaps in existing programs through participation in a major cooperative effort with the states and

local communities to accelerate efforts already under way to improve the living conditions of this important segment of our population. It will permit the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to assist such activities as (1) community planning of coordinated services for older persons, (2) experimentation and demonstration of techniques for more fully using the leisure time of retired persons through community service projects and educational and recreational programs, and (3) training of gerontologists and other specialists needed to expand services to the aged.

For these purposes, an annual authorization for \$10 million in appropriations for five years is requested.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

On May 14 the President also issued Executive Order 11022 establishing the President's Council on Aging (3 CFR, 1962 Supp., p. 211). The Council was given responsibility for making recommendations as to Federal programs for the aging, for coordinating action by Federal agencies, and for disseminating information among the Federal agencies and the State, local, and private agencies and organizations interested in the problems of the aging.

194 Remarks to Members of the Committee for Economic Development. *May 16, 1962*

Dean David, gentlemen:

I want to welcome you all to the White House. And I want to express my appreciation to you for your very excellent and constructive study on trade, the problems which we're going to have as well as the opportunities, as a result of the development of the Common Market, and also the policies which this Government should pursue and the country should pursue in attempting to take advantage of our chances.

In addition, I want to compliment the CED generally for the very constructive studies that it has made. Dean David just

told me you're doing one now on agriculture. I'm hopeful that you—and I know you have been concerning yourselves with the problems in our balance of payments situation, our loss of gold, what actions we could take governmentally as well as privately, industrially, which would make some difference to this matter which concerns us all and over which we must acquire a greater degree of control.

One of the difficulties, of course, is that every proposal that we may make, whether it involves the question of the shipment of dependents overseas, or taxes on investments

overseas, or other restraints which may be placed, all this of course cuts across interests; and we have to attempt to balance the national interest as well as all the private interests that may be involved.

What I think would be most helpful and constructive, and I've already suggested this to the business advisory group, would be the very close cooperation and detailed analysis by industrial groups, business groups, organizations such as yours, working with us in an attempt to bring this matter into balance within the next 2 years, which I believe must be done. So that there are many areas where your work can serve the public interest.

And, as I've said, I don't think that there's any group in the country which has recognized this consistently over a period of years more than the CED. So that we're glad to have one other evidence of this desire to serve the public, and also to express the hope that we can continue to work very closely in the coming months on all these issues which so involve the interests of all of us.

Another area which I think is worthy of concern is an analysis of some of the policies which are followed by industry and government particularly in the three key countries of Europe which have enjoyed substantial economic success in recent years, France, West Germany, and Italy—which have had high employment—France which has planned an economic growth rate of 5½ percent up through 1975. And I think it's worthy of the most detailed study by the Government as well as by industrial groups of their experience, to see whether any of it is transferable, or whether it happens to come about as a result of a stage of economic growth somewhat different from ours.

So that the horizon is unlimited as far as the area of joint effort is concerned, and I therefore take great pleasure in welcoming you to the White House.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. His opening words referred to Donald K. David, chairman of the board of trustees of the Committee for Economic Development and former Dean of the School of Business Administration of Harvard University.

195 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on Transfer of Surplus Federal Lands to State and Local Bodies. May 16, 1962

Dear Mr. ———:

Transmitted herewith is a draft bill to amend existing statutes which prescribe terms and conditions under which Federally-owned real property, surplus to the needs of the Federal Government, is made available to States and local bodies for various public purposes.

In addition to the public domain, the Federal Government owns real property which originally cost \$56 billion. Because of program changes or other developments, some of this property may no longer be required for its original purpose and becomes available for other uses. At the present time, real property with an acquisition cost of over one billion dollars is in this category. Sound

disposal policies are essential to ensure that such property is utilized in the Nation's best interests—by transfer for other uses within the Government, by conveyance for public uses to the States or local communities, or by sale to private parties.

The statutes authorizing disposal of property no longer needed by the Federal Government were enacted at different times and under varying circumstances. As a result, there is no common policy governing the terms and conditions for conveying surplus property for non-Federal uses and the standards for administration and compliance are not uniform. Of particular importance are the provisions of existing law authorizing the disposal of surplus real property to quali-

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fied applicants for various non-Federal public uses, such as health, education, park and recreation, airports, and wildlife conservation. The interest of local governments in surplus Federal property for these purposes has increased markedly since enactment of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act in 1949. Closely related to these public uses is the growing interest on the part of local communities in acquiring surplus real property to foster and promote industrial and commercial growth.

Last August I directed an ad hoc inter-agency committee to reappraise our disposal policies and develop recommendations for action, including any proposals for needed legislation. The proposed bill, resulting from that committee's work, would not basically alter the scope of the present real property disposal program. Instead, its major purposes are to: (1) provide common standards for determining the terms and conditions on which Federal surplus real property may be conveyed for authorized public purposes, (2) provide for the negotiated sale of surplus real property to public bodies at 75 percent of its fair market value rather than at 100 percent of fair market

value as presently required, and (3) define and make uniform the administrative responsibilities of the various Federal agencies involved. In accomplishing these purposes, the bill would carry out the recommendation in my message to Congress on conservation of March 1 that existing law be amended to permit States and local governments to acquire surplus Federal lands for park, recreation, or wildlife purposes on more liberal terms.

I believe this bill represents a major improvement in present policies and practices and that it will materially assist the Federal agencies concerned in their efforts to put surplus real property to its highest and best use. Accordingly, I hope that Congress will give it prompt and favorable attention.

Also enclosed is a letter to me from the Administrator of General Services describing the provisions of the bill in more detail.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

196 Letter to the Senior U.S. Adviser to the South Pacific Commission. *May 17, 1962*

[Released May 17, 1962. Dated May 15, 1962]

Dear Jack:

As you know, the South Pacific Commission will hold its Fifth Session of the South Pacific Conference, representing peoples from all of the islands in the Pacific area, at Pago Pago, American Samoa, starting July 18th.

I am delighted that it will be possible for you to serve as a Senior Advisor to the U.S. Commissioners. I would ask you to take a special look on my behalf at the ways in which our Administration can speed the economic, educational and social develop-

ment of the area which we consider to be in the long run interest of the United States.

I hope that when you get back you will find an early opportunity to come to Washington to report to me personally on developments and prospects in the Pacific area as they reveal themselves at the South Pacific Conference.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[The Honorable John A. Burns, Honolulu, Hawaii]

197 Remarks to Participants in the World Food Forum.

May 17, 1962

I WANT to express my welcome to all of you, those of you who are from the Department, those of you who are from American universities, land grant colleges, and others—and those of you, especially, who have come from abroad, from Scotland, from The Hague, from Belgium, from New Zealand, from Australia, from Cairo. All of this indicates what a great international challenge and opportunity we have.

Our agricultural problems and opportunities are different from those of much of the world. We have a tremendous capacity to produce, which has really been the most extraordinary revolution, really, in a sense, of a kind that we have had in the last 15 years. In other countries their problem has been different: an inadequacy of supply. So how we shall maintain our production, how we shall improve our consumption, how we shall maintain the income of our farmers, how we shall take care of those who no longer are needed to produce our food, and how other sections of the world shall be able to market their surpluses in those coun-

tries where they have them, in concert with us, in a way which serves the very basic needs of the people of the world—all that is worth your attention and effort, and in most cases your lives.

So we're very proud to have you here. We're very glad that this is recognized, on this occasion, as a world problem. We are anxious to work in the closest concert with you. None of us feels very happy at having food stored away while others need it, and the way that we can solve that problem is a very human one which transcends national frontiers.

So, gentlemen and ladies, you are most welcome here on this occasion, because this is a matter of particular concern to this administration. We're glad to see you.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

The World Food Forum, commemorating the centennial of the Department of Agriculture, was held at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington, May 15-17.

198 The President's News Conference of

May 17, 1962

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon. Any questions?

[1.] Q. Mr. President, with the word "scandal" again in the wind in Washington, would you care to comment on the Billie Sol Estes affair and tell us if you believe that Secretary Freeman has handled the case properly?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, the Billie Sol Estes case came to public attention when the United States Government indicted him on April 5. We requested a bail of \$500,000 which was not granted—it's down to \$100,000—and since that time we have been conducting a very thorough in-

vestigation with nearly 75 members of the FBI involved in this investigation. These affairs are most complicated. Billie Sol Estes dealt through almost 23 companies.

In addition, we have taken immediate action against all of those Federal employees, of whom there have been four in the Department of Agriculture, who have been involved in improprieties. The investigation is continuing and will continue. The Department of Justice, Internal Revenue, Senator McClellan in the Senate, Congressman Fountain in the House—all of them are involved in attempting to determine whether any Federal employee or member of Con-

gress were involved in any improper action. I can assure you that if any members of the executive branch are involved, any improprieties shown, they will be immediately taken action against—immediately disciplined appropriately.

Now in regard to Secretary Freeman, I've stated already my high regard for him. Secretary Freeman I think has had a matchless reputation. He worked his way through the University of Minnesota; he was a football player, graduated Phi Beta Kappa. He had most of his jaw shot off at Bougainville as a captain in the Marines; he was Governor of Minnesota for three terms. He's the head of this Department, has over 100,000 employees, and it's been a most challenging job, and I have the greatest confidence in the integrity of Secretary Freeman.

I point out again that the matter of Billie Sol Estes came to public attention in the way that it has because the United States Government, this administration, indicted him.

Q. Mr. President, in the same vein, a little more philosophically. This sort of thing, a scandal where one or more Federal employees are involved for private gain with people on the outside, this sort of thing seems to recur administration after administration; it doesn't seem to follow any political pattern. How do you propose, or do you have any ideas on how to prevent this or wipe it out?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I agree that we have over two million employees, you've got a good many people that take advantage or attempt to influence them, seek private gain. As a result of congressional intercession, or as a result of special favors in the administration, a good many of the decisions that these men make involve large sums of money, contracts, and all the rest—pressures are put upon them. Some succumb. Most do not. What we attempt to do is to provide for procedures whereby any improprieties will be immediately detected. We attempt to establish the highest ethical standards which are possible. We take immediate action when an impropriety is revealed,

and we attempt to maintain the morale and discipline of the United States Government.

Improprieties occur in a good many different kinds of life, whether it's labor, management, Government. Not all people are able to withstand these pressures. But we intend that the personnel of the United States Government will meet the highest ethical standards possible, and when they do not, action will be taken. My experience is that the great, great majority of them do. They are not paid very highly in most cases. They are dealing with matters of vital concern, and I think on the whole they do a good job. When they don't, it is most unfortunate and most regrettable because all of us want the Federal service to be of the highest possible standards.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, there have been published reports that you have made up your mind to appoint Dr. Weaver as head of the Health, Education, and Welfare Department, when a vacancy occurs. Can you give us your comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I have made no decision because, of course, no vacancy has occurred. When it does, I will announce a successor—if one does—immediately.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, General de Gaulle, a couple of days ago at a news conference, made some points which seemed to underline the differences between Paris and Washington. He spoke of his determination to proceed with his nuclear deterrent in order not to rely upon the United States in that respect. He also spoke of the confederation rather than a more intimate political unity in Europe, and discounted the efforts of the United States in the Berlin negotiations, which I think he said was trying to square the circle. Some people believe that these differences between France and the United States are more fundamental and pose a greater danger to the Western alliance than those between Bonn and Washington, which have been more publicized.

I was wondering if you would care to address yourself to the question of difficulties between France and the United States,

and more particularly whether you believe, a year having elapsed since your meeting with General de Gaulle, that it would be worth while for you and the General to get together again.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, on two of those—one of those three matters, of course, is a matter which involves completely the European: this question of the federation versus confederation. That is a matter which the Europeans must decide. Our interest in Europe is only that we believe that the freedom of Europe and the defense of Europe are bound up with the freedom and defense of the United States. Therefore, we have made large expenditures in men and money, we have committed ourselves, we have participated as a very active member of NATO. The nuclear deterrent of the United States, I think, has helped defend Europe for a great many years. But as to what the relationship should be between the countries of Europe, that is a matter of course, primarily for them.

On the matter of Berlin, it is a matter of the greatest concern to us. We wish to have some voice in events there because if the moment of truth comes, it is the United States which is expected to take the very vigorous action which could involve our security as well as that of Western Europe. And to use an old familiar American expression, we wish to be in on the take-off of these matters.

I've already commented on why I think it desirable to continue these conversations with the Soviet Union over Berlin. It's a vital matter which involves the interest of both; it's highly charged. I see only advantage in carrying on a conversation. Before any conclusions are reached, of course, we would attempt to have an agreement among our allies.

Now, the third matter is more from a philosophical stand. We do not believe in a series of national deterrents. We believe that the NATO deterrent, to which the United States has committed itself so heavily, provides very adequate protection. Once you begin, nation after nation, beginning to

develop its own deterrent, or rather feeling it's necessary as an element of its independence to develop its own deterrent, it seems to me that you are moving into an increasingly dangerous situation.

First France, and then another country and then another, until a very solid and, I think, effective defense alliance may be somewhat weakened. That, however, is a decision for the French. If they choose to go ahead, of course they will go ahead, and General de Gaulle has announced they are going ahead. We do not agree, but he cannot blame us if we do not agree anymore than we blame him if he does not agree with us.

Now, as to the long-range future of Europe. This is a matter, as I have said, of debate inside France and inside Europe. But I will say, speaking personally, that however difficult becomes this dialog with General de Gaulle over what I would call the Atlantic Community and the respective roles of each country within it, I would think it would be a far more difficult situation if General de Gaulle were not as stalwart in his defense of the West. We do not look for those who agree with us, but those who defend their country and who are committed to the defense of the West. I believe General de Gaulle is. So we will get along. I'm not sure that we would get any greater agreement if we meet. There is a limit to the advantages of these kinds of dialog, but we will continue, at least, to maintain a contact which I hope will not be acrimonious—certainly in this case.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, could you bring us up to date on the Laotian situation since the dispatch of our troops to Thailand? Specifically, do you feel that we have increased the chances of our getting caught in a shooting war in Southeast Asia?

THE PRESIDENT. We are continuing to hope that there will be a national—government of national union, which has been our policy, as you know, for a year. We are going into Thailand at the decision of the Thai Government. Our own decision pro-

vides for the defense of Thailand. The latest information indicates no further breach of the cease-fire. We also have indications that the three princes will engage in conversation shortly. I hope they will produce a government. That is our object. As I have already indicated, the great hazard is of a shooting war in Asia—in the jungles of Asia—and it is our object to bring about a diplomatic solution which will make the chances of such a war far less likely.

Q. Mr. President, in light of your answer to this question, sir, could you give us any idea how long the American troops will be needed in Thailand?

THE PRESIDENT. I cannot at this time.

Q. Have you any idea under what conditions they might return?

THE PRESIDENT. I cannot at this time. They have only been in there for a very short while, and we can't tell when they will come out. It will depend a good deal on what conditions are in Thailand and the neighboring countries.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us, please, what you would consider the restoration of an effective cease-fire? Would this involve the withdrawal of the Communist forces to their position before the attack on Nam Tha, or more or less acquiescence which would permit the talks to go forward on the government?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, naturally, we would prefer as great a withdrawal to the line that was in effect a week or so ago as we could get. I would think, however, that the peace along the line which now may exist, of course, is essential.

Q. Mr. President, would you review for us the considerations that you had in mind last weekend when you took this rather swift action to move more American troops into Thailand?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. We're concerned about the breach of the cease-fire, the sign of deterioration in Laos, which brought Communist forces to the border of Thailand up in the—near the Mekong River section of—not too far from Nam Tha, and we

did not know whether this was an indication of a general breach of the cease-fire which, of course, would immediately imperil Thailand. So that in our desire to stabilize the situation we got in touch with the government, which was already in touch with us, and worked out the proposed course of action.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, the railroads and five operating unions broke off talks today. There has already been a Presidential commission report on this dispute, so the next step may be up to you. Can you tell us if you have any action in mind, and when you might act?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think we are keeping very close contact with it. They have the recommendation of the Board, and Secretary Goldberg is watching it very carefully. If there is anything that we can do appropriately, we will do it.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, President de Gaulle seems intent on creating a defense community apart from NATO. If he continues in this way, do you think there is any danger of reviving an isolationist sentiment in this country?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it would be quite a long time before members of Europe, all of them, would feel in a position to defend themselves without the presence of the United States. The United States does not maintain nearly 300,000 troops and spend over a billion dollars—in dollars, and therefore in gold—in Europe because it chooses to do so against the wishes of those who are present. We have been asked to come and asked to stay. If we were not asked to stay, then we would take, I think, a different view of it. But I have not heard anyone suggest that the United States today withdraw from Europe or that it relax its guarantees which consist of all kinds of defense procedures.

Now the day may come when Western Europe may feel that it can maintain its own security. Of course it would relieve the United States of a very heavy burden. But that day has not come. We want Western Europe to be independent and free. We

want to prevent the outbreak of a war. We want no one to be in any doubt about the intentions of the United States. You've obviously seen on two occasions, when war broke out in Europe, there was some question of what the ultimate attitudes of the United States would be. NATO does not leave that in question. NATO guarantees. So this is the important defense for Europe and important defense for us and every evidence I have is that the Europeans wish that to continue. Now, the day may come when their power is such that they can proceed on their defense without the United States, and no one in the United States that I know of wishes to stay a moment longer than our presence is desired or desirable.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, former President Eisenhower in connection with the Estes case has suggested that all of the investigative agencies, in contrast to his own administration, are under one political party. He suggested the possibility that you might wish to follow the precedent of President Coolidge and invite some Republicans in to lay before them some of the information on the Estes case, that they might not know of. Do you regard this as a good idea?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have great regard for Senator McClellan, who I do not believe approaches any matter such as this on a partisan basis, and his committee is made up of Republicans and Democrats. All the information which we have will be made available to that committee, and all of the reports of the FBI. As I've stated before, this matter came to public attention because this administration indicted Mr. Estes before a State agency in Texas or any place else moved. In the case of some of the recent matters, to which reference was made, they were not brought out by the administration in power, but brought out by congressional investigating committees. We did not have any evidence by either Republican or Democrats of a major concern about the possibility that Mr. Estes would be involved in so many operations which had such little

basis. So that I can assure you that the information which is collected will be turned over to the congressional committees involved, to the Republicans and Democratic counsels of each committee, and that Senator McClellan will, I'm sure, Congressman Fountain in the House, and all the others will meet their responsibilities very fully, as we are attempting to meet ours.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, today is the 8th anniversary of the Supreme Court school desegregation decision. Do you feel that progress in this area has been rapid enough?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think we can always hope that more progress can be made in the area of civil rights, or equal opportunity, whether it's in employment or education or housing or anything else. There is a good deal left undone, and while progress has been made I think we can always improve equality of opportunity in the United States.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, why is it that we have no intercontinental ballistic missile warning system to the south of us in the Gulf or South America, in view of some of the recent reports that the Russians have said that they might come at us from the south?

THE PRESIDENT. Because our early warning system, as you know, was first developed for airplanes, which were coming from the north. Then it was converted to missiles, and it is being completed for missiles in the north. The flight to the south is an extremely long trip, which does not permit the kind of accuracy which a northern flight would permit, and as we develop Minutemen and other missiles which can take off with very little notice, the advantages of a long trip with relative inaccuracy will be far less to the Soviets. Their hope, in other words, of knocking out our ability to strike them after they might have struck us, of course, is far less to the south. But my judgment is that as time goes on, such a system will be developed.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, the stock mar-

ket slump lately seems to indicate a lack of investor confidence in the economic outlook. Do you have any comment on the behavior of the market?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think that—I would not attempt to figure its ups and downs. As you remember, it took a very sharp slump in 1956 just before we had an extremely good year the next year. At that time, I think in 1957, the value of the stock compared to the earnings was about 12 to 1. At the time of the high year it was around 22 to 1. But every indication we have indicates that this is going to be a record year in profits, wages, productivity. The new figures which I think have been announced this afternoon call for a construction at an annual rate of 1.5 million housing units, which is the highest we've had for three years, so we believe that the United States economy should have confidence. But the question of the relationship between stock prices and earnings is a matter for those who are in that business.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, would you care to answer former President Eisenhower's charge that many bills you support would put too much power in the Presidency, and that's the real threat to liberty in this country?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, he gave—I don't want to get into a political discussion with President Eisenhower. I think he gave five examples. One was our farm bill. Let me make it very clear that one of the problems in agriculture, of course, has been the tremendous increase in commodities which must be stored. And one of the problems in the Estes case is this very one.

The fact of the matter is there was in 1953 about \$2.5 million of surpluses that had to be stored. Now it's \$9 billion, for which we pay \$1 billion a year. Mr. Estes went into the grain storage business way back in 1959. In fact, of the \$7 million which the Federal Government has paid to him for storage, about \$5 million of it was paid prior to January 1961.

Now we're going to have an agricultural bill before the Congress in the next 2 or 3 weeks, and I think the American people should understand very clearly that if the bill we propose is defeated, we will then go back automatically by statute to the Benson program, which provides no effective controls on production, a support price which will increase by large amounts the amount of materials that we have to store away, and the burden to the taxpayer.

This could involve billions of dollars over the next 4 or 5 years. Unless we can bring into balance supply and demand more effectively than we've done—and we have done it in cotton and tobacco—unless we can do that in grain, you're going to have not \$9 billion to be stored away, but 10, 11, 12, 13 or 14. We spend \$6 billion as a budget item for the Government every year on agriculture. It will go up 7, 8, 9, so I think that we have to have an effective balance of supply and demand or otherwise you will have these situations where grain storages are bursting at the seams. And you have the kind of pressures which we have been witnessing in recent months.

I think that the best hope represents this legislation. And, let me make it very clear, if this bill is defeated it will cost the taxpayers of the United States \$4 billion more in the next 4 years for agricultural appropriations as well as storage. So this represents, in my opinion, a chance to do something for the farmer that's effective for the consumer and also for the taxpayer. And those who oppose it are committing us to an expenditure of at least 4 or 5 billion dollars over a very short period of time as well as taking our storage problem up to 11, 12, 13 billion dollars. I think it would be a great, great mistake. And I think this represents our best chance to do something about the kind of situation which resulted in Mr. Estes' manipulations.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, we have unofficial estimates that the 1963 budget will be from 4 to 7 billion dollars. Have you any re-

port from your officials as to what it will be?

THE PRESIDENT. No, we don't. It depends, of course, upon the state of the economy. As I've said from the beginning, if the economy reaches the level that we had hoped it would, and if the Congress takes action on postal legislation, and if it meets its responsibilities as I hope it will in the field of agriculture, our budget should be within balance.

Now, if the economy falls, if the Congress takes no action on postal rates, and if it defeats our efforts in farm legislation, then there will be a very different problem which we will have to face up to. But I do want to point out that one of the most important steps we can take in the general public interest is the support of this legislation. Because people who vote against it, feeling that we don't want any new legislation on the books have to realize that there is permanent legislation on the books which then goes into effect, which is known as part—which was identified with Mr. Benson, which did not bring prosperity to the farmer or well-being to the Federal budget.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, Ambassador Dean indicated this week that after we finish our tests, and the Russians finish their tests, that perhaps there would be a very good atmosphere to achieve a nuclear test ban. Do you share this view, and also do we have any reason to believe that this might be true?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think we have to wait until the situation develops, where our tests are concluded. I understand there seems to be evidence the Soviets may test, and we will then have to see what the situation is.

[14.] Q. Following up last week's discussion on misunderstandings between ourselves and the West Germans, sir, you've talked to the West German Ambassador. So has Mr. Rusk, and in addition Mr. Dowling has been to see the Chancellor. Can you tell us, sir, are our relations with the West Germans back on the track or moving in that direction now?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I think they are. We are now waiting, as the result of the conferences in Athens and as a result of our suggestions directly to the German Government and the Chancellor, for their comments and any proposals they might make on the access authority which was the matter of most immediate concern. We shall hear from that—from them shortly.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, in the light of your insistence on price and wage stability, what is your reaction to the decision of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers yesterday to demand a 35-hour week from employers?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe we should have a 40-hour week. I've said that from the beginning.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, your earlier answer on the European problem about the possibility of Europe some day being able to defend itself suggests a good possibility that Europe might some day become what some people call a third force. Do you think that this could happen and still be in the interest of the whole Atlantic Community, or would this so disrupt the Atlantic Community that it would be a detriment?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it would be most regrettable to attempt to break what has been built by so many men of good will in every country, the Atlantic Community. There is a—when you talk about third force, of course, it has a number of meanings. But my judgment is that the security of the West is best tied to a continuation of the Atlantic Community and its expression through NATO. Within NATO, of course, there will be the European Community, which will form a very effective, I hope, and strong and vital force for the stability of the West, and we've supported that. Every administration, including this one, has supported the building of the European Economic Community even though it may not be, in every case, in our economic interest, because we believe it builds a stronger Europe. That's why we support the admission of

Great Britain. So there is no difference of opinion between Europeans on this matter and ourselves. What I would regret would be any effort which would attempt to divide Europe from the United States and perhaps Canada, because I believe that the oceans should unite rather than divide. I do not anticipate that that will come. I think the mutual dependence is so obvious. But I do suggest that if that day should come, we would not want to give anyone the impression that we were in Europe in order to impose ourselves, but really rather to meet our common obligations. We have been accepted in Europe on that spirit, and we will stay in Europe as long as the desire is there for us to stay. And I've seen no serious evidence that anyone desires us to leave, because I think they realize that that would affect adversely the security of Europe and the balance of power.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, it seems contradicted that Mr. Estes was around town spreading quite a little bit of money around trying to be helpful, and I wonder if you have run across any indications that there was any favoritism or negligence resulting from this in the appointment of the man to the National Cotton Advisory Committee initially, or in the cotton allotment pools at a later stage, or the grain storage pattern generally?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, these are all matters being investigated. I think Secretary Freeman has already suggested that he has not been able to determine such favoritism. But I believe that we should wait until these investigations are completed. I am not informed about all the details of all transactions. All I know is as of today it does not appear that Mr. Estes was given, as Secretary Freeman has said, but I don't take anything for granted in this matter. That's why we have 76 FBI agents working on it, and, as I have said, the Department of Agriculture has assigned a penalty against him of nearly \$600,000. We have carried out—I'm sorry—our bail was not accepted at a half a

million dollars—and this Government is staying right on Mr. Estes' tail.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, what was the legal basis for our sending troops to Thailand? Was it a bilateral arrangement that we have with the Thai Government, or was it a SEATO arrangement?

THE PRESIDENT. No, the actual legal basis was to put us in a position to fulfill our obligations under the SEATO treaty.

Q. Well, Mr. President, are the other members of the SEATO treaty organization doing the same?

THE PRESIDENT. They have been asked to do so, and there has been indication of a favorable response from several of them. This is a decision for them. But we have responded and met our obligations.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, speaking of Presidential power, there have been some reports from Massachusetts of the use of administration aid and comfort to the senatorial campaign. I wonder if you've laid down any line as to what should be the role of yourself and your associates in this primary contest?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I've already commented on that. I'm not becoming involved in this campaign. I don't know what you're referring to, but I'm very sympathetic. I'd like to comfort my brother, if that's what you mean, but I'm not involving myself in this campaign.

Q. What about your associates, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, what are you referring to? What actually are you referring to?

Q. I mean, is there a rule as to whether they should go up to the State or not?

THE PRESIDENT. No member of the White House staff is planning to go to the convention, nor will be, to the best of my knowledge, in Massachusetts between now and the convention.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, back on the subject of Southeast Asia, has there been any indication that the Pathet Lao intended to march against Thailand or against the capitals of Laos and, second, under what condi-

tions would the United States send its troops into Laos?

THE PRESIDENT. In answer to your first question, I don't know what their intentions may be. I am hopeful their intentions will be to maintain the cease-fire. Obviously, as I've said, the breach of the cease-fire in the case of Nam Tha was a blow to the concept of the cease-fire. That is what initiated our action in the case of Thailand. On the second matter, we have to wait and see. I think it's very important that the princes form a government of national union for the preservation of their own country.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, in the light of the situation to which Mr. Smith alluded and the occurrence of the Estes situation, do you plan any steps to notify or to tell people in your service and in the departments to re-

mind them of the problems involved in influence and so on in the Government? Do you plan any stepped up—

THE PRESIDENT. We have, as you know, at the beginning of the administration, set down what we regarded as ethical standards for the members of the administration. I think the fact that action has been taken, in each of the cases where any impropriety occurred, immediately, I think is the best evidence that we do not wish to have anyone who serves even indirectly or can be suspected of serving two masters. So that I think it's very clear that wherever this occurs we will take immediate action.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's thirty-third news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 3:30 o'clock on Thursday afternoon, May 17, 1962.

199 Address Before the Conference on Trade Policy.

May 17, 1962

Congressman Mills, Mr. Taft, Ambassador Lodge, Senator Humphrey—ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my great appreciation to Wilbur Mills who has seen and taken advantage of a unique opportunity to serve his State and country and the whole free world by the untiring efforts that he is now applying, with the greatest possible skill, and courage, and diligence, to securing the passage of an effective trade bill. If he can't do it, no one else could.

And I'm grateful to all of you—to Mr. Taft who has labored in this field for so long—to Ambassador Lodge who has rendered invaluable service in this great effort in countless ways—to Mr. Clayton and Christian Herter who I do not believe are here, but who helped lay the groundwork for a great national effort, wholly separate from the parties, and to all of you. I hope that in this effort in which you are engaged, at this meeting and on other occasions, you appreciate how vital and significant your ef-

forts are. If we are making progress in this area this year, as I believe we are, it has been due to the enormous work done by countless citizens, many of them anonymous, who recognize that the idea and the hour and the opportunity have all struck.

When I submitted to the Congress the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, I called it "the expression of a nation, not of any single faction or section." And that is true, and it's indicated by the fine messages of President Hoover and President Eisenhower and President Truman, of the support that's been given this by Vice President Nixon and Alf Landon and others, who recognize this as a national challenge and opportunity, and not that that belongs to any party.

The trade of a nation expresses in a very concrete way its aims and its aspirations. When the people of Boston in 1773 threw cargoes of tea into the harbor, the American Revolution was in effect under way, symbolized by this revolution against a tariff—a tariff which meant taxation without repre-

sentation. When our nation turned, in the Nineteenth Century, to its own protective tariffs as an aid to industrial development, they symbolized a policy of non-involvement and of isolation, of detachment, from the affairs of the world. When protectionism, in spite of the efforts of President Hoover, reached its zenith in the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, it reflected a national lack of confidence and growth. And then, in 1934, under the leadership of Cordell Hull, the United States started on the long road back both from protectionism and isolationism.

As the reciprocal trade program was renewed and refined through eleven acts of Congress, under the successive leaderships of President Roosevelt, President Truman, President Eisenhower, it became more and more an expression of America's free world leadership—a symbol of America's aim to encourage free nations to grow together, through trade and travel, through a common defense, through aiding the development of poorer nations, and through an increasing exchange of capital and culture.

And now the time has come for a new chapter in American trade policy—a chapter that symbolizes our new great aspirations: for greater growth at home, greater progress around the world, and above all, the emergence of a greater Atlantic partnership.

In recent days some doubts have been heard about the reality of this concept of Atlantic partnership. Fears have been expressed on this side of the Atlantic that the United States may be excluded from the councils and the markets of Europe. And fears have been expressed on the other side of the Atlantic that the United States may some day abandon its commitment to European security.

But I want to emphasize tonight, to all the peoples of the Western Alliance, that I strongly believe that such fears are folly. The United States cannot withdraw from Europe, unless and until Europe should wish us gone. We cannot distinguish its defenses from our own. We cannot diminish our contributions to Western security or abdicate

the responsibilities of power. And it is a fact of history that responsibility and influence—in all areas, political, military and economic—ultimately rise and fall together. No nation can long bear the heaviest burdens of responsibility without sharing in the progress and decisions—just as no nation can assert for long its influence without accepting its share of these burdens. And our policies in Europe today are founded on one deep conviction: that the threat to Western Europe and freedom is basically indivisible, as is the Western deterrent to that threat.

The United States, therefore, is committed to the defense of Europe, by history as well as by choice. We have no wish to join, much less to dominate, the European community. We have no intention of interfering in its internal affairs. But neither do we hope or plan to please all of our European allies, who do not always agree with each other, on every topic of discussion—or to base those decisions which affect the long-run state of the common security on the short-term state of our popularity in the various capitals of Europe.

Let us remember that we are working with allies, with equals—and both our allies and ourselves have a responsibility to speak frankly as well as constructively on all issues affecting the West. If the Alliance were to stand still, if we were to pursue a policy of merely patching over the status quo with the lowest common denominator of generalities, no doubt all disagreements could be avoided or postponed. But dissent does not mean disunity—and disagreement can surely be healthy, so long as we avoid, on both sides of the Atlantic, any ill-tempered or ill-conceived remarks which may encourage those who hope to divide and conquer.

We cannot and do not take any European ally for granted—and I hope no one in Europe would take us for granted either. Our willingness to bear our full share of Western defenses is deeply felt—but it is not automatic. American public opinion has turned away from isolation—but its faith must not be shattered. Our commitment,

let it be remembered, is to a common united defense, in which every member of the Western Community plays a full and responsible role, to the limit of his capability and in reliance on the strength of others—and it is that commitment which will be fulfilled. As long as the United States is staking its own national security on the defense of Europe, contributing today 425,000 men at an annual cost—in the balance of payments, and therefore in dollars, and therefore potentially in gold—of one billion six hundred million dollars to Europe, and calling up 160,000 men—at a budgetary cost of three billion, five hundred million dollars since last July—in a far greater effort than that of any other country in response to last summer's crisis, we will continue to participate in the great decisions affecting war and peace in that area. A coherent policy cannot call for both our military presence and our diplomatic absence.

I am confident that Atlantic unity represents the true course of history—that Europe and the United States have not joined forces for more than a decade to be divided now by limited vision and suspicions. The direction of our destiny is toward community and confidence—and the United States is determined to fulfill that destiny.

Far from resenting the rise of a united Europe, this country welcomes it—a new Europe of equals instead of rivals—a new Europe, born of common ideals, instead of the old Europe, torn by national and personal animosities. We look forward to its increased role, as a full and equal partner, in both the burdens and the opportunities of aid, trade, finance, diplomacy and defense. We look forward to the strengthening of world peace that would result from a European Community in which no member could either dominate or endanger the others. And surely, may I add, each member would find in the fabric of European unity and Atlantic Partnership an opportunity for achievement, of grandeur, and for a voice in its own destiny, far greater

than it would find in the more traditional and vulnerable fabrics of disunity and mutual distrust.

The debate now raging in Europe echoes on a grand scale the debates which took place in this country between 1783 and 1789. Small states are sometimes fearful of big ones. Big states are suspicious for historical reasons of one another. Some statesmen cling to traditional forms—others clamor for new ones. And every eye is on the hostile powers who are never far away. All this reminds us of our own organic deliberations.

But whatever the final resolution of today's debates, Western unity is not an end in itself. Collective security and deterrence are not enough. The time and the opportunity that they afford us are not worth the risk and the effort they require if we do not use them for constructive ends. If there is to be a new Atlantic partnership, it must be a partnership of strong, not weak, economies—of growing, not declining, societies. And the great attraction of trade expansion for the United States is not only its contribution to a grand design of Atlantic Partnership, but its practical benefits to our own economy as well.

For today we wish to step up our growth—and trade expansion, by increasing exports as well as imports, and providing new outlets and new jobs, will help expand that growth.

We wish to avoid inflation—and trade expansion, by inspiring American businessmen to modernize for competition abroad, and by introducing new import competition here, will help to prevent that inflation.

We wish to improve our balance of payments—and trade expansion, by increasing our export surplus, will enable us to correct this deficit without imposing new restrictions or reneging on our security pledges.

We wish to increase investment at home—and trade expansion, by putting American businessmen on an equal footing with their European counterparts in terms of access to the Common Market, will help make it un-

necessary for our industries to build new plants behind the Common Market wall instead of here at home.

We wish to increase the American standard of living—and trade expansion, by enlarging the supply of goods from abroad and stretching the consumer's dollar further, will help every American family.

There are many more gains that could be mentioned. Trade expansion will help spur plant modernization; it will turn the attention of the government and industry to how to make our plants more competitive, and how to put them on a basis of equality with those goods that are being imported; it will help provide outlets for our farm surpluses; and even help reduce existing budget costs—by lessening the costs of imported raw materials, for example, for our national defense, and ultimately the cost of foreign aid to those nations now denied the opportunity to earn foreign exchange for their own development.

We have prospered mightily during this period of the reciprocal trade program. Our exports, a meager \$2 billion a year during the three years before the enactment of the first Trade Agreements Act in 1934, have increased tenfold to some \$20 billion. Every American is richer because of this great effort.

And yet, until recently, and this remains one of our most serious problems today in the Congress, most Americans were largely unaware of the benefits of foreign trade. Many can "see" an import—but very few could "see" an export. While both labor and management in other nations—such as Britain and Japan—recognize that they must trade or die, we have for a long time remained, in both labor and management, largely unconcerned.

Today I believe all this is changing, but it's not, obviously, changing fast enough. American businessmen are determined to share in the phenomenal growth of the Common Market, but we want every American businessman to be looking all around

the world for a place in which he can participate successfully in private investment. The Japanese economy as well is growing at the spectacular rate of 8 percent a year or more. Over the past five years Americans have sold in Japan one and a half billion dollars more than we have bought from Japan.

In short, this trade expansion program can benefit us all. I don't say that there won't be some changes in our economy which will require adjustment. But we will be producing more of what we produce best, and others will be producing more of what they produce best. There'll be new employment in our growth industries—and this will come mostly in our high wage industries which are our most competitive abroad—and less new employment in some others. But these shifts go on every week in our lives, in this country, as the result of domestic competition. At the very most, the number of workers who will have to change jobs as a result of this new trade policy will not in a whole year equal the number of workers who have to change jobs every three weeks because of competitive changes here at home. And yet for these workers we are planning special assistance.

There may be a few cases—a very few cases—where individual companies or groups of workers will face genuine hardships in trying to adjust to this changing world and market, and lack the resources to do so. Our bill seeks to take out an insurance policy for these cases called Trade Adjustment Assistance, which has worked so well in the Common Market. It is constructive and businesslike programs of loans and allowances tailored to help firms and workers get back into the competitive stream through increasing or changing productivity. Instead of the dole of tariff protection, we are substituting an investment in better production.

In addition, we have made special arrangements for such industries as textiles and oil. And finally, we are retaining an

escape clause for those emergencies where an entire industry requires the temporary relief of tariff protection as the result of abrupt changes in trading patterns.

But let us not miss the real point: let us not focus ourselves so much on these insurance policies that we forget the great new positive opportunities opened to us in trade. To falter now, or become afraid of economic challenges in this country which has been second to none in all of our history in our ability to compete, or become impatient in the face of difficult and delicate diplomatic problems, or make it impossible for those Americans who represent us in these negotiations to effectively speak for this country because of provisions written into bills which make it impossible for them even though they bear the responsibility. They do not bear the authority if these powers are too circumscribed, so that we will end with an illusion of a tool to serve us, but not a reality. Unless we can concentrate our attention on what is an historic opportunity, we could well undo all the great achievements of this nation in building this great Atlantic Community.

There is an old Chinese saying that each generation builds a road for the next. The road has been well built for us, and I believe it incumbent upon us, in our generation, this year of 1962, to build our road for the next generation. And I believe that this bill is it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington at a dinner session of the conference on trade policy held under the auspices of the Coordinating Council of Organizations on International Trade.

In his opening words the President referred to Representative Wilbur D. Mills of Arkansas, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee; Charles P. Taft, General Counsel for the Committee for National Trade Policy; Henry Cabot Lodge, former Ambassador to the United Nations; and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. Later in his remarks he referred to William L. Clayton and Christian A. Herter, who worked jointly in an advisory capacity with the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress.

For the President's statement upon signing the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, see Item 449.

200 Remarks in New York City at the Dedication of the Penn Station South Urban Renewal Project. May 19, 1962

Dave Dubinsky, Mrs. Roosevelt, Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Wagner, Mr. Antonini, distinguished city officials, distinguished Mayor, George Meany, Alex Rose, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to register an official protest with the International Ladies Garment Workers at the sweatshop conditions under which we are working today—I'm not sure that this represents 50 years of progress! It is true that your distinguished President invited me to come to speak on November third, as we were heading for a meeting which he was sponsoring, 3 days before election. I would have agreed to anything. But in any case, I'm delighted I agreed to come here, because this is most impressive. And I think what

Dave Dubinsky said and what George Meany said, both carry very important messages, for this union, for the labor movement as a whole—and for the United States.

Because what they were saying was, what can a union now do to contribute to the welfare of its own members and to the welfare of the country? We read frequently that one of the great problems which are facing organized labor is how to maintain the same fervor, the same spirit, the same zeal which motivated this and other unions in their early days of a great struggle, to provide decent working conditions and pay for their members. We still have great areas of effort which are left for this union in protecting the welfare of its members. But it is also

important to emphasize, and there is also a great opportunity open, to all unions across the country to participate in the strengthening of their country.

And that's what this union has done on this occasion, as well as so many others. The work available for organized labor in the United States today is just as important, in many ways more important, than it was 25 years ago. The unfinished business of our society still lies stretching before us, and this housing project demonstrates what labor, with good, effective, progressive leadership, and the city and the State, and private groups, and the Federal Government, together in cooperation can do for this city and this country.

And that is why I think it most appropriate to come here today with your distinguished leaders and tell you that this union has done a good job—and to ask that other unions across the country imitate your example.

The unfinished business of this country is your business, and I can assure you, after being in the Presidency only 16 or 17 months, that the progress of this country will depend in a great measure on the sense of public responsibility of members of organized labor.

If you want to have equal opportunity for all Americans, if we want to rebuild our cities, if we want to provide transit in and out of our cities, if we want to educate our children, if we want to have colleges and universities to which they can go, if we want to have medical schools to train our doctors, if we want to make this country as wonderful a place as it can be for the 300 million people who will live in this country within 40 years, then we have to do our task today.

It is the task of every generation to build a road for the next generation. And this housing project, the efforts we are making in this city and State and in the National Government, I believe can provide a better life for the people who come after us—if we meet our responsibilities.

There are those who say that the job is

done, that the function of the Federal Government is not to govern, that all the things that had to be done were done in the thirties and the forties, and that now our task is merely to administer. I do not accept that view at all, nor can any American who sees what we still have left to do.

So this is a great effort by you. This union deserves the heartiest commendation. I hope others will follow your example. And I come here today and ask you to continue to work, as you have in the past, and as free labor organizations must do all over the world, for the kind of progress upon which our ultimate security depends.

We believe that there is much left to do, and I come here today and ask you to join us in doing it.

About 30 years ago, a distinguished French marshal asked his gardener to plant a tree. And the gardener said, "That tree won't come to flower for a hundred years." He said, "In that case plant it this afternoon."

Well, that's the way I feel about all the tasks left undone in this country which will not be finished in our time. But we ought to do something about it—this afternoon.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1 p.m. at the dedication of a \$40 million cooperative housing project sponsored by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. In his opening words he referred to David Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of New York, Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of New York City, Luigi Antonini and George Meany, first vice president and president, respectively, of the AFL-CIO, and Alex Rose, president of the International Union, Hatters and Millinery Workers.

Another text of these remarks, released by the White House prior to their actual delivery, noted that the project consisted of 2800 new homes built on a 20-acre former slum area in New York City. The advance release also noted that "workers pooled their own resources with those of teachers and a private bank, and using the urban renewal machinery made available through the United States Government and the city and State, filled a dire need of most of our urban areas—housing for middle income families."

201 Remarks in Response to New York's Birthday Salute to the President. May 19, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Mayor, Mrs. Rosenberg, Arthur Krim—to whom we are so indebted:

I just want to say, first, that when my father, in my formative years, was describing to me his clearly held views on business, he always exempted show business. And I must say I am proud to be in a political party which can produce this extraordinary talent, but it is, I think, rather interesting that we come by this quality, this attraction that the Democratic Party has had, by a very good and sound precedent.

Someone sent me a letter last week, which was a copy of a letter which Thomas Jefferson wrote to a friend in Rome. He asked him to see if he could get three Italians to come over to help on his garden, and at the end of his letter he said, "Make sure that they all can play the violin and sing for my orchestra here at Monticello." So I must say that, descended as we are from most distinguished leadership of intellectual vitality, we are very indebted to all these men and women who came from so far. I don't know why it is we never ask a businessman to come and just do it, his work, or an engineer to build a bridge, but we ask people of extraordinary talent to come and do it all for nothing. I just want you to know that we are very grateful to them. To Jack Benny, who came to help an older man—to Danny Kaye whom I talked to today in a hospital—to Harry Belafonte, I don't feel so sorry about him, though, because he interrupted his tour in Columbus, Ohio, and I can tell you that there is no city in the United States where a Democrat gets a warmer welcome and less votes than in Columbus, Ohio!

We are grateful to Ella Fitzgerald. I don't know whether you realize that this is an historic occasion. We have paid off the nearly four billion dollars that the Kennedy-Johnson ticket ran up in November of 1960. It has now gone forever, which is sad, and

all we have left is the Federal deficit, but we want you to know Miss Fitzgerald, who came to our gala before the Inaugural and helped us on that occasion—Henry Fonda who has helped us before and after the election—Maria Callas who came all the way from Europe. She said to Mrs. Rosenberg that she came from Brooklyn, her father works for the Mayor in the City of New York's service, and we are very complimented by your coming so far to help us out. To Elliott Reid—since he imitated me, and I have comparatively little talent, I would like to recall a speech which Franklin Roosevelt made in 1944 in regard to his dog. He said, "These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks on me, on my wife, or my brothers. No, not content with that, they now include my little girl's pony Macaroni." Well, I don't resent such attacks, but Macaroni does.

Actually, there's another speech, given by a former Vice President of the United States, in 1952, which is even more pertinent. It was just a little pony, and you know the kids—like all kids, loved it. And I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what they say about it, we are going to keep it. And I feel about Macaroni like the Vice President did about Checkers—and we're just going to go ahead.

I want to also express my thanks to Peggy Lee, who got out of a sick bed to come tonight. And to Jimmie Durante. He is the godfather of one of my sister's children, and I'm the other. His godchild is a good deal more spiritual than mine is, but he is a warmhearted and generous friend. And he and Mr. Jackson—and Mike Nichols and Elaine May.

I got a telegram tonight which said, "In honor of your birthday, I believe that you should get a rise in pay." Signed Roger. And then it said, "P.S.: My birthday's next month." But we are grateful to them, to Bobby Darin, and to Miss Carroll who was

going to come, and to Miss Monroe who left a picture to come all the way East, and I can now retire from politics after having had "Happy Birthday" sung to me in such a sweet—[*laughter*].

I want you to know we are grateful to all of you. I want you to see the Vice President, who came up from Washington today—perhaps we could put a light over there. I once said that he has been part of every decision of this administration except Cuba, and I have claimed that. But we are glad to have him come up here, and he is sitting with Governor Stevenson—the Governor kept his deficit longer than we did, but we are very proud to have him there. The Attorney General, who is related to me. And there's three or four other members of the family. One of the things which—and Peter.

I want to just say a final word. Somebody said this is an off-year, and therefore you must wonder why you have been so abused and the money taken in such large quantities. Let me say it very briefly, and that is that there is no such thing as an off-year. This country depends upon the easy and close coordination between the Congress and the President. Our powers are separate. The branches are equal. It is a difficult system to operate. Winston Churchill once said, "Democracy is the worst form of government, except for all the other systems that have been tried." Ours is the most difficult in many ways to operate, and yet time after time, on issues of the most vital importance to our country, we win or lose by one or two votes. Last January a year ago, when Sam Rayburn was at the height of his power on the most basic issue, of whether our legislation would go to the Floor of the House, we won by six votes. We passed an agricultural bill to the Floor of the House the other day by one vote in the House, lost it by one vote in the Senate.

The fact of the matter is, since the loss in 1938, Franklin Roosevelt's second term, when the Democrats lost so many seats, there has been a balance of power in the

House and Senate which has made it very difficult to pass any new legislation which involves important interests. Now I don't believe that the people of this country participate in political activity because they think we should stand still. I know it is said that some of our programs, that we wish to acquire more power. That is the oldest political argument. They should know and realize that the power given to the President of the United States, under the Constitution, particularly that of war and peace, is as great a power and in many senses more than man could possibly desire.

What we are now talking about is whether the United States, now and after the 1962 election, shall have such a balance of power in the Congress and in the Executive that nothing will be done. That's the simple and clear issue. And those who think that nothing should be done, should regard this as an unimportant election. But as long as we have so many issues facing us in so many parts of the world, and our own country, so much unfinished business involving all kinds of issues which go to the well-being of our people, as long as we have a necessity for action as the leader of the free world, I believe we should have the opportunity and not have the kind of balance in the Congress which will mean two—many more years of inertia and inaction. That's why this is an important election. Five, ten seats one way or another can vitally affect the balance of power in the Congress and vitally affect our future.

And when we have millions of our people out of work, and eight million boys and girls, for example, in the next 6 years who will drop out of school before finishing, one out of four of our boys and girls under 20 unemployed—others unemployed for month after month—every day that goes by thousands of Americans exhaust their unemployment compensation and go on relief. We want to train them, we want to train these young people. We want to provide protection and security for our older people, and a good education for our young children—

all these things must be done. And while I recognize that you may occasionally get tired, our adversaries are not tired, nor should we be. So this is not an off-year, it is an important year. And I hope that those of you who have contributed so generously on this occasion, as on so many others, will recognize that the issue is quite clear. Mr. Jerome Robbins' dance is not as well organized as a minuet, but it does have more vitality and life. And I think that's going to be a very basic question this year.

So ladies and gentlemen, we are in your debt. And I think the way we can pay it is to do the best we can for our country and our people, and to commit ourselves to the great causes which lie before us.

At four o'clock tomorrow we are going to

have a rally here on medical care for the aged. Those who would prefer to stay and wait will find us all back here on the same stand. And in the meanwhile, let me tell you what a pleasure it is to once in a while get out of Washington and not read the papers but come and see the voters.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 p.m. at Madison Square Garden in New York City. In his opening words he referred to Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of New York City, Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg, former Assistant Secretary of Defense, and Arthur B. Krim, president of United Artists Corporation. The fundraising rally, arranged and staged by a committee headed by Mr. Krim and Mrs. Rosenberg, included a program by top entertainers under the direction of the producer and composer, Richard Adler.

202 Address at a New York Rally in Support of the President's Program of Medical Care for the Aged. May 20, 1962

My old colleague in the House of Representatives and friend Aime Forand, Mr. Meany, ladies and gentlemen, and fellow Americans:

I am very proud to be here today at one of over 33 meetings which are being held across the United States. And it is a source of regret to me that the head of the most significant organization here today, Mr. Held, age 77, working on this meeting, had a heart attack—was taken to the hospital. I think we should pass this legislation as soon as possible.

I come to New York because I believe the effort in which we are engaged is worth the time and effort of all of us. I come from Boston, Mass., near Faneuil Hall, where for a whole period of years meetings were held by interested citizens in order to lay down the groundwork for American independence. And while there may be some who say that the business of government is so important that it should be confined to those who govern, in this free society of ours the consent and may I say the support of the citizens of this country is essential if this or any other

piece of progressive legislation is going to be passed. Make no mistake about it—make no mistake about it.

Now why are we here? What is the issue which divides and arouses so much concern? I will take a case which may be typical, a family which may be found in any part of the United States.

The husband has worked hard all his life and he is retired. He might have been a clerk or a salesman or on the road or worked in a factory, stores, or whatever. He's always wanted to pay his own way. He does not ask anyone to care for him; he wants to care for himself. He has raised his own family, he has educated them—his children are now on their own. He and his wife are drawing social security, it may run seventy-five dollars, a hundred, hundred and twenty-five in the higher brackets—let's say it's a hundred. He has a pension from where he worked, the results of years of effort.

Now, therefore, his basic needs are taken care of. He owns his house. He has twenty-five hundred or three thousand dol-

lars in the bank. And then his wife gets sick—and we're all going to be in a hospital, 9 out of 10 of us, before we finally pass away, and particularly when we're over 65—now she is sick, not just for a week but for a long time. First goes the twenty-five hundred dollars—that's gone. Next he mortgages his house, even though he may have some difficulty making the payments out of his social security. Then he goes to his children, who themselves are heavily burdened because they're paying for their houses and they are paying for their sicknesses, and they want to educate their children. Then their savings begin to go.

This is not a rare case. I talked to a Member of the Congress from my own State a week ago, who told me he was going to send his daughter away to school but because his father had been sick for 2 years, he could not do it. And Congressmen are paid \$22,500 a year—and that's more than most people get.

So therefore now, what is he going to do? His savings are gone—his children's savings, they're contributing though they have responsibilities of their own—and he finally goes in and signs a petition saying he's broke and needs assistance.

Now what do we say? We say that during his working years he will contribute to social security, as he has in the case of his retirement, twelve or thirteen dollars a month. When he becomes ill, or she becomes ill over a long period of time, he first pays ninety dollars, so that people will not abuse him. But then let's say he has a bill of fifteen hundred dollars. This bill does not, that we're talking about—Mr. Anderson's bill and Mr. King's—solve everything. But let's say it's fifteen hundred dollars, of which a thousand dollars are hospital bills. This bill will pay that thousand dollars in hospital bills. And then I believe that he, and the effort that he makes and his family, can meet his other responsibilities.

Now that does not seem such an extraordinary piece of legislation, 25 years after

Franklin Roosevelt passed the Social Security Act.

Well, let's hear what some people say. First, we read that the AMA is against it, and they are entitled to be against it. Though I do question how many of those who speak so violently about it have read it. But they are against it, and they are entitled to be against it if they wish.

In the first place, there isn't one person here who is not indebted to the doctors of this country. Children are not born on an 8-hour day. All of us have been the beneficiaries of their help. This is not a campaign against doctors, because doctors have joined with us. This is a campaign to help people meet their responsibilities.

There are doctors in New Jersey who say they will not treat any patient who receives it. Of course they will. They are engaged in an effort to stop the bill. It is as if I took out somebody's appendix.

The point of the matter is that the AMA is doing very well in its efforts to stop this bill. And the doctors of New Jersey and every other State may be opposed to it, but I know that not a single doctor—if this bill is passed—is going to refuse to treat any patient. No one would become a doctor just as a business enterprise. It's a long, laborious discipline. We need more of them. We want their help—and gradually we're getting it.

The problem, however, is more complicated because they do not comprehend what we are trying to do. We do not cover doctors' bills here. We do not affect the freedom of choice. You can go to any doctor you want. The doctor and you work out your arrangements with him. We talk about his hospital bill. And that's an entirely different matter. And I hope that one by one the doctors of the United States will take the extraordinary step of not merely reading the journals and the publications of the AMA, because I do not recognize the bill when I hear those descriptions, but instead to write Secretary Ribicoff in Washington,

or to me—and you know where I live—or to Senator Anderson or to Congressman King, if you are a doctor or opposed to this bill, and get a concise explanation and the bill itself and read it.

All these arguments were made against social security at the time of Franklin Roosevelt. They are made today. The mail pours in. And at least half of the mail which I receive in the White House, on this issue and others, is wholly misinformed. Last week I got 1,500 letters on a revenue measure—1,494 opposed, and 6 for. And at least half of those letters were completely misinformed about the details of what they wrote.

And why is that so? Because there are so many busy men in Washington who write—some organizations have six, seven, and eight hundred people spreading mail across the country, asking doctors and others to write in and tell your Congressman you're opposed to it. The mail pours into the White House, into the Congress and Senators' offices—Congressmen and Senators feel people are opposed to it. Then they read a Gallup Poll which says 75 percent of the people are in favor of it, and they say, "What has happened to my mail?"

The point of the matter is that this meeting and the others indicates that the people of the United States recognize one by one, thousand by thousand, million by million, that this is a problem whose solution is long overdue. And this year I believe, or certainly as inevitably as the tide comes in next year, this bill is going to pass.

And then other people say, "Why doesn't the Government mind its own business?" What is the Government's business, is the question.

Harry Truman said that 14 million Americans had enough resources so that they could hire people in Washington to protect their interests, and the rest of them depended upon the President of the United States and others.

This bill serves the public interest. It involves the Government because it involves the public welfare. The Constitution of the

United States did not make the President or the Congress powerless. It gave them definite responsibilities to advance the general welfare—and that is what we're attempting to do.

And then I read that this bill will sap the individual self-reliance of Americans. I can't imagine anything worse, or anything better, to sap someone's self-reliance, than to be sick, alone, broke—or to have saved for a lifetime and put it out in a week, two weeks, a month, two months.

I visited twice, yesterday and today, in the hospital, where doctors labor for a long time, to visit my father. It isn't easy—it isn't easy. He can pay his bills, but otherwise I would be. And I am not as well off as he is. But what happens to him and to others when they put their life savings in, in a short time? So I must say that I believe we stand about where—in good company today, in halls such as this, where your predecessors—where Dave Dubinsky himself actually stood, where another former President stood, and fought this issue out of Social Security against the same charges.

This argument that the Government should stay out, that it saps our pioneer stock—I used to hear that argument when we were talking about raising the minimum wage to a dollar and a quarter. I remember one day being asked to step out into the hall, and up the corridor came four distinguished-looking men, with straw hats on and canes. They told me that they had just flown in from a State in their private plane, and they wanted me to know that if we passed a bill providing for time and a half for service station attendants, who were then working about 55 to 60 hours of straight time, it would sap their self-reliance.

The fact of the matter is what saps anyone's self-reliance is working 60 hours at straight time, or working at 85 or 95 at a dollar an hour. Or depending upon filling out a pauper's oath and then going and getting it free.

Nobody in this hall is asking for it for nothing. They are willing to contribute

during their working years. That is the important principle which has been lost sight of.

I understand that there is going to be a program this week against this bill, in which an English physician is going to come and talk about how bad their plans are. It may be, but he ought to talk about it in England, because his plans—because his plans and what they do in England are entirely different. In England the entire cost of medicine for people of all ages, all of it, doctors, choice of doctors, hospitals, from the time you're born till the time you die, is included in a Government program. But what we're talking about is entirely different. And I hope that while he's here, he and Doctor Spock and others who have joined us, will come to see what we are trying to do.

The fact of the matter is that what we are now talking about doing, most of the countries of Europe did years ago. The British did it 30 years ago. We are behind every country, pretty nearly, in Europe, in this matter of medical care for our citizens.

And then those who say that this should be left to private efforts. In those hospitals in New Jersey where the doctors said they wouldn't treat anyone who paid their hospital bills through social security, those hospitals and every other new hospital, the American people—all of us—contribute one-half, one or two thirds for every new hospital, the National Government. We pay 55 percent of all the research done. We help young men become doctors.

We are concerned with the progress of this country, and those who say that what we are now talking about spoils our great pioneer heritage should remember that the West was settled with two great actions by the National Government; one, in President Lincoln's administration, when he gave a homestead to everyone who went West, and in 1862 he set aside Government property to build our land grant colleges.

This cooperation between an alert and progressive citizen and a progressive Government is what has made this country great—

and we shall continue as long as we have the opportunity to do so.

This matter should not be left to a mail campaign where Senators are inundated, and Congressmen—twenty-five and thirty thousand letters—the instructions go out, "Write it in your own hand. Don't use the same words." The letters pour in in 2 or 3 weeks, half of them misinformed. This meeting today, on a hot, good day when everyone could be doing something else, and the 32 other meetings, this indicates that the American people are determined to put an end to meeting a challenge which hits them at a time when they're least able to meet it.

And then finally, I had a letter last week saying, "You're going to take care of all the millionaires and they don't need it." I do not know how many millionaires we are talking about, but they won't mind contributing \$12 a month to social security, and they may be among those who will apply for it when they go to the hospital. But what I will say is that the National Government, through the tax laws, already takes care of them, because over 65 they can deduct all their medical expenses.

What we are concerned about is not the person who has not got a cent but those who saved and worked and then get hit. Then there are those who say, "Well, what happens if you die before you are 65?" Well, there isn't—you really don't care, you have no guarantee. But what we are talking about is, our people are living a long time, their housing is inadequate, in many cases their rehabilitation is inadequate. We've got great unfinished business in this country, and while this bill does not solve our problems in this area, I do not believe it is a valid argument to say, "This bill isn't going to do the job." It will not, but it will do part of it.

Our housing bill last year for the elderly, that won't do the job. But it will begin. When we retrain workers, that won't take care of unemployment chronically in some areas, but it's a start. We aren't able overnight to solve all the problems that this coun-

try faces, but is that any good reason why we should say, "Let's not even try"?

That's what we are going to do today, we are trying. We are trying. And what we're talking about here is true in a variety of other ways. All the great revolutionary movements of the Franklin Roosevelt administration in the thirties we now take for granted. But I refuse to see us live on the accomplishments of another generation. I refuse to see this country, and all of us, shrink from these struggles which are our responsibility in our time. Because what we are now talking about, in our children's day will seem to be the ordinary business of government.

So I come here today as a citizen, asking you to exert the most basic power which is contained in the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence, the right of a citizen to petition his Government. And I ask your support in this effort. This effort will be successful, and it will be successful because it is soundly based to meet a great national crisis. And it is based on the effort of responsible citizens. So I want to commend you for being here. I think it is most appropriate that the President of the United States, whose business place is in Washington, should come to this city and participate in these rallies. Because the business of the Government is the business of the people—and the people are right here.

In closing, let me say that on this issue and many others we depend upon your help. This is the only way we can secure action to keep this country moving ahead, to have

places to educate our children, to have decent housing, to do something about the millions of young children who leave our schools before they graduate.

Every day I am reminded of how many things were left undone. Thirty years ago they provided that no drugs be put on the market which were unsafe for hogs and for cattle. We want to take the radical step of doing the same for human beings. Anyone who says that Woodrow Wilson, as great a President as he was, and Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, that they did it all and we have nothing left to do now, is wrong.

We ask you, the citizens of this country, the responsible and thoughtful doctors, the hospital administrators, all those who face this challenge of educating our children, finding work for our older people, finding security for those who have retired, all who are committed to this great effort of moving this country forward: come and give us your help.

NOTE: The President spoke at Madison Square Garden in New York City at a program sponsored by the National Council of Senior Citizens, of Washington, and the Golden Ring Council of Senior Citizens, of New York City. In his opening words he referred to former U.S. Representative Aime Forand of Rhode Island, chairman of the National Council of Senior Citizens, and George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO. Early in his remarks he referred to Adolph Held, chairman of the Golden Ring Council of Senior Citizens. Later the President referred to U.S. Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico and U.S. Representative Cecil R. King of California, co-sponsors of the medical care for the aged bill, and David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

203 Remarks to Members of the White House Conference on National Economic Issues. *May 21, 1962*

Mr. Watson, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my thanks to all of you for coming to Washington. Our Founding Fathers, who were concerned about the difficulties which other countries had faced in

maintaining their freedom, deliberately chose Washington as a city removed from the direct currents of political and social and economic life. So this is in a sense an artificial city and a Government city. This has had some advantages, but it also has disad-

vantages. Unlike London or Paris or Rome, great capitals, really, of the world, which are at the center of life and therefore at the center of all the streams of the economy, business, labor, and all the rest, we are somewhat distant.

There has come, however, a substitute for direct participation and that has been the organizations which all of you know about and which are active here in Washington and which represent the interests of various groups. They fulfill a very important function, particularly of bringing to bear on any piece of legislation the viewpoint of those who might be affected. And as the subjects that we deal with are very complicated and technical, it's essential that we have that viewpoint.

The difficulty, however, arises in that they take what's known as organization positions, and so we have these struggles by committees and lobbies and all the rest, and it's difficult for us to know frequently what people who are in positions of responsibility are really thinking. And that's why I think this meeting is very important today, and I'm glad that one of the ground rules is that no resolutions shall be passed. There isn't any doubt that you could get out a number of resolutions, but they would probably be so generally worded that they would give us very little guidance. And what we really need are more specifics. We all, really, in a sense associate with the same generalities. We all believe in the same words, and what we need now is your views on how these words can be implemented.

We all would endorse in a resolution the concept of a free economy. But what we want to hear from you is how we can make this free economy work, how we can make it work at full capacity, how we can provide adequate profits in return for labor, how we can provide adequate demand for all that we can produce. So that those are the things which I hope you will talk about.

Now this in a sense is a triumvirate—labor, management and the public, the ancient trilogy. There are of course sub-

stantial differences of opinion between labor and management, particularly over the negotiating table—how shall it be divided, how much will go to profits and the stockholders, and how much to business. But there is an awful lot more that both labor and management have in common, because if we can operate this economy at full blast, then the division that comes out of that full blast is going to be a much easier task. What is really difficult is when you're operating at 70 percent of capacity and the contract comes, and how much can you put into wage increases, and how much can you put aside, and how much can you distribute.

So that we've got a very important problem before us. In addition, I hope that what has happened in Europe should serve as some stimulus to us all. I talked—the Business Advisory Committee, Mr. Blough, the CED, are taking on two studies which I believe to be important. The Business Advisory Committee is considering the problem of our gold outflow. Some of them objected to one of our proposals dealing with tax havens which they felt was restrictive, and that we would lose in the long run more than we gained. So I said, well, you tell us how to do it, because every proposal that we make, whether it's keeping wives away from Europe, or whether it's cutting down on tourists, or whether it's trying to discourage the flow of capital immediately out of the country by ending tax havens, or whatever we may do, of course all runs across the interests of important groups. And so that we end up with a policy which has not yet given us a guarantee that we can bring this situation under control. And this we must bring under control. I know that the AFL-CIO feel that perhaps I overemphasize, but I am—in my opinion, we have talked so long about our domestic budget problems, which in relationship to our national income have steadily become lessened, because as you know at the end of the war our national debt was 120 percent of our gross national product and now it is about 60 percent.

The outflow of gold, however, is a dif-

ferent problem, and with the \$12 billion Federal Reserve cover and \$16½ billion which we now have, this is a matter to which we must give most serious attention.

So what do you think we ought to do? If you don't like our proposals, those of you who are in business abroad, on taxes, what are your suggestions, and what are they specifically, not in a general way? That's what I would like to see come out of this meeting, because we cannot possibly solve these problems unless we have your good will and your ideas.

I would like to also say a word about the difference between myth and reality. Most of us are conditioned for many years to have a political viewpoint, Republican or Democratic—liberal, conservative, moderate. The fact of the matter is that most of the problems, or at least many of them, that we now face are technical problems, are administrative problems. They are very sophisticated judgments which do not lend themselves to the great sort of "passionate movements" which have stirred this country so often in the past. Now they deal with questions which are beyond the comprehension of most men, most governmental administrators, over which experts may differ, and yet we operate through our traditional political system.

I think that what has happened in France, Italy, and Germany, where they've been able to maintain full employment, high rate of return, inflow of gold, for a number of years is worthy of study by us. What formulas have they adopted that are transferable, or is their rate of growth which has been double ours, is it due to a relationship between the government, labor, and management which is more satisfactory than ours? Is it because they follow a different budget policy than we do? Is it because they're in a different stage, as I've said, of economic growth? Is it the Common Market? Is it a combination? So whatever it may be, it is an impressive example.

The French planning committed itself just recently to a 5½ percent rate of growth

till 1975. That is an extraordinary expression of confidence in the vitality of that economy—better than we've done. What is it they're doing that perhaps we could learn from?

In talking about myth and reality, one of the subjects has been this question of inflation. I remember when the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Dillon, came back from the banking meeting in Vienna last September, he said that a number of New York bankers who had been present had spoken in very alarming terms about the size of the Federal deficit which came out of the recession, and prophesied that it would bring inflation, which caused great disturbance among a good many Europeans. That wasn't our problem at all. We've had very little price increase, really, since 1958. I read now in magazines and business publications that maybe the problem is that we don't have enough of a stimulus, and that that's one of the difficulties that we have. And yet here are men who know more about the economy, really, than almost any other group of Americans, and who have caused a good deal of alarm and concern to go, because they were under the impression, really hung over from years ago, that the size of the deficit was going to produce a tremendous increase in prices—which hasn't been our problem at all.

So how can we look at things as they are, not through party labels, or through position labels, but as they are and figure out how we can maintain this economy so that it moves ahead?

And then I read that the problem really is that business confidence may be somewhat shaken by actions of certain public figures. Now business had high confidence in the previous administration, yet there was a recession in 1958 and a recession in 1960. And in 1956 there was a very sharp drop in the stock market before a very good year in 1957. So that doesn't give us the answer to the problem at all.

What we want to have is confidence that we will be able to invest and produce and consume, which is what these basic and

successful countries of Europe have had, that is what is going to cause people to re-invest, and that's what is going to help make this economy move forward.

The point I'm making is, the problems are all extremely difficult, they require the most sophisticated solution, they're entirely different from the great movements, with the exception of the issue, really, almost, of medical care—it is the only issue which arouses powerful feelings among the general public. We have other issues which arouse powerful feeling among specific groups, but among the general public many of the issues which in the thirties, Wilson's administration, Theodore Roosevelt, Bryan, and all the rest, now they are sophisticated, technical questions which affect our economy and on which we ought to work in the closest concert.

That's why I think this meeting is very important. We cannot solve any of our problems without the wholehearted cooperation of all groups. And I am devoted, as you are, to seeing this country do the best it can. Because how well we do here, particularly compared to—fortunately, maybe not the Soviet Union for once—but how we do with our friends and allies in comparison with Western Europe is what sets the standard for us today. And therefore it requires the best work of all of you.

So gentlemen, you are most welcome here. If we could drop our labels and devote ourselves for 2 days, as citizens of the United

States, I think that you would render a distinguished service. So I want you to know that you come to a Government which welcomes you and which appreciates the effort that you are making. And I hope you do not regard it as one of the many routine assignments which face all of those of you who bear positions of great responsibility.

These are not issues, there is no Presidential election until 1964. These are problems that are going to face each and every one of you, and unless we can work them out together, all of us are going to suffer. If we can work them out together, the whole country will benefit. So that you're most welcome, and I shall look forward with great concern to hearing your thoughts, about how we can keep this country of ours what it's been—a model for the world.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the State Department Auditorium at the opening of a 2-day conference of business, labor, and academic leaders. The conference was called at the suggestion of the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy which had proposed periodic meetings to help clarify the context for responsible collective bargaining and develop a more informed viewpoint for future negotiations.

In his opening words, the President referred to Thomas J. Watson, Jr., president of the International Business Machines Corporation and chief of the Business Council's White House liaison group. Later in his remarks he referred to Roger M. Blough, chairman of the board, U.S. Steel Corporation, and a member of the board of trustees of the Committee for Economic Development, which was conducting studies relating to economic growth in Europe.

204 Statement by the President on the Arbitration of the Pan American Airways Labor Dispute. May 21, 1962

THE ARBITRATION award handed down today in the dispute between Pan American World Airways and the Air Line Pilots Association is a concrete step toward settlement of the difficult problems which have plagued the airline industry for several years.

The parties are to be commended for seeking a solution to their differences through

voluntary arbitration, thus benefiting the employees and carriers involved and the public by averting a shutdown in operations of a vital section of the industry.

I wish especially to commend and thank the outstanding members of the arbitration panel—Dr. George W. Taylor, its chairman, and Edgar F. Kaiser and George Meany—for their willingness to devote their talent,

time, and effort to this important assignment. They have performed a valuable public service.

NOTE: On April 16, a strike having been called to begin at midnight, the President appealed to the

airline and to the pilots association to continue operations and to submit to arbitration the unresolved questions concerning the reduction of the crew on turbo-jets from 4 to 3 men. On April 18 the President announced that both parties had accepted his proposal.

205 Remarks to Participants in the Campaign Conference for Democratic Women. May 22, 1962

FIRST OF ALL, I want to introduce the gentlemen that—the Vice President said he has been spending the last 2 days with you, which must have been wonderful for him—I want to introduce the Leadership of the House and Senate who are now going over to a conference—of course the Vice President, who spoke to you last night—the Majority Leader of the Senate, Senator Mansfield; the Majority Whip of the Senate, Senator Humphrey; the Majority Leader of the House of Representatives, Congressman Albert of Oklahoma; and the Majority Whip of the House of Representatives, Congressman Boggs; and the man who looks more like a Senator than almost anyone, Senator Smathers of Florida. And I would like to introduce my wife, Mrs. Kennedy.

I want to say what a pleasure it is to have you here. Somebody said—the Vice President once said the only thing keeping us going are not the programs but my wife and Caroline! But we believe that the programs are also important. A party is not merely an organization or a social structure, it is a means of implementing action. And I think the question, really, before this conference, and I know has been occupying you, is what policies does the United States need in 1962 and the rest of this decade to meet all the problems which a complicated and sophisticated society like ours has. How are we going to make our abundance a blessing and not a burden on the farms? How are we going to improve our cities? How are we going to make it possible for 300 million people to live here, by the end of this century, in comfort and security? How are we going to make it possible for people who

want to find a job to find it? What are we going to do with 8 million young people who are going to leave our schools before they finish school in this decade—what kind of work are they going to find—what kind of a future are they going to have? What are we going to do about our older people who are now 17 million of them and will be 25 million of them in the next few years—what kind of a future, as they live longer because of the advances of medicine—what kind of housing are they going to have—what kind of medical care are they going to have?

These are the questions which this society of ours must solve. How are we going to make it possible for all Americans to live together and have an opportunity to develop themselves? This idea that the great problems which we face are those abroad in a sense is true, because they involve war and peace. But there are also the problems of making this society of ours function better. And I do not take the view that everything that had to be done was done by those who went before us, that Franklin Roosevelt, however extraordinary his record was, and Harry Truman and the others, that they did the job, and ours is now merely to pass through our political period and occupy positions of public significance and not do anything.

Now that is really the question that we have. Every program which is up before the Congress of the United States involves important issues, whether it's employment for our youth and opportunities for our youth, whether it's retraining older workers, whether it's doing something for the millions of people now who are unemployed for a long

period of time. We have thousands of families in America every week whose unemployment compensation is exhausted and who go on public assistance. What is going to happen to them? So that anyone who feels that these issues are rather far away and don't matter so much, are wrong. Now we can't possibly get these programs by without your help. As these gentlemen know, nearly every issue which comes before the House and Senate today is settled by one vote, one way or the other. Congressman Boggs, on the trade bill—nearly every important vote on the trade bill in the Ways and Means Committee was settled in our favor by one vote. We lost the Agricultural bill in the Senate—Agricultural Committee on which Senator Humphrey sits—by one vote. We passed it in the House of Representatives, out of the Agricultural Committee, by one vote.

So that these matters are extremely important, and there is no sense complaining that we are not solving our problems unless you join with us, support those people who recognize that there is still need for affirmative action by those of us who live in this country.

Now there are those who say that the Federal Government, the National Government, ought to mind its own business. I think the business of the people is the people's business, and as long as we have these problems which are so much a part of our lives, which are all around us, then we have to try to do something about it. And I think very clearly that's the choice that we face in 1962.

The party in power has lost, in this century, every time except 1934. And the question is now, if we lose important seats in the 1962 election, then quite obviously these issues which are settled today perhaps by one vote with us, will be settled by many votes against us. And those who believe that the people working through the National Government should take no action on these vital questions, I think will have been successful.

So I ask you today to recognize that you are vitally needed, that your work from now to November is vitally important, because I think these issues which may not have the great public drama of the struggles of the thirties are vitally important if we're going to be able to maintain jobs for our people and if we're going to be able to continue to make this society of ours what it should be, which is, an example to the world.

And these people who say everything's fine just as it is—look at Western Europe which was in ashes 10 years ago and which is now growing twice as fast as we are, which is now providing full employment for all its people, let alone the competition which we have from the Soviet Union and other places. I don't believe that we should rest on our oars.

And that's the issue. So we are here today to welcome you to Washington, to welcome you to the White House, but also—and you're used to this—to ask your help again in the coming months.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

206 Remarks of Welcome to President and Mrs. Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast at the Washington National Airport.

May 22, 1962

Mr. President, Madame:

I want to express our very warm welcome to you, Mr. President, on the occasion of this state visit to our country.

You were extremely kind to the representatives of the United States at your Independence Day a year ago, which included the Attorney General of the United States

and Mrs. Kennedy, who came to know you on that occasion and to admire what you were doing for your country.

We are glad to have you here for many reasons. First because you have had a most distinguished and extraordinary career as an architect not only of the independence of your own country but a leader in the efforts of many African countries to gain their independence and at the same time maintain harmonious relations with the great traditions of the free world. The leader and the founder of the largest political party in West Africa almost 20 years ago, as a Minister of State of France, the architect and signator of the *Loi Cadre* which made it possible for a number of countries to gain their independence, the leader of your own country, of the Entente between you and your fellow states, of the larger union of your state with other African states, this has been a most extraordinary record.

We have had visit our country many of those who have helped win independence for their own country, but I cannot recall in recent years a distinguished leader who has played such a significant role in winning and maintaining the independence of so many countries and who at the same time has spoken with the greatest vigor and determination in behalf of the national interests of his people, of the interests of the people of his continent, and at the same time extended the hand of friendship so powerfully to those who wish to maintain happy and harmonious relations with the continent of Africa and with the Ivory Coast.

So, Mr. President, we regard it as a great honor to have you here. And we are particularly glad that you have brought your Madame with you, and also the members of your government, so that the United States and the Ivory Coast, separated by many thousands of miles of ocean but united in a common desire to maintain the peace and freedom of our people, will have a chance to be brought together.

We are glad to see you, Madame.

NOTE: President Houphouet-Boigny responded (through an interpreter) as follows:

Mr. President, it is with great emotion that I have listened to the kind words which you have addressed to me, the words which were perhaps even too kind. It is also with a great pleasure that I find myself here in the United States where I have come twice already in the past.

Our entire country appreciates the welcome which you have extended to me and to the members of my government, to my wife, here in Washington in this magnificent and this beautiful capital of the United States.

Since my last visit here an extremely important event has taken place. On the 7th of August my country has acceded to full independence, to full international sovereignty, and it is fair to remember in that respect that the United States was one of the first countries of the world to trust us, to recognize us, and to exchange with us diplomatic missions at Embassy level.

All of the citizens of the Ivory Coast have greatly appreciated your sending to us for the first anniversary of our independence a delegation made up of very important personalities, at the head of which was your own brother, the Attorney General. And today, even beyond the proof of the friendship which my visit here constitutes, I am happy that this visit in answering your kind invitation is also going to make it possible for us to bring us closer, to make even more intimate the ties which unite us.

This, Mr. President, because our country has taken the way of international cooperation, together side by side with all those who work for the freedom, for the happiness of mankind.

The world is today too small for any isolationism, for any egoism. At no time have we needed international solidarity as much as we need it today. And this international solidarity is the very basis of the foreign policy of my country, as it is the very basis of the foreign policy of your country.

Visits such as mine here, such as the visit I hope you are going to render to us, Mr. President, are necessary. They are necessary to bring together the leaders responsible for the fate of nations. They are necessary also to bring closer to one another the peoples of the world, to teach them how to know each other better, and how to like each other better, which is a necessary consequence of the first.

My entire country thanks you, Mr. President, for the words which you have addressed to me, for the way in which you have spoken of us. The citizens of the Ivory Coast know already that we have in the past found each other side by side, our citizens have fought side by side in the defense of freedom, of liberty, in the world.

Today we are again in a different battle, a battle in which we must again fight side by side, a battle

to give to the world the possibility of living better, of living in freedom, and of living in more justice, a battle for a defense of liberty, and a battle for mutual tolerance—this tolerance which I have felt here; a battle, above all, for a defense of peace.

You, Mr. President, have been the prime architect of this fight for peace in the world, for international solidarity. You have given to the United States a clear conscience of their mission in the world, and for that reason, Mr. President, I am presenting to you

the warmest salutations of my entire people—to you and to the people of the United States.

It is also a pleasure and an honor to greet here Mrs. Kennedy—Mrs. Kennedy who is so greatly admired in my country and to whom I bring the greetings of all the women of the Ivory Coast.

And so Mr. President, to conclude, I will say, “Long live the United States.” Let us express the hope that the friendship among our countries will grow still warmer, still more effective.

Thank you.

207 Toasts of the President and President Houphouet-Boigny.

May 22, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

I know that all of you join me in expressing our very warm welcome to our distinguished visitors. As I said this morning at the airport, I do not think that any visitor to our country has had a more constructive career than our distinguished guest of honor, and I am not alone referring to the fact that in a free election he was elected by 98 percent of the voters of his country—a record which has not been equaled recently in the United States—and from all I read, will not be.

In any case, to have played such an extraordinary role of being a revolutionary and at the same time a builder of a close bridge between his country and Europe, between his country and the countries of Africa, between his country and our country, is really an extraordinary accomplishment.

It's not, I suppose, so difficult when the moment comes to be a revolutionary, and we have seen a good many revolutions in the years since the end of World War II. The difficult task faces a leader when the revolution has been accomplished—the immediate one.

And it is because of his efforts in this regard that I think our guest of honor bears such an extraordinary reputation, not only here or in Europe but most of all in Africa—because he is an African and he speaks for Africa, and his most important influence has been in Africa with the countries around

him, the countries in all of the western part of that old and in a sense new continent.

So, Mr. President, we are delighted to have you here. We are separated by many miles of ocean and culture and history and all the rest, but we appreciate those who are willing to take the hard road of patient, constructive work in building their country—and speaking in an age of unreason with the voice of rationalism.

So, Mr. President, we are very honored to have you, and I am delighted that this distinguished audience—which is made up of some outstanding Americans, Members of Congress and others—has a chance to express their warm feelings for you.

I said to the President this morning that Africa really has been an almost unknown country or continent for so many Americans until recent years, and he said that was because, of course, Africa was strongly influenced and controlled by the Europeans, and now suddenly it has emerged on the world scene. And I think how extraordinary it is that all these countries have emerged, all of them have maintained their independence, all of them facing staggering problems, have been able to speak with the greatest vigor and directness on behalf of their people, and yet have made such a great effort to maintain their ties with all of us in the free world. So we have been very lucky. [*Applause*]

I appreciate Senator Gore's—my colleague's applause. That is an ancient sena-

torial tradition which I missed. I was chairman of the committee on Africa before Senator Gore was, and had the distinction of never having been to Africa. And we used to have a map brought in, in those days, to explain where everything was in Africa. But Senator Gore has brought the committee a good deal more distinction.

In any case, he, Members of Congress, all of us in the Executive, are particularly proud to have you here, Mr. President. I hope that when you leave that you will realize that in this country there is the warmest possible feeling for you, your country, and all the things you stand for. I want to say that the work of the Presidency is not all burdens, and that we are very fortunate to have the wife of the President here and all the other members of his party.

So I hope that you will join me in drinking to our guest, to the people of the Ivory Coast, and most especially to President Houphouet-Boigny.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a state dinner at the White House. In his response (through an interpreter) President Houphouet-Boigny expressed appreciation for the warm and cordial welcome accorded him and his party.

"You have taught us that some words are sacred: democracy—liberty—justice. We try, in our small country, to give these words a meaning. And how could we act otherwise, since we share the same ideals that you hold so dear, and since in our country we live in a democracy where the fundamental aspect is the respect of the human person?"

"Indeed, I represent a small country, but I also consider myself a citizen of the world and so very fortunate to be here today in this country, and to be today in the company of a man whose responsibilities go beyond the frontiers of his continent, whose responsibilities encompass the whole world."

President Houphouet-Boigny concluded by stating that "tomorrow we shall examine together the problems which are of interest for our poor world, and also for Africa— . . . all those problems which raise a huge interrogation mark which we hope to answer with your assistance, by bringing about this liberty, this independence, and this democracy which will lead to the reconciliation of all people . . ."

208 Remarks to State Directors of the Selective Service System.

May 23, 1962

General, gentlemen:

I want to express my warm welcome to all of you. I don't suppose there is any task in this country of ours that must be filled with more fairness and with a greater degree of confidence by the American people than the job that you have, and those who are associated with you, and your predecessors.

In the last 20 years or so, I think you have registered something like 75 million Americans, 13 million of them have been put into service, some have been exempted for important reasons, some have been taken in.

Unless you and those who work with you were able to maintain the confidence of the Governors and the people of the various States in the equity of this System, I cannot imagine anything that would be more destructive to the common welfare. So I want

to congratulate all of you and express our thanks to you.

When you take a man from his family and send him into hazard, and possibly extreme hazard, this places a great responsibility upon you. And I want to thank all of you, and also especially thank those who for so many years, and quite anonymously, have served on these boards in their communities. The pressures upon them are tremendous, too, and yet I cannot think of any branch of our Government in the last two decades where there have been so few complaints about inequity. Maybe complaints about going, but there have been very few times when anyone has ever suggested that the boards were not attempting to do the job in the fairest possible way. That is an extraordinary record dealing with men's lives

as we do in this matter. So in thanking you we want to express our appreciation to the Governors and also, as I say, to the thousands of people who work very anonymously in a very important citizen function.

So you are very welcome to the White House, and I want you to know we are

very grateful to all of you for coming down to see us.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. His opening word "General" referred to Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Director of the Selective Service System.

209 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Concerning Research Grants to Colleges and Universities.
May 23, 1962

Dear Mr. ———:

I am writing to express my serious concern about the limitation on indirect expenses connected with research grants included in the pending Department of Defense Appropriation Bill for fiscal 1963. The bill as passed by the House of Representatives would limit the amount which could be included in such grants for indirect expenses to 15 percent of the direct costs of a grant. In my judgment this provision would seriously hamper colleges and universities in the conduct of research supported by the Federal Government.

Progress in applied science and technology upon which the country relies for military strength, medical advances and the development of our civilian economy is heavily dependent upon the continuous flow of new scientific knowledge. Basic research efforts need to keep pace with our rapidly growing applied scientific activities. Universities and technical institutions have been the principal source of this basic knowledge. About half of all basic research is carried out in academic institutions. The Government has also maintained its own research laboratories and has permitted basic research as an overhead item in many industrial contracts.

In addition to supporting research, grants to universities are vitally important because of the close relationship which research bears to graduate education and to the development of an adequate supply of trained scientists and engineers. During the next decade

it will be necessary to increase our scientific research efforts substantially and to increase the number of engineers and scientists. For this we will also depend heavily upon the interest and support of our educational institutions. This spring I sent to the Congress a message on education¹ which stressed the need to increase the Nation's capabilities in the field of higher education, emphasizing that our colleges and universities do not have the financial resources to meet these growing needs. This problem would be aggravated if the cost limitation on research grants were allowed to stand.

These grants are not intended to give general financial support to colleges and universities; rather their purpose is to assist them in carrying out important national programs. In making grants Federal agencies define those costs which are allowable. The indirect costs involved, frequently described as overhead costs, cover such items as plant maintenance, heat and light, and administrative expenses in carrying out federally supported research projects. They represent expense items which must be provided in the budgets of these institutions. They are just as much a part of the cost of research as the salary of the scientist or technician. If the actual cost of these items is greater than a fixed percentage established by the Congress, these institutions must finance the difference.

It is the policy of the executive branch that

¹ Item 37.

in no case should grants for research include a profit or fee either as a direct or indirect cost. A Bureau of the Budget Circular dated January 7, 1961, establishes for all Government agencies a common basis for determining allowable costs for research sponsored by the Federal Government, applying generally accepted cost accounting principles and practices. A statutory limitation is, therefore, unnecessary if the purpose of the Congress is to prevent windfalls to research institutions.

A flat statutory limitation on the amount which can be paid for overhead or indirect costs is undesirable for the following reasons:

1. An institution, in an effort to meet the statutory limitation, may be forced to draw funds away from other educational or research programs in order to meet the total cost of federally supported research. I do not believe that the Congress intended that this burden be placed on the colleges and universities.

2. A flat rate does not recognize that research projects differ greatly in character and in the nature of their indirect costs. For example, a research activity involving substantial physical facilities such as animal quarters for biological research or particle accelerators requires considerable space or electrical power with consequent high indirect costs. On the other hand, theoretical studies may require little supporting assistance beyond administrative help. Clearly a single inflexible rate for indirect costs would treat unfairly those institutions whose research work is such as to need substantial indirect services.

3. While total costs for a given project may be the same from one institution to another, the allocation between direct and indirect costs can vary widely. This stems from the fact that institutions do not follow common accounting practices. Therefore, it is not surprising that indirect cost rates vary considerably among institutions. I do not believe it is desirable to force these

institutions to conform to a common accounting system otherwise inappropriate to their needs. And it does not follow that work done at an institution with a higher indirect cost rate will necessarily result in higher total cost to the Government or that the institution is less efficient than one with a lower rate.

4. The legislative limitation applies only to research grants and does not apply to research contracts. In many cases grants are more appropriate and simpler to administer than contracts. Therefore we encourage the use of grants particularly for basic research where it is not desirable or profitable to exercise the same degree of detailed supervision as in the case of applied research and development for which contracts are normally used. I do not believe it is desirable to turn to the use of contracts in place of grants in order to avoid such a legislative limitation.

A statutory limitation for indirect costs is now in effect for research grants made by the National Institutes of Health and other parts of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The record is clear that this limitation has imposed serious financial difficulties particularly for many of our medical schools. In my Health Message to the Congress of February 27 of this year I renewed my recommendation of last year "that the current limitation on payment of indirect costs by the National Institutes of Health in connection with research grants to universities and other institutions be removed."

I urge the Congress to remove the limitation in the case of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and refrain from establishing a similar limitation in the appropriations to the Department of Defense or other agencies.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

210 The President's News Conference of
May 23, 1962

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon. Are there any questions?

[1.] Q. Mr. President, assuming that the King-Anderson bill passes, as you have predicted, do you then envision, perhaps next year or the year after, going to Congress again and asking for a plan which would provide similar coverage to pay doctor bills?

THE PRESIDENT. No, that is not planned. I notice that legislation was criticized one day for going too far in limiting the relationship between doctors and their patients, and on another day, the next day I believe, certain members opposed to the King-Anderson bill attacked it for not including doctors. This bill includes provisions for payment of hospital bills, nursing care, out-patient care. It does not attempt to interfere in any way with the relationship between the doctor and the patient, and we have no plans to provide such legislation.

[2.] Q. Has the administration any plans for dealing with the refugee problem in Hong Kong?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I notice in the press this afternoon that some effort now seems to be, at least is reported to be, made by the Chinese Communists to stop the flow of refugees. We are, of course, providing food for about a half a million refugees in Hong Kong, and have been for some years. The British have been doing an extraordinary job in finding employment, feeding the people who are there. There are several thousand refugees in Hong Kong and surrounding areas who have been cleared by our consular people for admission to the United States, and under the authority of Congress, which has been granted in similar cases, we are attempting to expedite their admission to the United States, under the power given to the Attorney General by the legislation—the same legislation which has permitted us to bring in Hungarian refugees and Cuban refugees.

It should be pointed out, however, that this does not get at the basic problem, which is that of a tremendous country, 650 million people, where the food supply is inadequate, and it swamps and dwarfs, obviously, Hong Kong and any effort we could make in regard to admission. But at least we are helping to feed those who are there, though the primary responsibility has been very ably borne by the British, and we are attempting to bring in some refugees who have been cleared for admission to the United States.

Q. Would you consider it in the national interest, sir, to make an offer of American surplus grains as a Food for Peace Program to mainland China, to Communist China, at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, there's been no indication of any expression of interest or desire by the Chinese Communists to receive any food from us, as I said at the beginning, and we would certainly have to have some idea as to whether the food was needed and under what conditions it might be distributed. Up to the present we have no such indications.

[3.] Q. There are published reports today, sir, that the Army group which originally remained in Thailand is not equipped with live ammunition. There seems to be some discontent among the troops over this. Would you discuss the situation?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the ammunition is there. They haven't had—of course this is a friendly country—they haven't had ammunition clips in their guns, in their barracks, at all times. But the ammunition is available in case they were forced to move into a military area, or where military action might be taken of course the ammunition would be given. But it's not customary, in this country or in a friendly country like Thailand, these troops are not under attack—for ammunition to be inside the guns.

But the ammunition is there, and it's quite adequate for any situation that might come, and further ammunition will be stored in appropriate places. It's merely a question whether all guns are loaded at all times in a friendly country, and unless there is sharp control, of course, by the military commanders, practice firing and all the rest. Until that is organized well, the ammunition is naturally under control.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us what you thought of the American Medical Association's reply on Monday night to your proposal—your speech on Sunday—about medical care? And also could you tell us what sort of reaction you have had so far in the White House to the two television speeches, yours on Sunday¹ and the American Medical Association's?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I read the statement and I gathered they were opposed to it. [*Laughter*] What I thought was remarkable was that the language used was so similar to the language which the AMA used when it opposed and successfully defeated the proposal which President Eisenhower sent up a number of years ago, to provide for reinsurance of private health schemes. That was a proposal—I was on the committee, as a matter of fact, that heard it and supported the legislation—and the AMA led the fight against it and defeated it. In addition, the AMA was one of the chief opponents of the social security system in the thirties. The words, "a cruel hoax" were used against the social security system at that time as they are used today.

The statement—the description of our bill I did not recognize. Now I think that the American people know quite well what this problem is. There isn't anyone in the United States who will not have or has not already had a case of a parent who is sick for a long period of time, with the burden falling very heavily upon either them, or their savings, or upon their children.

There isn't any doubt that we take care, in

this country, of those who have no resources. They are treated. We take care of those who are well enough off to pay for all of their bills. What this bill would particularly help are those who have some savings and who nevertheless find themselves hard hit, or their children who have some savings and find themselves faced with these large bills which in the short space of 1, 2, 3, and 4 months can run up into several thousands of dollars. So that I feel that the AMA may not support this bill, but I think the American people will, and I think more and more doctors are supporting it. And I think it's extremely important legislation.

Now, in regard to the mail, I would say that the mail we've gotten as a result of the speech is about evenly divided. But I will point out that I'm not as convinced—I was just looking at the White House mail. I got last week 28 letters on Laos, which is an extremely important problem, of which 14 disagreed with our policy and I think 6 supported it and others were undecided. I got 440 letters on a tax—the cancellation of a tax exemption for a mercy foundation, so-called, in a State in the United States, which is of not, I wouldn't think, great national significance—about 20 times as much mail on it. So that mail, unfortunately, is not true as an indicator of the feelings of the people.

In my judgment, if this matter comes to the floor of the Senate, it will pass this year. If it comes to the floor of the House, it will pass. And it will serve just as effectively as the social security bill has served us since the 1930's. Those who are opposed to social security should oppose this, but those who believe that social security has served this country well should support this because it is in that tradition.

[5.] Q. Sir, do you feel there is anything besides hunger, besides this great flood of refugees going into Hong Kong? There have been reports that some of these refugees have exit visas from China. Is there anything more here than meets the eye?

THE PRESIDENT. As I understand it, the British have accepted those who are political

¹ See Item 202.

refugees; those who are not they have been forced to turn back because Hong Kong is so crowded. I read reports that they do not seem to be suffering from acute malnutrition, but there isn't any doubt that there is a food crisis. The distribution of food, the structure of the economy and the state in some of these areas in China have broken down, and many people desire to leave. If they could leave, I think many more would.

Q. Do you feel that the Chinese Government has perhaps become more oppressive and that this is a cause rather than hunger?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it would be difficult to make an informed judgment as to all the motivations of those who are leaving but it's certainly a combination of those factors.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with the Billie Sol Estes case, there appears to be a possibility that a Federal official was murdered in this case. In view of that, do you think that Secretary Freeman was altogether justified in saying, as he did, that this case had been ballooned out of proportion?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think we should wait until the FBI has completed its investigation of the matter. I couldn't—Mr. Freeman is not—I don't think the Texas local officials made a judgment in regard to the case which has been accepted until recently. Now the FBI and the local authorities are reexamining the case and we'll get a much better idea when the examination is completed.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, apart from your statements last week in the press conference and your speech that evening on the future of the Atlantic alliance,¹ are you making your views clear to President de Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer before they meet on June 2?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the views of all the parties are well known to each other. I don't plan any further communication on the matter.

¹ Items 198, 199.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, would you accept a medicare compromise that did not include social security financing?

THE PRESIDENT. Social security is the heart of the financing, the heart of the legislation. That isn't a compromise. That'd be—just be giving up on the bill, and we don't plan to do that.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, are you satisfied that our misunderstanding with West Germany over the Berlin proposals have now been straightened out, and that discussions will be resumed with the Soviet Union with the full support of the West German Government?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the misunderstandings have been straightened out. As far as the positions of the parties, that we must wait on until we analyze the German proposal, which has just been received, as you know, within the last 24 hours. That will be analyzed and a proper response will be made to the West German Government. As far as the talks, as I have said, they will continue.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, do you plan to take any action to help the stock market, if it gets any worse?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the economy, which is moving steadily forward, is the best stimulant to the stock market—the most natural one. The figures we have for April are encouraging. Car sales, increased retail sales, and all the rest indicate that the economy has a good deal of strength, so that I believe that the stock market will move in accordance with the movement of the economy, as a general rule.

Now, there have been many, at least four, occasions since the end of the Second War when the stock market has dropped at the time the economy was rising. I think last week we talked about this. I gave an example of 1956, when the stock market went down at the time when the economy was steadily rising. The economy is rising, unemployment is down, the prospects in this month are good and, therefore, I think that the stock market will follow the economy.

As I said before, the stock market was very high. If, when you're talking about valuation of 22 times earnings or dividends, that's a very high sale and twice as much as it was, for example, in 1957. But as far as the long haul for the stock market, I think it will keep in line with the economy. I think that the prospects for the economy for this year, as I've said, are good.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, is our true commitment to Southeast Asia similar in principle to the one we have in Western Europe, that is, are we ready to deny Communist force throughout Southeast Asia?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, our treaty relationships with Laos and Viet-Nam and Cambodia are somewhat different than our NATO relationship. As you know, they were covered by SEATO, and they were protocol states of SEATO. Thailand itself, is, of course, a signatory, which is in a comparable way the same as NATO.

Q. My question, sir, is this: would we pull our forces out once the Laos Government is formed, or would we feel we had to stay there until we were sure that Communist force would not exert itself in that area?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we'll have to make a judgment of what the situation is in those areas. I quite agree that when you put troops in they become difficult to take out, unless the situation is stable, so that I've not ever said that the troop movement in Thailand—its end could be predicted. But we are staying there and then we will make a judgment as to how long they should stay, based on the events, as we have in Europe.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, the Agriculture Department has given only one reason for withdrawing its grain from the warehouses of Billie Sol Estes in Texas, this being that it is in the public interest. They have declined further comment. In view of the fact that the Department has previously said that there was nothing wrong with the warehouses or the operations, could you comment, sir, on how it would be in the public interest to remove the grain when the credi-

tors are depending on this income to help settle their bills?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we are not, as you know, removing the grain immediately. We are removing it—moving it into the normal channels of trade over a period of time. If we moved it out immediately it would cost the Government about \$2 million. We're moving it out, with more speed out of this terminal than we would out of others because of all the circumstances surrounding the case. But we are going to move it out, but it's over a period of time and it will not be moved from one terminal to another terminal, but instead will be moved into the normal channels of trade in a way which will not cost the United States Government anything. But I think it's appropriate that under reasonable conditions the grain is moved away from that terminal.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, would you care to evaluate the White House Conference on National Economic Issues that has just concluded? Do you feel there is a value in having this mass ventilation of ideas between labor and—

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I do. The meeting, of course, had two phases. One was of public speeches. I wished in the public speeches that we could have discussed what I feel are some of the newer problems that the economy faces and which labor-management faces. I understand that in the private meetings that there was a much more—there was a willingness to forget some of the old basic arguments between labor and management and consider some of the new challenges. But I think that this is only the first of what I hope will be a series.

I believe that there really isn't much sense in having a long argument about the union shop or about industry-wide bargaining. Those arguments are well known, the positions are hard, and are taken clearly on both sides. As I said, in my opening, what I would like to hear them talk about is how the Government, labor, and management can function so as to provide for a steadily increasing economy, what we can do about

the flow of gold, how we can prevent periodic recessions at every 2 or 3 years, how we can maintain full employment as other free countries have, what's the proper relationship between government and business and labor, what should be our budget policies, our debt policies. These are all matters which concern us today and about which we must do something. I would like to have their views on it. Not so much their views on questions which have been debated, about which we're fully informed of the point of interest of each of the parties, but rather these new, and as I've said, rather sophisticated and technical questions.

It's my understanding that in the private meetings there was discussion heading in this direction. I hope, therefore, we will have another conference quite soon so that we can continue to talk about these things. I will be very appreciative to the business advisory committee, which is now looking into giving us some suggestions on the flow of gold, and the CED's committee, which is going to study the economy of several European countries. I have asked our Council of Economic Advisers to consider particularly the case of France, which has had rather extraordinary economic vitality, so that I hope we can begin to focus our attention on these matters in the next few months.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, last weekend in New York you made it quite clear that you were anxious to help Brazil with emergency food shipments,¹ and about the same time one of the maritime unions began picketing the ship which was to carry that food to Brazil. I wondered if you had any feeling of disappointment in that, or whether you had any fatherly advice on union leaders?

THE PRESIDENT. I understand that the ship is now being moved to the dock to load and is going to Brazil, that this matter has been settled.

¹ In a statement released in New York City on May 19 the President announced an increase in emergency food shipments to drought-stricken Northeast Brazil.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, Dr. Harry Wexler of the United States Weather Bureau and his counterpart in the Soviet Union jointly have presented a plan to be approved by the Economic and Social Commission of the United Nations for studying world weather by earth satellites. Do you view this as an optimistic sign that the United States and Russia may ultimately cooperate both on space and on earth?

THE PRESIDENT. We felt the first place to start was on weather, and I think that any progress we can make on that would be very welcome. I must say that we strongly support any cooperative effort we could make on weather, predictions of storms, and all of the rest, and I hope it will lead to other areas of cooperation in space.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, on this matter of the growth rate of Western Europe, you have several times pointed out that it is twice ours. What relationship do you think this has with deficit financing?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that's what I think we ought to be—one of the matters we ought to be talking about. Their budgetary system, as opposed to ours, is somewhat different and that's one of the matters which I've asked the Council of Economic Advisers to look at; it's one of the matters which the CED should look at. I'm not sure that our budget keeping is as modern as the economy demands.

In addition, I think we ought to look at our tax structure, which of course we're doing, as part of the overall tax reform we're going to send up next year. Does our tax system stimulate the economy or does it serve as a drag on the economy because of the way it hits the structure at a time when the economy is moving out of a recession into a period of prosperity?

The 1958 and '60 experience and perhaps the experience this winter all indicate that these are matters which should be very carefully looked at. In other words, I don't think we should be satisfied with the way we are operating our economy as long as we are not going at full blast, as they are.

Now, the question is, how much of this, as I've said, is due to the Common Market, how much of it's due to a different stage of economic growth, and how much of it is due to different economic planning, different relationships between the various segments of the economy? These are all matters which I believe all of us in government, management, labor, and the public ought to be looking at, to see if there's something that we can learn that's to our advantage.

What we don't always realize is that while the economy may be in a—the budget may be in a deficit overall for a fiscal year, that deficit may be concentrated in the first few months. Then as the year goes on the taxes begin to come in and you then begin to get a surplus which, of course, has a brake effect on the economy. In addition, the cash budget as opposed to the administrative budget has an entirely different impact on the economy. So that all these are the kinds of questions which I would like to see us—by “us” I mean all of us who are concerned—talk about and not merely concentrate our attention on these rather old slogans and fights which shed heat but not too much light on the matters which are directly before us.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, there is another health problem that seems to be causing growing concern here and abroad and I think this has largely been provoked by a series of independent scientific investigations, which have concluded that cigarette smoking and certain types of cancer and heart disease have a causal connection. I have two questions: do you and your health advisers agree or disagree with these findings, and secondly, what if anything should or can the Federal Government do in the circumstances?

THE PRESIDENT. That matter is sensitive enough and the stock market is in sufficient difficulty [*laughter*] without my giving you an answer which is not based on complete information, which I don't have and, therefore, perhaps we could—I'd be glad to respond to that question in more detail next week.

[18.] Q. Sir, from your knowledge of the stock pile investigation which Senator Symington is developing for public consumption, I was wondering if you think the amount of money lost to the Government there will in time dwarf the Billie Sol Estes defraud?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as we have said, there is no evidence that the Billie Sol Estes fraud has cost the United States Government any money.

Q. Yes, I realize that—

THE PRESIDENT. There have been improprieties—but let me, if I may, finish—the amount of money in this case, as came out yesterday, which revealed that because of an intervention by certain public officials that it cost the Government \$650 million and the company made a \$5 million windfall, of course, when you compare the amounts of money, this is obviously a greater loss to the Government. But I would not attempt to make a judgment of either case and its ultimate effects until these investigations are completed, both Senator Symington's and the FBI's.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, the British appear to be facing difficulties in their negotiations with the Common Market group regarding safeguards for their trade with the Commonwealth nations. In the possible event that the British did not affiliate with the European Economic Community, would that cause us to reappraise our plan to cooperate with the Common Market?

THE PRESIDENT. No. Of course, we're going to cooperate with the Common Market. The Common Market is in existence. We believe that it will contribute to the political stability of Europe as well as its economic well-being if Great Britain should become a member. So we have supported the admission of Great Britain. If Great Britain does not join, of course—which we believe would be unfortunate—the Common Market, the six, would still exist, and we would deal with the six and with Great Britain. But we think that the interests of Europe, the interests of the free world, of the Atlantic

Community, would be best served by Great Britain being a member.

[20.] Q. Sir, would you be willing to participate with former President Eisenhower in a TV discussion of domestic issues before the country in the elections this fall?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would have to wait and see. Neither one of us are candidates this fall. [Laughter] There will be many candidates. I've already stated that I would debate, if I were a candidate in 1964, against whoever I was running against. I haven't heard any suggestion that we debate this time. We'd have to wait and see what the situation was. President Eisenhower and I are both appearing on a program this week on the necessity for the passage of an effective trade bill in cooperation, and I think that that is, in this case, a constructive relationship in the national interest. What next fall will bring we will have to wait and see.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, do you feel that the Government pay raise you proposed is inflationary? How does that square with your—

THE PRESIDENT. Not the proposal we sent. No, it is not inflationary. It fits within the guidelines.¹

[22.] Q. Mr. President, as you know, the

Indonesian Government has accepted the Bunker proposal. In the meantime, the Netherlands has not. In the meanwhile, guerrilla warfare activities are increasing in that area. What do you think is the prospect of future negotiations?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know the United States has been working very hard, with the help of Ambassador Bunker, to attempt to work out a solution which would make the kind of military action which is now taking place unnecessary. We have not had success. I believe that Ambassador Bunker is discussing this matter now with responsible officials of the United Nations to see what further action could usefully be taken. But I hope that the proposals of Ambassador Bunker would be considered very carefully by both sides, because we would be very concerned if the situation in that section of the world disintegrated or degenerated into a complete military conflict between these two countries. So we're—Ambassador Bunker is in New York today on that very matter.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The President's thirty-fourth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, May 23, 1962.

211 Remarks at the Cornerstone-Laying Ceremonies of the Rayburn House Office Building. May 24, 1962

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, Members of the House and Senate:

I appreciate very much the opportunity to join you in dedicating this building today to Speaker Sam Rayburn.

We say in this country that ours is a Government of laws not of men, and it is, in the sense that we strive for equality and integrity in the administration of our Government and of justice. But this is also a Government of men, and it needs men of particular talents to make this system of ours work. Our Founding Fathers, concerned

about the centralization of authority, which they were revolting against, wrote very careful safeguards, checks, and balances into the American constitutional system. This provides great protection for individual liberty and right, but it also places a heavy burden on the men and women who must make this system operate. The division of powers between the Executive, the Congress, the Courts, the divisions between the National Government and the State government requires the greatest comity between the various bodies if our system is to function effectively.

Sam Rayburn understood this perhaps as

¹ See Item 55.

well as any man in the history of our country. Presidents of both parties pay equal tribute to him. While his devotion to his own party was never questioned, nevertheless he saw in a larger sense the necessity for harmonious relations between the various branches of the Government. And therefore I would be joined today by all of my predecessors with whom he served, I know, in paying tribute to him and to the traditions which have been followed with such distinction by others, in his wake, in attempting to make this system of ours work, to protect the individual but also to make the Government function.

This was his great skill and his lasting contribution, and I think sets the most powerful example before us all.

This ceremony, this edifice, this assemblage of public servants from all branches of the Government, all States and all parties, pay homage to the memory of Speaker Sam

Rayburn. No monument, no memorial, no statue would please him half so much, I believe, as to have his name preserved here in this fashion on Capitol Hill. The Congress was his life, the House was his home, and he not only served it far longer than any who preceded him but with distinction and wisdom as well. He preferred to preside over the sessions of this body to any other place of prestige or power, and as a former Member of the House of Representatives I join with all of you in saying that while he may be long missed he will not be forgotten.

And our task is to carry on the work to which he was so deeply dedicated.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. at the site of the new building across from the Capitol. In his opening words he referred to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, John W. McCormack, and to the Chief Justice of the United States, Earl Warren.

212 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the President of the Ivory Coast. *May 24, 1962*

PRESIDENT Felix Houphouet-Boigny, who is making a ten-day State Visit to the United States as a guest of President Kennedy, will conclude a three-day stay in Washington tomorrow and continue his visit in New York.

Although President Houphouet-Boigny has visited this country twice before, this is his first trip to the United States since his country became independent and since he became its first Chief of State. The Washington portion of the visit has afforded a timely opportunity for the two Presidents to establish a personal acquaintance and discuss fully matters of common concern. President Houphouet-Boigny also had conversations with Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Mr. Fowler Hamilton, Administrator of the Agency for International Development.

The subjects discussed with the President and the Secretary of State covered broad international issues such as Berlin, disarmament and the decolonization of Africa, the

promotion of unity and greater cooperation amongst African States. The two Presidents also examined the critical issues in Subsaharan Africa today. President Kennedy commended President Houphouet-Boigny on his unique record of devoted service to the interests of the people of the Ivory Coast and of other nations of West and Equatorial Africa. President Kennedy laid special emphasis on President Houphouet-Boigny's extraordinary efforts in promoting African unity and cooperation within the Council of the Entente, the Union of African and Malagasy States, and at the recent twenty-nation Lagos Conference.

The two Presidents reviewed the amicable and mutually beneficial relations already established between their two countries. President Kennedy noted with satisfaction the energetic efforts toward economic and social development being carried forward

by the Republic of Ivory Coast and of the favorable climate established by the Ivory Coast Government to welcome foreign private capital investment and give appropriate guarantees. He assured President Houphouët-Boigny of the desire of the United States to continue to be responsive to the development assistance needs of the Ivory Coast. During the visit it was agreed that the United States Government would take

prompt action on a request for a loan for an Ivory Coast Development Bank which is being established and is designed to encourage the development of private enterprise in the Ivory Coast. Agreement was also reached on several technical assistance projects in the field of education, agriculture, fisheries, and development of the Southwest Region. Some of the projects will be signed within a few days.

213 Telephone Conversation With Astronaut Scott Carpenter Following His Orbital Flight. May 24, 1962

THE PRESIDENT. Hello—hello. Hello, Scott. Come in—are we talking to Scott Carpenter?

Commander Carpenter: Mr. President, I'm—I hear you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, well I wanted to tell you we're relieved, and very proud of your trip. I'm glad that you got picked up in good shape. And we want to tell you that we are all for you, and send you the very best luck, to you and your wife.

Commander Carpenter: My apologies for not having aimed a little bit better on re-entry, as I said to people on the ship.

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, fine, good. Well, we want to congratulate you and I look forward to seeing you in Washington some time soon.

Commander Carpenter: I look forward to that, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Very good. Good luck now, Scott. Goodbye.

Commander Carpenter: Thank you very much, sir.

NOTE: The President spoke from his office at the White House to Lt. Comdr. Malcom Scott Carpenter who was aboard the aircraft carrier *Intrepid*.

214 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Revising Tariff Classifications. May 25, 1962

IN SIGNING into law H.R. 10607, I am taking the first step toward the modernization of the U.S. tariff classification system since the Tariff Act of 1930, which was enacted by Congress well before our present concepts of world trade had been established, and even before many of the modern materials which play so important a part in free world commerce had been developed.

The new law, while it will change hundreds of items in our tariff classifications, was designed to have no general effect, of either increasing or decreasing the level of U.S. tariffs.

Congress passed H.R. 10607 instead to establish tariff schedules that would be logical in arrangement and terminology, up-to-date in terms of the major present categories of commerce, and without the inconsistencies and anomalies that have crept into classification in the past thirty or more years.

The law embodies over six years of effort by the United States Tariff Commission, undertaken in response to the mandate from Congress under Title I of the Customs Simplification Act of 1954.

The new tariff schedules will simplify the

determination and application of rates of duty. This will benefit not only the importer, and the user of imported goods, but the domestic producer as well, who will have more certain and dependable knowledge of the tariff applying to the types of products he sells or the materials he buys. Finally, it will benefit the United States and other countries of the free world from whom we buy by providing sound and detailed statistics of an accuracy that we have heretofore been unable to achieve.

The new act makes it possible for the United States to respect its trade-agreement obligations by negotiating with other countries over the conversion of their present con-

cessions to the language of the new schedules. The new schedules will not go into effect until the necessary steps in this direction have been taken.

In view of my previous statements concerning the critical importance of strengthening free world ties through greater trade, and my proposals for new trade legislation, it should be obvious that today's act, which puts in our hands the technical instruments needed to more effectively administer U.S. tariffs, is a signal accomplishment on the path to our national and international objectives.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 10607 is Public Law 87-456 (76 Stat. 72).

215 Letter to Secretary Goldberg Upon Receiving His Report on the Federal Employee-Management Relations Program.

May 25, 1962

[Released May 25, 1962. Dated May 24, 1962]

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am most gratified to learn more of the progress of the Employee-Management Relations Program. Executive Order 10988 on Employee-Management Cooperation in the Federal Service is an essential part of our effort to bring new vigor and creativity to the public service.

I appreciate that in any new program such as this one there will be problems of adjustment and transition that must be met. I am confident that they can be resolved satisfactorily and that progress will continue to be achieved in establishing the best possible relationship between the Federal Government and its employees.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Executive Order 10988, issued by the President on January 17, 1962 (27 F.R. 551), dealt with the rights of Federal employees "to form, join, and assist any employee organization, or to refrain from any such activity." The order also established a Temporary Committee on the Implementation of the Federal Employee-Management Program.

In his report to the President, Secretary Goldberg, who served as Chairman of the Committee, stated that "our object is to bring about meaningful and fruitful relations between employee organizations and the Government." He reported that meetings were being held throughout the Nation to discuss the new program, and that all concerned had been counseled to represent their organizations or agencies with vigor and clarity, "for only in that way will the best interests of all the parties be furthered." He added that emphasis had been placed on the affirmative spirit of the President's order—that "we want real unions and real management. We are well on our way to that goal."

Secretary Goldberg's report, in the form of a letter dated April 20, was also made public.

216 Remarks to the White House Conference on Conservation.

May 25, 1962

Secretary Udall, Members of the Senate and the House, Governors, Secretary Stahr, ladies and gentlemen:

I am too late to welcome you to this Conference which has been going on now for 2 days, and I know that I am in no position to congratulate you upon completing the work because I think that this Conference is only a step forward in a long journey which began, fortunately, many years ago and which will continue throughout our lives.

It is a matter which involves not only all the people of this Nation but in a very real sense all the people of the world. And it is a source of interest to me that the three Americans in this century who have been most clearly identified with the maintenance and development of our natural resources and the conservation of those resources, particularly in the West, have been three Easterners—Gifford Pinchot and the two Roosevelts, both from New York State.

I think that this indicates as well as anything that this is a national problem, that this is a national challenge and a national opportunity, and therefore coming as I do from an older part of the country which has not been overly concerned within its own borders with resource and management development—Massachusetts—I think it's most appropriate to look all the way across the country and indeed around the world to see how we can improve and develop the resources which have been given to us through nature.

These tie in, of course, to the questions of our policies abroad and our aid programs, and I think more and more we are placing, quite properly, emphasis in our aid programs upon the development of resources abroad. Whether it may be how we can teach better water irrigation in Bolivia or build a dam in Pakistan, more and more we are emphasizing to the people of the world the great gain that can come to them by the

wise use of their own resources which may be inadequate in many cases but which in nearly every case are underdeveloped.

During the conversations which we've had in the last 2 days with the President of the Ivory Coast, one of the matters which he talked about the most was the necessity for a survey to take place in the southeastern part of his country to find out what resources are available and how they can be better managed. And nearly every head of state from what we might call the third world, Latin America, Africa, and Asia, emphasized their desire to associate with us in a great exploration of their natural resources so that their people can have a better life.

Our great contribution, it seems to me, that we can make in our time, as distinct from the contribution of the Roosevelts and Pinchot which was in a sense the management of resources, their preservation against their unreasonable exploitation by private interests—our great contribution in the fifties and the sixties, it seems to me, is applying the great discoveries of science to this question of conservation, how to get fresh water from salt water at competitive terms, which has been a matter of particular interest to Senator Anderson and Congressman Wayne Aspinall, and which can mean such an extraordinary amount to the people of the West, the Southwest, and really in a sense to people all around the globe. I have felt that whichever country can do this in a competitive way will get a good deal more lasting benefit than those countries that may be even first in space.

When we think of such a large percentage of the world's land which supports so few people, how extraordinary an accomplishment it will be when we can bring water to bear on the deserts surrounding the Mediterranean and the Indian Sea and all the rest. And I think that is within our grasp and within our lifetime, perhaps even within our

decade, and I think it will be the prime accomplishment of science in improving the life of people in the long history of the world. And that is within, as I've said, our reach, and that deserves the greatest effort by us all.

In addition, we can make the most extraordinary gains in getting food from the ocean depths in the next 10 or 20 years. This question of oceanography has also occupied the attention of the Congress and this administration, how we can double the amount of protein which is available to people around the world. This is a whole new area of conservation, unknown to those who preceded us but which is now coming into public understanding as a result of your efforts and the efforts of others, and which can make the most profound difference to the lives of people who live rather listlessly because of inadequate proteins.

So harnessing science to conservation is going to be the great contribution of our day, how we can find new uses for minerals, how we can make their use more effective from shale, which we know about in the State of Governor McNichols, how we can make that a competitive fuel and use it, how we can get oil from it. All these are things which science can bring in these days.

So I want to welcome you here and tell you that your visit to Washington stimulates us, stimulates again our interest in this subject, and also we hope that your coming here and talking with responsible governmental officials will stimulate them. I'm hopeful that we can move far faster in the more traditional kinds of conservation—the wilderness bill, the fund we have set up for the maintenance of the conservation resources. We're going to have 300 million people by the end of this century, that's only about 40 years, and we have to begin to make provisions for them. We do not want, for example, this eastern coast to be one gigantic metropolitan area stretching from north of Boston to Jacksonville, Fla., without adequate resources for our people to participate and see some green around them. And I was glad that last year we were able to make progress on

the Cape Cod Park. I hope in other States in other key regions that we will do the same. I think that the Governors and Senators from the West and the Southwest recognize that we do not want all of our great parks, all of our great wide-open spaces to be concentrated in those areas of the country where there are the fewest people, even though they represent a great tourist attraction. We want them to be part of their everyday life where they can be reached here from Chicago east where so many people live, where they can be reached within an easy day's driving for a family.

So that I think it's important that we secure this conservation fund, that we can build up the resources of that fund over a period of years. But if we spend that money now and spend it wisely it will be a great economy for us and it will also be a great benefit to those who come after us.

What, in short, I want to emphasize is our debt to you, who have carried this fight for conservation for many years. I don't think there is anything that could occupy our attention with more distinction than trying to preserve for those who come after us this beautiful country which we've inherited. And this is particularly challenging now when so many changes are taking place, in the method of living, of transportation, in the lives of all of us, so that we have the same opportunity, the same challenge, the same necessities as faced Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt way back when they turned their attention to it.

We want this administration, this Government, to be identified with this cause. I can think of no more suitable effort for an administration which is concerned with progress than to be identified in a sense with past efforts and future efforts to preserve this land and maintain its beauty.

And I hope that what we are able to do here can be exported abroad, not our failures in conservation but our emphasis on it, the wise management of its uses, and the inspiration which it can give to our people.

Back many years ago a distinguished

French marshal, Marshal Lyautey, asked his gardener to plant a tree, and the gardener said, "Well, this won't flower for a hundred years." And he said, "In that case, plant it this afternoon."

That's the way we all feel about conservation—it won't come this afternoon, but we ought to get started this afternoon, if it's ever going to come.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in the State Department Auditorium. In his opening words he referred to Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall and Secretary of the Army Elvis J. Stahr, Jr. Later in his remarks he referred to Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico, Representative Wayne N. Aspinall of Colorado, and Governor Steve L. R. McNichols of Colorado.

217 Remarks to Members of the National Council of Senior Citizens. *May 26, 1962*

My old friend and colleague, Congressman Forand, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to welcome you to the White House and tell you how much we appreciate the support that you have given our efforts to provide medical care for the aged.

I believe that we are going to be successful, as I said last Sunday, if not this year—and I believe that we have a very good prospect of being successful this year—then certainly next year. But I believe that this is the year that we should attempt to secure the passage of this most important legislation. It will serve our citizens as effectively as social security has served them, and I hope that when I become a senior citizen myself, which is getting closer and closer, that I will have an opportunity to support as effective a cause as you are supporting in the days of your retirement.

This is in the interests of our senior citizens and all those who will some day occupy that exalted station. In addition, it serves

their children—your children, and others upon whom the burden of medical care falls most heavily.

This is a matter which affects our entire population, and with the long and distinguished record of service which the social security system has rendered, I believe that we have an opportunity, in our time, to build that edifice even more strongly.

We are fighting, in a sense, an old fight. And we're opposed by those who have opposed, in other days, progress. But we shall be successful, and when we are, a good deal of the obligation for that success, a good deal of the thanks for that success, will rest with Congressman Forand, and with all of you.

So we're very glad to have you here at the White House, and to tell you how welcome you are.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. in the Rose Garden. In his opening words he referred to former Representative Aime J. Forand of Rhode Island, chairman of the National Council of Senior Citizens.

218 Statement by the President Announcing a Forthcoming White House Conference on Narcotics. *May 29, 1962*

I WISH to announce that a White House Conference on Narcotics will be held late this summer. The problems arising out of the use of narcotics and other habit-forming drugs are many and varied including those

of law enforcement, the treatment to be accorded addicts, post treatment procedures and perhaps most importantly an accurate and up-to-date assessment of the particular nature and magnitude of addiction in the

United States. It is our intention to bring to the Conference, national authorities and leaders, including those in Federal, State and local governments, to better understand the facets of addiction and to formulate a course of action designed to cope more effectively with this national problem area.

The Attorney General will serve as General Chairman of the Conference. I have discussed this proposal with Governor Brown of California and Mayor Wagner of

New York City who represent two jurisdictions where drug addiction is especially prevalent and they agree that such a conference could be most helpful. Many other government officials including Members of the Congress from those two areas have also urged that a conference be held.

NOTE: For the President's remarks to the White House Conference on Narcotic and Drug Abuse, see Item 411.

219 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting Bills To Carry out Recommendations of the Commission on Campaign Costs. May 29, 1962

Dear Mr. ————:

The election of the President of the United States is the supreme expression of the free choice of the American people. By our free choice, we vote and in other ways participate in the politics of our democracy. One form of political participation is the contribution of money to support the candidates and party each of us prefers.

For the citizens' free choice to be exercised meaningfully, they must be well-informed about opposing candidates, parties and issues. To achieve this, candidates and parties must have the financial means to carry their views to the voters. In a constituency as vast as the presidential, the costs of reaching the electorate are high, necessarily putting great financial burdens on the candidates and the parties they represent at the polls.

In these days when the public interest demands basic decisions so essential to our security and survival, public policy should enable presidential candidates to free themselves of dependence on large contributions of those with special interests. Accordingly, it is essential to broaden the base of financial support for candidates and parties. To accomplish this, improvement of public understanding of campaign finance, coupled with a system of incentives for solicitation and giving, is necessary.

In October, 1961, I appointed a distinguished, bipartisan Commission on Campaign Costs to take a fresh look at the problems of financing presidential campaigns. I am gratified at the enthusiastic bipartisan reception accorded the Commission's unanimous Report, and I am pleased to transmit herewith legislation designed to carry out five of its important recommendations. Other recommendations do not require legislation, and I intend to help carry them out through other means. I now ask you to join me in supporting in broad outline the constructive proposals of the Commission, which have received the approval of both majority party chairmen and of former Presidents Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower, and former presidential candidates Thomas E. Dewey, Adlai E. Stevenson, and Richard M. Nixon.

Although the Commission devoted its attention to the problems of campaign costs for Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates only and its recommendations go only to such campaigns, it pointed out that "... it is our view that the measures we propose would have a desirable effect on all political fund raising." The Congress may therefore wish to consider the applicability of any of the recommended practices to campaigns other than Presidential or Vice Presidential.

It may also wish to explore the subject of campaign financing for elections other than Presidential and Vice Presidential either through standing Committees, a special committee, or by means of a specially constituted advisory commission of the type that has produced the report upon which the proposals I am recommending today rest.

If the financial burdens of presidential campaigns are to be widely shared, then some system of incentives must be established to encourage broad solicitation and giving. The Commission recommended for an experimental period including two presidential elections, and I propose, a system of tax incentives for political contributions, which would include two alternatives available to the taxpayer, as follows: (1) a tax credit against federal income tax for 50 percent of contributions up to a maximum of \$10 in credits a year; and (2) a tax deduction for political contributions for the full amount of the contribution up to a maximum of \$750 per tax return per year (the Commission in its report recommended \$1,000). The contributions eligible for tax benefits would include those made to the national committee of a political party and to one political committee designated by the national committee to receive such contributions in each state. The tax incentive program is an effort to encourage political giving as educational and charitable giving have been encouraged for many years by tax benefits. It is designed to give party solicitors an additional tool to help stimulate individuals to contribute money, in non-election as well as election years.

The Commission stated that if the measures it recommended do not accomplish their purposes, alternative approaches would have to be examined, and it recommended that consideration be given to the matching incentive plan outlined in its report. I urge the Congress to study this plan, since it is an original and imaginative approach and would encourage concentrated party effort in broadening the financial base of Presidential campaigns. Under the matching

incentive plan, contributions in amounts of \$10 or less per person raised by designated political committees would be deposited by those committees with the U.S. Treasury, where the money would be matched by a like sum from government appropriations. The combined total would be used to pay authorized types of expenses, payments being made by government check direct to sellers of campaign goods and services. The total sum to be matched could be limited by statute.

To increase public confidence in the ways campaigns are financed, I urge the repeal of present federal limits on receipts and expenditures of interstate political committees and on the amounts individuals can contribute to such committees for use in Presidential nominations and election campaigns. Since present ceilings have proven to be ineffective and existing practices violate the spirit, if not the letter of the law, an effective system of disclosure and publicity to reveal where money comes from and goes in such campaigns has been proposed. Full and effective disclosure is the best way to control both excessive contributions and unlimited expenditures.

One bill I am submitting would require candidates for President and Vice President to report contributions and expenditures in nomination and election campaigns. As one who participated in a presidential campaign, I heartily endorse this recommendation. I also endorse the proposition that all political committees campaigning for candidates for President and Vice President and raising or spending as much as \$2,500 in a year, should be required to file periodic campaign fund statements.

Furthermore, reporting requirements should go beyond present law in two important respects. Reporting requirements should reach individuals and families contributing or spending, singly or in combination, \$5,000 or more per year in the aggregate, in connection with the nomination or election campaign of one or more candidates for President or Vice President.

And for reasons inherent in the dramatic growth of bipartisan citizenship and public affairs programs undertaken in recent years by corporations, labor unions, trade associations, and other groups, the Commission has recommended that reports be required of both individuals and groups spending \$5,000 or more for bipartisan or multipartisan political activities in any year.

It is essential that all reports be submitted to a Registry of Election Finance, a central repository having responsibility to receive, examine, tabulate, summarize, publicize, and preserve the reported data. The proposed legislation would place the Registry under the Comptroller General, with a Registrar appointed by him, and with a bipartisan Board of Advisors providing guidance.

Radio and television broadcasts are an essential but expensive means of reaching a vast electorate. To help reduce costs for presidential candidates, I propose the temporary suspension in 1964 of the "equal time" provision in Section 315 of the Communications Act with respect to presidential and vice presidential candidates. A similar suspension in 1960 worked well, and the broadcasting industry is eager to provide free time and facilities for such political uses. I believe temporary suspension, rather than permanent repeal, desirable, so that the Congress can periodically review broadcasting and campaigning practices that occur under ever-changing conditions.

Traditionally, the political parties have had to pay the costs of the President-elect and Vice President-elect during the transition period between the election and the inauguration of a new Administration. It is entirely desirable and appropriate that the Federal government provide funds for paying the reasonable and necessary costs of installing a new Administration in office. There are important reasons, aside from

costs, to institutionalize the change in party power from one Administration to another. An incoming President must select and assemble responsible public officials who must prepare themselves for their new responsibilities. Thus I recommend that the outgoing President be authorized to extend needed facilities and services of the Government to the President-elect and his associates. For this purpose, funds should be appropriated to be spent for specified activities through normal government channels, as the draft legislation provides.

The political parties would be substantially assisted in the registration of voters if the Post Office Department were authorized to cooperate with them by making available change-of-address records. Post Offices already extend such cooperation to local election authorities.

The problems of political finance are not limited to any political party, but are common to all, and all will benefit from action on the legislation herewith transmitted. Enactment of these proposals will go a long way to improve the political climate.

Copies of the five draft bills are attached.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

For the President's statement upon establishing the Commission on Campaign Costs, see the 1961 volume, this series, Item 403. The Commission's report "Financing Presidential Campaigns" (Government Printing Office, 1962, 36 pp.) was made public by the White House on April 18.

On May 26 the White House released statements by former Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman and by former Presidential candidates Richard M. Nixon, Adlai E. Stevenson, and Thomas E. Dewey endorsing the general approach and recommendations of the report.

220 Remarks Upon Receiving Report of the President's Committee
on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. May 31, 1962

Mr. Mayor, the Attorney General, Secretary Goldberg, Secretary Ribicoff, Members of the Congress in the House and Senate:

I want to express my appreciation to all of you for this effort. The Federal Committee on Juvenile Delinquency was established last May and has been working very hard with the Congress, Members of the House and Senate, the Juvenile Delinquency Committee, to develop programs which will give us some hope of assisting our most valuable asset.

I'm not sure that many Americans realize how serious and how important is the challenge presented to us in what happens to our younger people. Thirty or 35 or 40 percent of all of our younger people across the country drop out of school before they've finished it. Now in the underprivileged areas, the great sort of teeming areas of our largest cities, some of them slum areas, that figure reaches 70 or 75 percent of the boys and girls in those areas who drop out of school before they finish. And in the great slum areas, underprivileged areas, 70 or 75 percent of them may be out of work, if we figure today that one out of four are out of work, unemployed—who are under 20. This is particularly concentrated in the large metropolitan areas. And this presents, therefore, a very serious national challenge to us.

We cannot permit this very rich country and strong country of ours to have so many of our younger people unemployed, wandering the streets, without facilities. We all know that in the next decade the great need is going to be for young men and women with education, vocational training, all kinds of education, because there is where the employment opportunity is going to lie. There's going to be less and less need in this country, in our economy, for unskilled labor. Machines, and all other kinds of development make less need for that than there was 10, 20, 30, 40 years ago. So at the very time

when we are finding more and more need for highly educated people to work, we are finding more and more people who are undereducated and out of work.

And we have talked about it for a good many years, and now we have a program to try to do something about it. New York's program is the best in the country at this time, and is the furthest along. But it is, as the Attorney General has said, an area not just in law enforcement but it is also recreation, counseling and guidance, better schools, better education—an attempt through the churches, community efforts, to instil better motivations and an opportunity to work and find useful employment. So that it requires an attack on many areas, and it requires the cooperation, the hard work of the community, and of course the individual families—the community, the city, the State, and the National Government.

This project called "Mobilization for Youth" is now going ahead in New York and we'll have an opportunity to see how a many-faceted attack works out. In addition, we have planning under way for a similar program in six of our cities scattered all the way across the country. This planning will take some months. Then we hope that similar programs will be undertaken in those cities, and if we can work with success in New York and these other cities, we can then spread it across the country, because this is a matter which requires action by us all in this decade.

So I want to say to the Members of the Congress who've worked on this problem for many years—this problem of what we call juvenile delinquency, which is really perhaps not the most descriptive phrase, it's really a question of young people and their opportunity—that we really now have a chance to move into an area which will bring us fruitful results. So I hope that they will continue their interest which has sus-

tained it during times when nothing very much was being done. We do have a chance now to move ahead. I want to compliment New York City which has a very important challenge, to express the hope that the other cities that are planning will move ahead, and that every major city in the United States which has this problem will work and follow the example which we are today calling attention to, and that this will not be a subject of discussion but a subject for action on all levels.

So I want to say to everyone that they could not be engaged in a more useful task.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York City, and to the members of the Committee—Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, and Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff.

The Committee was established by Executive Order 10940 of May 11, 1961 (3 CFR, 1961 Supp., p. 108). Its first report (22 pp., processed) is dated May 31, 1962.

For the President's statement upon signing the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, see the 1961 volume, this series, Item 382.

221 Memorandum Concerning Improvements in Federal Office Space and the Redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue.

June 1, 1962

Memorandum for:

The Secretary of Commerce

The Secretary of Labor

The Director, Bureau of the Budget

The Administrator of General Services Administration

The Special Assistant to the President for Cabinet and Departmental Relations

The Chairman, National Capital Planning Commission

I have reviewed the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space. This report provides a long-needed perspective on Federal office space problems and prospects in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area.

I am requesting each department and agency head to give immediate study to the report and take appropriate action. Future planning for the acquisition and use of office space is to be guided by the findings and recommendations of this report.

I will appreciate a progress report one year from now by the Administrator of General Services with regard to Federal office space and the adoption of improved architectural standards. I should like a similar report on progress from the Chairman of the National

Capital Planning Commission with regard to the improvement of Pennsylvania Avenue.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: At a cabinet meeting on August 4, 1961, the President directed that a survey be made of the Government's immediate and long-term space needs, with particular reference to the Greater Washington area. An ad hoc committee was established consisting of the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the Administrator of General Services, and the Special Assistant to the President for Cabinet and Departmental Relations.

In reporting to the President, on May 23, the Committee pointed out that the problem of office space in the District of Columbia area was acute and that with each succeeding year the needs increased. The report noted that the steady growth of personnel in the area, combined with a low level of public building construction, had produced a haphazard pattern of space procurement and continued reliance on temporary and obsolete buildings, some of which dated from World War I. The Committee recommended a 10-year plan providing for a minimum of 12 new Federal buildings, together with the elimination of existing temporary and obsolete Government-owned buildings. The design of the new buildings, the Committee emphasized, should provide efficient and economical facilities for the use of Government agencies, and should provide visual testimony to the dignity, enterprise, vigor, and stability of the American Government.

The Committee further recommended that immediate attention be given to improving the appearance of Pennsylvania Avenue. It noted that "the north side presents a scene of desolation; block after block of decayed nineteenth century buildings, many of which are vacant above the first story, only rarely interspersed by partially successful efforts at modernization." The Capitol, it pointed out, is increasingly cut off from the most developed part of the city by a blighted area that is unsightly by day and empty by night. The report stated that a great many of the buildings were soon to be torn down and replaced by new structures, both private and public, and that this presented an opportunity for a

dramatic transformation in the appearance of the Avenue, with only a marginal increase in projected expenditures. "As conceived by L'Enfant," the Committee stated, "the 'grand axis' of the City of Washington was to be Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the White House, expressing symbolically both the separation of powers and the essential unity in the American form of Government."

The report concluded with the recommendation that central responsibility for planning the redevelopment of the Avenue should reside with the National Capital Planning Commission; for the design and construction of the new Federal buildings, with the General Services Administration.

222 Letter to the President of the American Medical Association.

June 5, 1962

[Released June 5, 1962. Dated June 4, 1962]

Dear Dr. Larson:

Your letter to me of May twenty-fifth—which I read with interest in the newspapers of May twenty-sixth—has been received in this office and deserves an appropriate reply.

I appreciate your confidence that I "would not intentionally give the American people incorrect information about the American Medical Association or any other organization or individual." Your letter objects to my news conference statement that the AMA was among the opponents of the original Social Security System. If your letter endorses the Social Security concept on behalf of the AMA—if it signifies a willingness on the part of the AMA to include doctors under its coverage—if it repudiates the statement made by Dr. Annis on May twenty-first which implies that Social Security "has to be bad to begin with" and is a "free ride (for) those who do not need these benefits" at the taxpayers' expense—then I am certain that your letter will be enthusiastically welcomed by the great majority of the American people.

On the other hand, if the AMA has never opposed Social Security, some questions may be asked in order to set the record straight:

—Why did Dr. Fishbein, the official spokesman for the AMA, make a statement in November 1939 at the request of the

AMA Board of Trustees, and publish it in the *Journal of the AMA* in December 1939, with the following remarks about Social Security: "Indeed, all forms of security, compulsory security, even against old age and unemployment, represent a beginning invasion by the state into the personal life of the individual, represent a taking away of individual responsibility, a weakening of national caliber, a definite step toward either communism or totalitarianism." (*JAMA*, Vol. 113, No. 27, December 30, 1939, page 2428.)?

—Why did the AMA in 1949 send to every member of Congress a resolution adopted by the House of Delegates of the AMA containing the following statement: "So-called 'social security' is in fact a compulsory socialistic tax which has not provided satisfactory insurance protection for individuals where it has been tried but instead, has served as the entering wedge for establishment of a socialistic form of governmental control over the lives and fortunes of the people . . ." (*JAMA*, Vol. 140, No. 8, June 25, 1949, page 693; No. 9, July 2, 1949, pages 791-2.)?

—Why did the AMA House of Delegates in December 1953 state that it had "in the past registered its disapproval of the principle involved" in Social Security—and why

is it I have repeatedly read critical references to Social Security in the Journal and Proceedings of the AMA?

I did not mean to imply that it was the AMA who had originally applied to the Social Security System the term "cruel hoax" which Dr. Annis had used to describe our medical insurance program—but I am certain you will recall that this very phrase was used by the opponents of Social Security in the 1930's. If your organization did not oppose Social Security *before* its enactment—

only *afterwards*—I will be glad to point out this unique distinction at my next press conference.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Dr. Leonard W. Larson, President, American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago 10, Ill.]

NOTE: Dr. Larson's letter was made public at the American Medical Association headquarters in Chicago prior to its receipt at the White House.

The statement by Dr. Edward R. Annis of Miami was made in a telecast on May 21.

223 Remarks of Welcome to Astronaut and Mrs. Scott Carpenter.

June 5, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express our welcome to Comdr. Carpenter and Mrs. Carpenter and the members of the family, and to the Williamses. We are very glad to have them again at the White House. I think that all of us as Americans take the greatest pride and satisfaction in the tremendous technical accomplishments which have made the flights of the astronauts possible, and we take the greatest pride in them and their families.

I cannot imagine better representatives of what we like to think our country stands for than the four men who have taken part in flights. And it is a source of great satisfaction to me as President at this time in our history that we have these Americans who

are so conspicuous on the world stage and who symbolize our country. So we want them to know we are very glad to have them. They have all been unusually fortunate in their wives and in their children, and we want them to know that they have served their country, all of them, in a way which I am sure for the rest of their lives will be a source of satisfaction to them. So we want you to know that we are glad to see you again.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the Fish Room at the White House. In the first paragraph his words "the Williamses" referred to Walter C. Williams, head of Project Mercury, Cape Canaveral, Fla., and his family.

224 Remarks of Welcome to Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus, at the Washington National Airport.

June 5, 1962

Your Beatitude, members of the Government of Cyprus:

We want to express our very warm welcome to our distinguished visitor who comes from a most ancient country, representing a most ancient people, and also a young country. We salute him particularly because of

the long and difficult fight he conducted for his country's independence, involving the most sensitive interests, involving his own persistent, courageous, and far-seeing view of his country's future. It is a particular source of satisfaction to me to welcome him here, because he spent some time in my own

State of Massachusetts, both at the university there and also as a parish priest in one of our communities.

So we feel that you have come to a country which you know well and knows you. You are most welcome here. Your country occupies a most significant, strategic position in the world today. Your own efforts to maintain the independence and viability of your country are well known here, and you come to the United States with the warmest best wishes of all of our people who admire a courageous fighter for freedom.

Your Beatitude, we are honored to have you here in Washington.

NOTE: Archbishop Makarios responded as follows:

Mr. President, I wish to express my warm thanks for the kind words of welcome. I am very happy to visit in the United States, having the honor to be your guest. Although I come from a long way away, I feel that I am in a country so close to

Cyprus. The common belief in the ideals of freedom and the friendship that exists between our two countries have brought our people very closely together. From the first moment when I stepped on this friendly land, I felt that the warm welcome which I received is an indication of the feelings of the American people towards my country. For this I express my deep appreciation, and I take this opportunity to convey, on behalf of the people of Cyprus, to you and to the American people a message of good will and sincere friendship.

My country, Mr. President, follows with particular interest your great endeavors to secure world peace based on the principles of freedom and democracy. We greatly appreciate this effort of the United States for the creation of better conditions of life and for a happier future. In this great and noble effort, I wish to assure you that Cyprus considers it its duty to play its own part within the limits of its possibilities.

I have been looking forward to meeting you, Mr. President, and I am grateful for the kind invitation you have extended to me which affords me this opportunity.

225 Toasts of the President and Archbishop Makarios.

June 5, 1962

I KNOW that you all join me in expressing our very warm welcome to our distinguished visitor. He has been elected by his people bishop, and also been elected by them president. We don't have that opportunity in this country—you have to choose one or the other, unfortunately. But he has led his people in ways that required great perseverance by all of them. We have, your Beatitude, had a number of heads of state who have played a leading part in the fight of their country for independence, but I don't think any founder of a modern state had to steer a course which involved so many chances of disaster as you did in the 1950's in bringing your country to independence. The complicated and sensitive involvements of powers outside of your own country, the difficulties which you faced internally, the complexities of the modern world—all these were overcome by your perseverance and by your courage, associated with the perseverance and courage of the people of Cyprus.

This is a most ancient country which he now leads. The Romans held it to export copper. Copper is today their No. 1 export still. They go back to the farthest reaches of history.

His Beatitude was generous enough to bring to our country an urn which comes out of a tomb many hundreds of years before the birth of Christ. His ties and his country's ties go back to the mistiest of known history.

So representing this ancient country and ancient people, and very young country, I hope that you will all join in expressing our very warm welcome and appreciation to His Beatitude, and join in drinking to the prosperity of the people of Cyprus and to the very best wishes for the future health of the President, His Beatitude, Archbishop Makarios.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his response Archbishop Makarios expressed appreciation for the hospitality accorded him and for

the opportunity for an exchange of views looking toward closer cooperation between the two countries.

"We are going," he continued, "through a period of anxiety and concern about the future of the world. Many difficult and complicated problems are confronting us All people who truly love peace must sincerely work closely together if peace is to be secured. Countries should be united not only through believing in the same ideals, but by the

consciousness of the common effort and the awareness of working together for the preservation of these ideals

"On our part, Mr. President," he concluded, "we shall never cease to work for the cause of peace based on justice and freedom. These ideals are fervently cherished by the whole of our people. We are determined to do our utmost in this direction, parallel to our peaceful struggle at home for reconstruction and development"

226 Remarks at West Point to the Graduating Class of the U.S. Military Academy. June 6, 1962

General Westmoreland, General Lemnitzer, Mr. Secretary, General Decker, General Taylor, members of the graduating class and their parents, gentlemen:

I want to express my appreciation for your generous invitation to come to this graduating class. I am sure that all of you who sit here today realize, particularly in view of the song we have just heard, that you are part of a long tradition stretching back to the earliest days of this country's history, and that where you sit sat once some of the most celebrated names in our Nation's history, and also some who are not so well known, but who, on 100 different battlefields in many wars involving every generation of this country's history, have given very clear evidence of their commitment to their country.

So that I know you feel a sense of pride in being part of that tradition, and as a citizen of the United States, as well as President, I want to express our high regard to all of you in appreciation for what you are doing and what you will do for our country in the days ahead.

I would also like to announce at this time that as Commander in Chief I am exercising my privilege of directing the Secretary of the Army and the Superintendent of West Point to remit all existing confinements and other cadet punishments, and I hope that it will be possible to carry this out today.

General Westmoreland was slightly pained to hear that this was impending in view of the fact that one cadet, who I am

confident will some day be the head of the Army, has just been remitted for 8 months, and is about to be released. But I am glad to have the opportunity to participate in the advancement of his military career.

My own confinement goes for another two and a half years, and I may ask for it to be extended instead of remitted.

I want to say that I wish all of you, the graduates, success. While I say that, I am not unmindful of the fact that two graduates of this Academy have reached the White House, and neither was a member of my party. Until I am more certain that this trend will be broken, I wish that all of you may be generals and not Commanders in Chief.

I want to say that I am sure you recognize that your schooling is only interrupted by today's occasion and not ended, because the demands that will be made upon you in the service of your country in the coming months and years will be really more pressing, and in many ways more burdensome, as well as more challenging, than ever before in our history. I know that many of you may feel, and many of our citizens may feel that in these days of the nuclear age, when war may last in its final form a day or two or three days before much of the world is burned up, that your service to your country will be only standing and waiting. Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth. I am sure that many Americans believe that the days before World War II

were the golden age when the stars were falling on all the graduates of West Point, that that was the golden time of service, and that you have moved into a period where military service, while vital, is not as challenging as it was then. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The fact of the matter is that the period just ahead in the next decade will offer more opportunities for service to the graduates of this Academy than ever before in the history of the United States, because all around the world, in countries which are heavily engaged in the maintenance of their freedom, graduates of this Academy are heavily involved. Whether it is in Viet-Nam or in Laos or in Thailand, whether it is a military advisory group in Iran, whether it is a military attaché in some Latin American country during a difficult and challenging period, whether it is the commander of our troops in South Korea—the burdens that will be placed upon you when you fill those positions as you must inevitably, will require more from you than ever before in our history. The graduates of West Point, the Naval Academy, and the Air Academy in the next 10 years will have the greatest opportunity for the defense of freedom that this Academy's graduates have ever had. And I am sure that the Joint Chiefs of Staff endorse that view, knowing as they do and I do, the heavy burdens that are required of this Academy's graduates every day—General Tucker in Laos, or General Harkins in Viet-Nam, and a dozen others who hold key and significant positions involving the security of the United States and the defense of freedom. You are going to follow in their footsteps and I must say that I think that you will be privileged in the years ahead to find yourselves so heavily involved in the great interests of this country.

Therefore, I hope that you realize—and I hope every American realizes—how much we depend upon you. Your strictly military responsibilities, therefore, will require a versatility and an adaptability never before required in either war or in peace. They

may involve the command and control of modern nuclear weapons and modern delivery systems, so complex that only a few scientists can understand their operation, so devastating that their inadvertent use would be of worldwide concern, but so new that their employment and their effects have never been tested in combat conditions.

On the other hand, your responsibilities may involve the command of more traditional forces, but in less traditional roles. Men risking their lives, not as combatants, but as instructors or advisers, or as symbols of our Nation's commitments. The fact that the United States is not directly at war in these areas in no way diminishes the skill and the courage that will be required, the service to our country which is rendered, or the pain of the casualties which are suffered.

To cite one final example of the range of responsibilities that will fall upon you: you may hold a position of command with our special forces, forces which are too unconventional to be called conventional, forces which are growing in number and importance and significance, for we now know that it is wholly misleading to call this "the nuclear age," or to say that our security rests only on the doctrine of massive retaliation.

Korea has not been the only battleground since the end of the Second World War. Men have fought and died in Malaya, in Greece, in the Philippines, in Algeria and Cuba and Cyprus, and almost continuously on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. No nuclear weapons have been fired. No massive nuclear retaliation has been considered appropriate. This is another type of war, new in its intensity, ancient in its origin—war by guerrillas, subversives, insurgents, assassins, war by ambush instead of by combat; by infiltration, instead of aggression, seeking victory by eroding and exhausting the enemy instead of engaging him. It is a form of warfare uniquely adapted to what has been strangely called "wars of liberation," to undermine the efforts of new and poor countries to maintain the freedom that they have finally achieved. It preys on economic

unrest and ethnic conflicts. It requires in those situations where we must counter it, and these are the kinds of challenges that will be before us in the next decade if freedom is to be saved, a whole new kind of strategy, a wholly different kind of force, and therefore a new and wholly different kind of military training.

But I have spoken thus far only of the military challenges which your education must prepare you for. The nonmilitary problems which you will face will also be most demanding, diplomatic, political, and economic. In the years ahead, some of you will serve as advisers to foreign aid missions or even to foreign governments. Some will negotiate terms of a cease-fire with broad political as well as military ramifications. Some of you will go to the far corners of the earth, and to the far reaches of space. Some of you will sit in the highest councils of the Pentagon. Others will hold delicate command posts which are international in character. Still others will advise on plans to abolish arms instead of using them to abolish others. Whatever your position, the scope of your decisions will not be confined to the traditional tenets of military competence and training. You will need to know and understand not only the foreign policy of the United States but the foreign policy of all countries scattered around the world who 20 years ago were the most distant names to us. You will need to give orders in different tongues and read maps by different systems. You will be involved in economic judgments which most economists would hesitate to make. At what point, for example, does military aid become burdensome to a country and make its freedom endangered rather than helping to secure it? To what extent can the gold and dollar cost of our overseas deployments be offset by foreign procurement? Or at what stage can a new weapons system be considered sufficiently advanced to justify large dollar appropriations?

In many countries, your posture and performance will provide the local population

with the only evidence of what our country is really like. In other countries, your military mission, its advice and action, will play a key role in determining whether those people will remain free. You will need to understand the importance of military power and also the limits of military power, to decide what arms should be used to fight and when they should be used to prevent a fight, to determine what represents our vital interests and what interests are only marginal.

Above all, you will have a responsibility to deter war as well as to fight it. For the basic problems facing the world today are not susceptible of a final military solution. While we will long require the services and admire the dedication and commitment of the fighting men of this country, neither our strategy nor our psychology as a nation, and certainly not our economy, must become permanently dependent upon an ever-increasing military establishment.

Our forces, therefore, must fulfill a broader role as a complement to our diplomacy, as an arm of our diplomacy, as a deterrent to our adversaries, and as a symbol to our allies of our determination to support them.

That is why this Academy has seen its curriculum grow and expand in dimension, in substance, and in difficulty. That is why you cannot possibly have crowded into these 4 busy years all of the knowledge and all of the range of experience which you must bring to these subtle and delicate tasks which I have described. And that is why you will go to school year after year so you can serve this country to the best of your ability and your talent.

To talk of such talent and effort raises in the minds, I am sure, of everyone, and the minds of all of our countrymen, why—why should men such as you, able to master the complex arts of science, mathematics, language, economy, and all the rest devote their lives to a military career, with all of its risks and hardships? Why should their families be expected to make the personal and financial sacrifices that a military career inevitably

brings with it? When there is a visible enemy to fight in open combat, the answer is not so difficult. Many serve, all applaud, and the tide of patriotism runs high. But when there is a long, slow struggle, with no immediate visible foe, your choice will seem hard indeed. And you will recall, I am sure, the lines found in an old sentry box in Gibraltar:

God and the soldier all
men adore
In time of trouble—and
no more,
For when war is over,
and all things righted,
God is neglected—and
the old soldier slighted.

But you have one satisfaction, however difficult those days may be: when you are asked by a President of the United States or by any other American what you are doing for your country, no man's answer will be clearer than your own. And that moral motivation which brought you here in the first place is part of your training here as well. West Point was not built to produce technical experts alone. It was built to produce men committed to the defense of their country, leaders of men who understand the great stakes which are involved, leaders who can be entrusted with the heavy responsibility which modern weapons and the fight for freedom entail, leaders who can inspire

in their men the same sense of obligation to duty which you bring to it.

There is no single slogan that you can repeat to yourself in hard days or give to those who may be associated with you. In times past, a simple phrase, "54-40 or fight" or "to make the world safe for democracy"—that was enough. But the times, the weapons, and the issues are now more complicated than ever.

Eighteen years ago today, Ernie Pyle, describing those tens of thousands of young men who crossed the "ageless and indifferent" sea of the English Channel, searched in vain for a word to describe what they were fighting for. And finally he concluded that they were at least fighting for each other.

You and I leave here today to meet our separate responsibilities, to protect our Nation's vital interests by peaceful means if possible, by resolute action if necessary. And we go forth confident of support and success because we know that we are working and fighting for each other and for all those men and women all over the globe who are determined to be free.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. at the Field House. In his opening words he referred to Maj. Gen. William C. Westmoreland, Superintendent of the Military Academy; Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Elvis J. Stahr, Jr., Secretary of the Army; Gen. George H. Decker, Army Chief of Staff; and to Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, the President's Military Representative.

227 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the President of the Republic of Cyprus. *June 6, 1962*

PRESIDENT KENNEDY and President Makarios have had an extremely cordial discussion during the past two days on topics of mutual interest to their governments. The visit of Archbishop Makarios afforded an opportunity for the two Presidents to renew their acquaintance and to review a variety of subjects of common concern.

Their talks included a review of major international issues, as well as a discussion of the Government of Cyprus' efforts to achieve economic and social progress. President Kennedy restated American interest in the development program of Cyprus that is now taking shape and in assisting in its implementation.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Foreign

Minister Spyros Kyprianou also participated in the talks, as did the Cypriot Ambassador to the United States Zenon Rossides, and the American Ambassador to Cyprus, Fraser Wilkins.

The friendly and comprehensive exchange

of views between President Kennedy and Archbishop Makarios has strengthened the bonds of friendship between their two countries, which are based on their common objectives of peace and progress.

228 Remarks Upon Presenting the Dr. Thomas Dooley Medal to His Mother. *June 7, 1962*

I TAKE great pleasure on behalf of the Congress and the country in presenting the Dr. Thomas A. Dooley Medal to Mrs. Dooley and members of the Dooley family. This is an extraordinary action by the Congress which takes place only on the rarest occasions when a medal representing the strongest feelings of the American people is struck and presented, and I think it is most appropriate in this case. I think all of us have been impressed by the extraordinary example of Dr. Dooley, who went to the farthest reaches of this earth of ours in order to serve people whom we would not ordinarily regard as intimately related to us and so far away. The letter he wrote when he set up his last hospital, and which finally reached its destination, indicated his strong feeling of service. It typified the best of our country.

In presenting this medal to you, Mrs. Dooley, we want you to know how appre-

ciative we are to him for the example he has set to all of us, and the impression he has given to the world of the compassion of Americans. We want to express our great pleasure in having you here, and particularly in having your grandchildren, who look like the kind of Americans of whom we are very proud.

I met Dr. Dooley, and it is with great pleasure that we present this medal to you, Mrs. Dooley.

NOTE: The presentation ceremony was held at 9:45 a.m. in the President's office at the White House.

In his remarks the President referred to an act of Congress, approved May 27, 1961, authorizing the President "to award posthumously a medal to Doctor Thomas Anthony Dooley III" in recognition of his "gallant and unselfish public service" in serving the medical needs of the people in the remote areas of the Laotian jungles and in other newly developing countries.

Dr. Dooley died on January 18, 1961.

229 The President's News Conference of *June 7, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. [I.] Good afternoon. I have a brief preliminary statement. I would like to say a few words about our economic outlook and program.

I think most financial experts have realized for some time that an overpriced market could not hold up once investors recognized that inflation was ending. Price-earning ratios which averaged on Dow-Jones 23 to 1 could not be justified unless there was heavy inflation in prospect. And we have been

working to prevent inflation, which gives a very misleading and spurious picture of economic health. We must not permit the effects of this adjustment, however, to hamper the growth rate of our economy, with which we have, as you know, not been fully satisfied. While our recovery from last year's recession has been a good one, production, profits, and employment are at alltime highs, and the prospects for continued economic expansion remain favor-

able. In view of corporate and consumer cash on hand, we should take every appropriate step to make certain that recovery is stronger and longer than before and is not cut short by a new recession.

Taxation: In the first place, our tax structure as presently weighted exerts too heavy a drain on a prospering economy, compared, for example, to the net drain in competing Common Market nations. If the United States were now working at full employment and full capacity, this would produce a budget surplus at present taxation rates of about \$8 billion this year. It indicates what a heavy tax structure we have, and it also indicates the effects that this heavy tax structure has on an economy moving out of a recession period.

We saw that after the '58 recession, we've seen it after the '60 recession in the last months. We have proposed, therefore, the following:

One: A \$1,300 million tax credit of 8 percent on new investment in machinery and equipment, which will increase the typical rate of potential profits on modern plant expansion in this country to the same extent, for example, as a 20 point reduction in corporate income taxes, from 52 to 32 percent on the profits to be realized from a new 10-year asset. The tax bill containing this stimulus and offsetting revenue measures has been before the Congress for well over a year. And I am hopeful, particularly, that it can be passed very shortly, because one of the areas of concern in the economy has been the slowness of plant investment, and I think that if we can settle this matter of the tax credit quickly, I think it can have a most stimulating effect on new plant investment this year.

Two: Administrative revision of the Internal Revenue guidelines on the economic life of depreciable assets, to make them more realistic and flexible in terms of actual replacement practices. These revisions to be issued within the next month will also make over \$1 billion in added cash reserves available for additional business investment and,

thus, these two actions combined, which we hope will be taken in the next 30 days, constitute in effect a tax cut for American business of over \$2.5 billion.

Three: A comprehensive tax reform bill which in no way overlaps the pending tax credit and loophole-closing bill offered a year ago will be offered for action by the next Congress, making effective as of January 1 of next year an across-the-board reduction in personal and corporate income tax rates which will not be wholly offset by other reforms—in other words, a net tax reduction.

Four: I have asked the Congress to provide standby tax reduction authority to make certain as recommended by the eminent Commission on Money and Credit, that this tool could be used instantly and effectively should a new recession threaten to engulf us. The House Ways and Means Committee has been busy with other important measures, but there is surely more cause now than ever before for making such authority available.

Five: I have asked the Congress to repeal the 10-percent transportation tax on train and bus travel, resulting in a tax saving of \$90 million a year, and to reduce it to 5 percent on airlines. Action on this tax package will provide our economy with all the stimulus and safeguards now deemed necessary, and I hope such action will be forthcoming.

Mention should be made also of other measures already pending before the Congress which would be of immediate help to our economic expansion and our unemployed workers. A bill to help youth employment—and one out of every four of our boys and girls out of school under 20 are unemployed—a bill to help youth employment has been pending before the Rules Committee since March 29. I hope action can be taken on it.

A bill to authorize Federal, State, and local public works this year in areas of heavy unemployment and to provide standby authority for the future has already passed the Senate. Inasmuch as last year's temporary unemployment compensation program has benefited no additional unemployed since

April 1, a pending bill to extend that program for 1 year should be passed by the Congress before they go home. Every week thousands of people find their unemployment compensation exhausting, must go on public assistance, and this should be a matter of great concern to all of us.

Improvements in our welfare program to help those at the bottom of the economic ladder passed the House on March 15. Other pending bills—the trade bill, the pay reform bill, and others—will all have a beneficial effect on our economy once they are enacted by the Congress. There is no need for this country to stand helplessly by and watch a recovery run out of gas. We have a program to boost it and I hope that all those who are concerned about their stocks or their profits or their jobs will help us get action on this program.

I have full confidence in the basic strength and economic potential of this country and the free world. We in the United States, business, labor, and the government, all of us working together, rather than at cross purposes, must rise to our responsibilities to maintain the forward thrust of our economy. The economic productivity and potential of the United States is the heart of our strength. Unemployment last month declined. Consumer income has been rising rapidly. New homes are being built at a remarkable rate. And this administration intends to do its full share of the task required to realize our full economic potential.

Q. Mr. President, I take it from your statement that you have no intention of recommending a tax cut to take effect before next year. Would you confirm that? And also tell us if you can envision any circumstances which would require tax reduction before next year?

THE PRESIDENT. I think my statement goes into the various tax proposals that we make in some detail. Of course, this is our best judgment at this time. Of course, if new circumstances brought a new situation, then we would have to make other judgments.

But this is our judgment and we believe that this is the most responsible and effective line to take. And I think that if we get action in all the areas which I have described—and they are all very possible—that we can provide a good sustaining lift to the economy.

Q. Mr. President, in the same subject, can you discuss any thinking on rates or how far the reduction will go that you intend to propose in January? And second, sir, if you don't get some of these provisions or proposals which you regard as quite vital, are you thinking in terms of asking Congress to return in the fall if they don't pass them, say, by mid-September?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the tax—the proposed tax bill you are talking about for next January, the work on it should be completed later in the summer. So at that time I think we could discuss it in more detail.

On the other matter, I would—already it has passed the House. The depreciation we can do by administrative action, and we are going to do that, and, as I say, that amounts to over \$1 billion. That will be completed in the next 30 days. It has already been done in the textile industry. But the whole job will be completed in the next 30 days.

The other bill, the tax credit, has passed the House. It is now in the Senate Finance Committee. It can be of most valuable assistance in the area where our economy has had the most difficulty, and that is on the question of plant investment. So that if you could put these two together, as I said, it amounts to \$2,500 million, and I think would be of great assistance to the economy. So I am very hopeful that the Senate will act on this legislation. If they do not, of course we will have to take a look at the situation. But this bill was proposed last year, and a year now has gone by, and now we are going through other months. I think the very fact that some companies are uncertain as to whether they are going to get the tax credit does have a depressing effect upon their investment plans.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, there is a report,

unofficial report, from Paris this afternoon that a meeting between you and General de Gaulle is in the process of being arranged. Is this correct?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't heard that. No.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, why do you think the Senate voted so sharply yesterday to tie your hands on sending aid to Communist countries, especially in defiance of pleas from the White House on the point? And do you think anything can be done to rectify the situation beyond the amendment put in today on food?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the amendment that was put in today on food will be very helpful, because the primary assistance that we have been giving, for example, to Poland, has been through food. In addition, it permits the private organizations to continue to function.

In Yugoslavia we have been giving aid in food; there was some limited development assistance which would not be possible under the Senate amendment. There has been a good deal, of course, of frustration about these programs. They have been under attack for many years and we've carried this aid program since the Marshall plan days, and I suppose people do get tired. But our adversaries are not tired. The desire of people to remain independent—the Polish people want to be independent, they are not Communist by choice but by hard circumstances forced upon them, and I think that we should continue to hold out some hope for them. We are not prepared to take military action to free them, quite obviously, and we did not undertake anything like that during the Hungary revolt, but I do think that we should not slam the door in their face. So that I am glad that the Senate went as far as it went today.

Yugoslavia has been more complicated, and I know that the programs of assistance have been under attack, but the primary assistance now is foodstuffs and it has been quite limited. But Yugoslavia is not a member of the Warsaw bloc. The break be-

tween Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union in the late forties probably did more to maintain the independence of Greece, when that border was closed, than any other single action. And those who were associated with that effort know how close it was in Greece, and I think there is an advantage in encouraging national independence. We may not approve of the government of Yugoslavia, or they may not approve of our government, but at least they have maintained an independent status in regard to joining the Warsaw bloc, or in regard to their dependence upon Moscow. Now, that might change. In that case, of course, our policy could change. But I do think that flexibility is necessary. No one has any idea what the circumstances will be in the next 12 months. We might find it necessary or desirable to give some assistance to a country which was following an independent policy; we might find the language of yesterday denying us that flexibility. I am glad the Senate went back as far as it did. I do think that they should give us the right to give assistance when we deem it in the national interest. I remember this fight was made under President Eisenhower and I supported his efforts at that time to maintain this flexibility—on two occasions—and I am glad at least we have had given some flexibility by the action of the Senate today.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, in your introductory statement, you didn't mention two items which are in this year's tax bill, the withholding on dividends and interest, and the payments on earnings of American firms overseas before those earnings are repatriated. Are you prepared to relinquish this request now or to postpone it until next year?

THE PRESIDENT. No, the major one of course, which is the withholding, is not a new tax. That tax is on the books today and has been for many years. All we are now talking about is a more effective way of collecting a tax. So that is not a new tax.

Now, the other tax of course is the tax on so-called tax havens, and on dividend—and

on money, which would put those companies on a basis comparable to American companies. This has been tied to making it less attractive to American capital to leave this country. That is the purpose of that amendment and I am hopeful that it will pass, in as close a form as it is possible to what it was when we introduced it, because the gold flow concerns us all.

But those taxes, in my opinion, represent responsible actions. But what I was talking about is the stimulus that will be given by the total tax package—putting all this together to the American business, plus the depreciation, of course, which represents, as I say, a clear gain for business.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with the aid fight in the Senate yesterday, there continue to be reports that you are dissatisfied with the reorganization of the aid program administratively. Could you discuss that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, no, that is not correct. I am concerned about the progress we are making in the Alliance for Progress. I think the aid agency has made important gains. I think the long-range authorization which was given to us by the Congress last year has been most helpful, and I think we benefited from it in our programs. It permitted us to associate in consortiums which I think have produced much better economic planning. The matter, of course, of primary concern to me is the Alliance for Progress. We are engaged in a tremendous new joint venture. All these countries are faced with very difficult economic problems—balance of payments problems, great dependence on one or two commodities, raw materials which suffer in price fluctuations, and all such internal difficulties as we've seen in the case of two or three countries in the last month. So that we are not dealing with a situation even as stable as it was in Europe at the end of World War II when we began the Marshall plan. So that this matter continues to be of concern to me, that the Alliance move forward.

But I would say that generally I think

that the aid agency is improved over what the situation was before the Congress gave us the additional tools.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, last Friday, John Bailey, the Democratic National Chairman, made a speech in which he accused Governor Rockefeller of racial prejudice toward Negroes. I wonder if you felt even in an election year this was a justified statement.

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think—I haven't seen any evidence that Mr. Rockefeller is prejudiced in any way towards any racial group. I am glad to make that statement, and I am sure that some of the statements the Congressman—the Chairman of the Republican Committee—has made about me will be, I am sure, similarly repudiated by leading Republicans. [*Laughter*] I have been waiting for it for about a year and a half!

[7.] Q. Mr. President, you have given Congress an awful lot to chew in this session and some of them are getting a little impatient, this being a campaign year. Do you think that the Congress ought to stick around, at least until Labor Day or later, nonetheless, to get through the bulk of this program, or do you propose to give them some top priority list and say, that is it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I'm sure we'll probably have to come to a priority, as you say. Time is coming on, it is election year, and the Congress wants to get home. These programs are important, however. Going down the list: medical care for the aged, youth employment, aid for higher education, the trade bill, the tax bill, there's a good many of very great importance so that the normal authorizations and appropriations—the legislation which I named here—it's hard to pick a list. But obviously, we're going to have to, because we've only got a limited time left.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, can you give us your first impression on the Inter-American Center proposal which was presented to you today?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I listened to the presentation. I'm going to have a meeting

with the Department of Commerce to listen to it in more detail and then, with the Senators and Congressmen who are involved, see if we can come to some decision about it.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, there have been persistent reports that either the American Government or Britain intends to offer nuclear information or equipment to France in order to get better terms for Britain to enter the Common Market or to improve relations with General de Gaulle. I think the latest version is that General Gavin is to come to Washington with an alleged recommendation that American nuclear equipment be provided. What do you think of this concept?

THE PRESIDENT. I think these matters are not related. Secondly, General Gavin, I think, has already issued a statement in regard to his position. He had not planned to come to Washington. I think he was going to address a commencement audience in New England next week, and that was the purpose for which he was coming back. But I don't think the matters are related, and—either in the minds of the French or in the minds of the United States.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, this is a question about American and British aid to Egypt. In Cairo in March I was told that you and President Nasser had engaged in a rather extensive correspondence, not all of which has been made public. And I wondered if he told you anything in that, that you can tell us, about his Middle East activities or gave any assurances that would make him more eligible for aid now than he used to be?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't know about that. We haven't had any extensive correspondence, and as you know, most of the assistance we have been giving Egypt has been in foodstuffs. We continue to attempt to have good relations with the U.A.R., but I have received no information or assurances from President Nasser in regard to any future policy decisions which he might make.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, did you meet with some Spanish Republicans in Caracas

in December of 1961? And did you tell them that you would work to overthrow the Franco Government in Spain?

THE PRESIDENT. The answer to both questions is no.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, do you believe that the economy will reach the 4 percent unemployment target that you have set for mid-1963, with a balanced budget in the fiscal year?

THE PRESIDENT. Obviously we are going to have to wait and make a judgment as to whether we are going to reach 4 percent. We are down to substantially lower, of course, than it has been—unemployment, but still not satisfactory. And I think it would be impossible to make a precise judgment today about whether we are going to reach that figure.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, could you clarify the situation on medical care legislation? The opponents of the administration measure, the Anderson-King bill, which is tied to social security, say that the passage of that law or that measure would cause the repeal of the Kerr-Mills law, which now affects protection for certain needy. Are these the facts?

THE PRESIDENT. No, the fact—in fact, the argument against passing the Anderson-King—one of the arguments has been that there are some people who were not involved and covered by Social Security. But they would still be covered by present law. They'd still be covered by the Kerr-Mills bill. It doesn't seem to me that that is a substantial argument against covering nearly 14 million other people who are entitled and—who are covered by Social Security. In addition, it may be possible to take other measures, to provide additional assistance for those who were not covered by Social Security. Many States, as you know, of course, have not passed the Kerr-Mills, I don't think that the State that the A.M.A. spokesman comes from—Dr. Annis—has passed the Kerr-Mills bill, enabling legislation on the State level.

I think that we ought to pass the King-

Anderson bill, medical care for the aged under Social Security. And I think the argument that we shouldn't do it because we're not going to be able to include everybody under it seems to me to be wholly misleading. We can include 14 million people, and we can continue the legislation we have on the books for the others, and in addition we can take additional special steps for them, which I would support.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, yesterday, the Mexican Ambassador to the Organization of American States made some statements which could be regarded as offensive to some of your appointees, to this country and to its residents. Normally, when an official spokesman for a country makes such a comment it could be construed as a deliberate way of withdrawing an invitation for a visit, which has been extended to you. Could you comment?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have seen—no, as far as I know, and I am sure I know, the invitation by the Mexican Government stands, and I am sure that this is a matter which the Mexican Government themselves can deal with more effectively than I could. The OAS is an international body, and that speech—statements are made in debate, and I think this is really a matter between the representative and his own government rather than between this government and the Ambassador.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, Republicans in Congress put out a statement of policy today, which among other things, says this: a stable dollar is not likely to result if control of the Federal Reserve System rests in the White House. This is taken to be an attack on your proposal that the President have authority to appoint his own Federal Reserve Chairman. How important is this to you?

THE PRESIDENT. First, the point of the matter is that what we have proposed is with the strong support of the Chairman of the Federal Reserve, that the term of the Chairman be the same as with the President, which was the original intention of the legislation when it was first passed. But it has

no effect upon me, if that is what they are thinking of, which I presume they are, because the matter of the Chairman's position comes up in 1963. So that I have no—if I were anxious to get control of the Federal Reserve, the matter comes up in 1963. What we are talking about is for other Presidents in other days. And it is a reform which the Chairman of the Federal Reserve, the Commission on Money and Credit, and many others have thought would be very helpful in the liaison between the President and the Federal Reserve.

We, after all, are very closely associated in our responsibilities, though the Federal Reserve is independent and reports to the Congress. So that it has no application to me, and it is like a good many other things that are said. They are not wholly based on fact, but they sound rather good when those speeches are made.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, do your economic counselors still believe that the gross national product will reach \$570 billion this year and do they also believe that you can balance the Federal budget in the fiscal year?

THE PRESIDENT. They are—I would think they are not as convinced as they were that we will be up to \$570 billion. But we will, I think, have a good chance, if we carry out the steps I recommended, of being close to \$570 billion.

As I say, we had the best month, almost, in our history in autos; houses are up, personal savings are up, actually consumer goods are moving very fast. The one area which is causing concern in the economy has been plant investment, which has not been as high as they originally hoped it would be in January.

Now, if we can, by the various tax measures I have discussed, and by other steps which may become useful as time goes on, give sufficient demand so that business can go into new plant investment, or be persuaded to, encouraged to, then we can make this a very good year. It's going to be, we hope, a good year anyway, but I don't think we can get to \$570 billion unless plant in-

vestment steps up beyond the projected 8 percent. And quite obviously, the sharp decline in the market is not—certainly is bound to make it somewhat more difficult, though it is—I believe there is very strong—there is very good vitality in the economy and I think it can be substantially boosted by the steps I've recommended.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with your January tax proposal, for next January, without going into rates can you give us any idea of the range of the net tax cut that you are thinking of, in total amount?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think it would be better to wait until the program is completed.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, can you comment on the Public Health Service announcement of a special panel of experts to study whether there is a link between cigarette smoking and certain killer diseases? And can you tell us whether the study will be a matter of months or years, or just what the—

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the statement that the Surgeon General issued this morning, I think, gives the position of the Surgeon General, which I have supported, and is in direct response to the question which you asked 2 weeks ago, and now that the survey will take some months—it will go into 1963, but I think that that announcement is in response to your question. You've been answered.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, the National Advisory Committee on Radiation has reported that there are serious gaps in our fall-out detection and surveillance and monitoring system. And they have recommended a very substantial increase in spending over the next 7 years that will amount to almost half a billion dollars. Can you give us your reaction to this, and whether or not it is being seriously considered, or whether you feel that we should increase our funds by that much?

THE PRESIDENT. I couldn't make a judgment on that yet. I think that we ought to do more than we're doing but we have not determined on our program as yet.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us how you size up Mr. Nixon's showing in California, and give us any inkling of your own political plans this fall?

THE PRESIDENT. No, the primaries are difficult—[*laughter*—]and I think that he emerged from a tough one, which I congratulate him for. Now, as far as my plans, I will be active in the fall, but we haven't fixed a definite schedule.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, that Republican statement you mentioned earlier, called the "Declaration of Party Principles," charges, among lots of other things, bankruptcy in leadership in foreign affairs and incompetence of the New Frontier destroying confidence. Would you care to comment upon that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. It isn't true, but—no.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, the three princes of Laos are getting together at last in the formation of a coalition government. Assuming that such a government should be agreed upon, to what extent would the United States go in backing it up economically, and to what extent would we expect them to preserve a neutral policy?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the first talks were encouraging. If it worked out and we had a neutral and independent Laos, we would of course support it with every proper means, and we would hope it would be able to maintain its position of being neutral and independent.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. I have one more. [*Laughter*]

[23.] Q. Mr. President, there seems to be a serious disagreement between you and Mayor Wagner of New York about the reelection of Congressman Buckley. Do you feel this is a serious split and are you doing anything to heal this split either between you and the mayor, or the split in the New York party?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Smith was right, as usual! [*Laughter*]

No, we have a different opinion about it, and we've made our views known, and I am

continuing to hold mine and I am sure he does. I am for Congressman Buckley and he's for someone else, and that's the way it's going to be, I guess.

NOTE: President Kennedy's thirty-fifth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Thursday afternoon, June 7, 1962.

230 Remarks to Members of the Brookings Institution's Public Policy Conference for Business Executives.

June 7, 1962

Gentlemen:

I want to express my welcome to you, and also to express my appreciation to Brookings. I think it comes at a very appropriate time that you have come to Washington to study government and that you are going back to the business community. I hope that you will be ambassadors of good will, or at least of understanding between Washington and the business community. I have been concerned that our dialog has not been as successful in recent months as perhaps it should be. But I can think of nothing more important in improving that dialog than for each—government to understand the problems of business and business to understand the problems of government. I put this latter particularly high because my experience has been that those businessmen who have worked in Washington, who have held positions of responsibility, who know something about the public responsibilities of those who hold executive office, are a good deal more understanding and a good deal more successful in their business work later on.

I think that we are dealing with a very important and sensitive matter. I think we have a great habit of carrying on this dialog in stereotypes, which I suppose make thought less necessary but do not give us a real clue to what should be the relationship between government, business, labor, and the other great groups which make up the general public interest. I know that frequently businessmen talk about "We wish the Government would stay out—would mind its own business," even though the

Government's business has not been defined. But then on the other hand, they look to Washington for action whenever a crisis takes place. It is Washington that is expected to provide solutions to the gold drain; it is Washington which is expected to take action when an economy turns down; it is Washington, the Government, which is expected to take action to curb inflation, to curb excessive strikes in major industries, and all the rest.

So that what I would like to see is a more satisfactory and basic discussion on what are the rather sophisticated and technical questions of keeping our industrial society moving. I think we have something to learn from the European experience in the last 10 years. They have maintained full employment. I talked to one of the officials of the Dutch Government the other day. Their big problem is to secure adequate manpower for a very booming economy. What is true there is true in really all the countries of Europe, with the exception, perhaps, of some parts of Southern Italy, and Italy has had the greatest increase, and was in some ways the most critical situation that we faced in the late forties, has had the most immediate increase in their balance of payments of any country, in the last 5 years, and in their exports, the highest percentage of increase in their exports.

I think that we have to talk, therefore, rather than in these simple slogans, about what our debt management policy ought to be, our tax policy, how we can maintain a full employment. After all, we have had a recession in '58 and a recession in '60, and

we have not had the increase in our economy that we might have hoped for in January, even though we still have a very strong recovery. Now, how can we maintain this recovery?

These are the problems that we should be talking about, and they cannot be talked about in simple and rather ancient incantations which do not really bring judgment with them. We face very difficult problems here. How can we maintain a competitive position in the world? How can we prevent the gold flow? What actions should we take that are helpful; what are those that are discouraging? What is the role of Government in a major basic industry in wages and prices? Obviously there is some role, because it involves national security. The Taft-Hartley Act puts the Government in, in case there is a strike. There is a position, but what should it be? These are the matters which I hope you have been discussing, because they are the matters which business and Government should be talking about in the coming months.

As I say, some of the conversations sound like old records played from the 1933, '34, '35, and '36, when the political struggle was different and when the issues were different, when we had no foreign problem and our major problem was domestic.

So I want to say that I can't think of a more effective program. Brookings has a long tradition of very effective public service. I wish we could expand this.

While I don't expect that you will go back necessarily New Frontiersmen, I do hope that you will go back with some understanding that there is a different perspective here and there is a desire which all people share, to see this country proceed ahead, and we would like to do it in concert, and keep our discussions on the real problems and not on ones which are somewhat imaginary.

You are very welcome here to the White House. I am glad to see you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:45 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

231 Remarks With the Attorney General Upon Presenting the Young American Medals. *June 8, 1962*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. Mr. President, the committee this year made its first selection for a Young American Medal for Service since 1955. Chosen to receive the medal is Mary Ann Kingry, one of three children of Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Kingry of Saginaw, Mich. Mary Ann was chosen for the service medal because of her outstanding work during 1960 on behalf of the Junior Red Cross, while she maintained an excellent academic record and participated in a variety of other activities. She served as a "resource member" of the Midwestern Area of the American Red Cross, and was chosen as one of the two American representatives at the Canadian Training Center of the Junior Red Cross in Ontario, Canada.

Mary Ann was elected secretary of the Midwestern Area Advisory Council of the

Junior Red Cross, was appointed to the 16-member National Youth Council of the American Red Cross, and was the subject of a feature article in the Journal of the American Red Cross.

In other activities she served on her high school student council, was vice president of the Saginaw Youth Council, and president of the City-Wide Senior High Council.

She was elected sophomore representative to the Sodality Club at her high school, Saints Peter and Paul, won numerous school, regional, and state debates, and won honors for her mathematics project entry in the Saginaw Science Fair. Mary Ann has continued as a member of the Scholastic Honor Society throughout high school.

It is an unusual award, as I said, Mr. President. It has not been made since 1955.

A great deal of study and effort and work is done by the committee to select a proper individual, and she was found to be outstanding for her great contributions to her community and school.

THE PRESIDENT. I want to express my congratulations and appreciation to the committee, the Attorney General, Mr. Hoover, Mr. Cox, Mr. Guthman, who participated in making this study. The Vice President recently predicted that we would some day have a woman President. It might be discounted to a degree, because he was speaking at a women's college. But I do want to say that it seems to me we have a promising candidate here. So I want to express my great pleasure in awarding this to you, which you very richly deserve for a whole variety of public services.

Do you want to say a word?

Mary Ann Kingry: Mr. President, Mr. Attorney General, other honored guests who are too numerous to name, I did not prepare any remarks, but I would only like to say that, of course I am thrilled and I am also very humbled by this award, because I realize that in honoring me you are honoring the countless thousands of other young people who are equally deserving of this award and could very well be here in my spot. There are so many people that go into helping you to win an award like this. There is your wonderful family, and an organization like the American Red Cross, and the people back home at school, your friends. But most of all there is an administration that would care enough about young people to bestow an award like this. So, on behalf of those who will read about this, and all the young people who will get new encouragement from this event, I would like to thank you so much.

THE PRESIDENT. I think that is very nice.

The Attorney General: Will she be old enough in '64? [*Laughter*]

THE PRESIDENT. That is rushing a little.

The Attorney General: Mr. President, the next award is to Gerald Lee Davis, who is 12 years old. Gerald comes from Ontario,

Oreg. He was outside his home one day and he saw flames and smoke coming out of the upstairs windows. He rushed in, saw there were flames in front of him, leaped through the flames and rescued his 2-year-old brother. He picked him up and brought him down—he was in a corner of the room—he picked him up, brought him down out of the house. The house was then almost enveloped in flames. His mother was outside and called the fire department.

He looked around and saw that one of his brothers was still missing, a 4-year-old boy. So he went back in, through the flames once again. His mother came back and they searched the rooms and found there was one room they could not possibly get into, and still did not find their brother, knew that he must be in there. So his mother pushed him up, he grabbed hold of the bannister—lost all of the skin on his hands—he pulled himself up over the bannister, went in through the room, still through all of these flames, and brought out his 4-year-old brother. He dropped his brother down to his mother's arms, and then jumped down himself. He went into the hospital where he recovered from being very badly burned.

He was asked at the end of it why he made such an effort, and he said, "I wasn't going to lose my little brother. Flames were not going to keep me away from my brother, so I went anyway."

I might say, Mr. President, he said that he did not understand why he was being called back here, because this did not have anything to do with it. All he wanted to do was rescue his little brother.

THE PRESIDENT. I appreciate that. We want to express our congratulations to this young man and also our pride in him. I am sure that the people of his community and State feel very strongly that this is the best we produce, our best national product, in a sense, which is young men like him. I think his responsibility to his family is the most deserving of recognition, though as he said from the beginning his primary interest was in helping the members of his family.

So we want to congratulate you and tell you that we are very proud to have you here.

Gerald Lee Davis: Thank you very much. [Applause]

The Attorney General: The next award is to Gordon Bernard Kilmer of Reed City, Mich. He is 14 years old. He was out in a boat with a friend, Mark Seath, who is also here, Mr. President. The boat turned over and they yelled for help—Mark Seath is down here, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Why don't you come up here, Mark?

The Attorney General: They saw some people on the shore, yelled for help, and could not be heard; so they decided to try to swim for it. Mark, who suffers from polio, went about 100 yards, found he could not go any further, and he said to his friend, Gordon, that he didn't think he could go any further; so he started to sink. Gordon grabbed him, pulled him; they had a slight fight. He pulled him for a little while, and then he went under again. He pulled him up again, and had him grab the tail of his dog that was swimming along, and that pulled him for a little while. Then for a third time he went under. He could not grab his hair because he had a crew cut, but he grabbed him by the shirt and pulled him for 400 yards to the shore. Then he listened for his heart and could not hear anything; so he gave him mouth to mouth respiratory help, even though he had never done this before. It brought him back a little bit. He got in a boat, rowed across to the other side to get help, and then rowed back to show the police where to come.

This was all done by this young man, again a very, very brave act.

THE PRESIDENT. I want to congratulate you, Gordon. Where is he from?

The Attorney General: He is from Reed City, Mich.

THE PRESIDENT. I want to congratulate you, and you. With so much emphasis on our difficult problems, there is no ceremony more pleasant than to pay much needed recognition to all our young men and women, and particularly to this young man who has been responsible for two young men being here today. So we want to congratulate him and tell him what a pleasure it is.

I want to thank the committee, again, Mr. Hoover coming to participate in this ceremony, and members of the Congress, Congressman Ullman, Senator Hart, Congressman Harvey, Senator Mansfield, Ed Guthman. I think that there is no more appropriate ceremony that we could have here today. So we are glad to have them here and we hope that next year we will have other young boys and girls who will be encouraged by their example. So we are very glad to have you.

NOTE: The ceremony was held at 10 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. During his remarks the President referred to the following members of the Young American Medals Committee: J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; Archibald Cox, Solicitor General; and Edwin O. Guthman, Special Assistant for Public Information, Department of Justice. Later he referred to U.S. Senators Philip A. Hart of Michigan and Mike Mansfield of Montana, and U.S. Representatives Al Ullman of Oregon and James Harvey of Michigan.

232 Remarks to a Group of Overseas Mission Directors of the Agency for International Development. *June 8, 1962*

I WANT to tell you what I am sure you must be aware of, or you would not be here, and that is the importance of this program and the importance of your work and how much we depend upon your judgment. Aid, the concept of foreign assist-

ance, is not a popular program in the United States. That's a well-known fact. And, therefore, there will not be farewell parades to you as you leave, or parades for you when you come back. But I cannot think of any action which is more important to the effort

in which we are engaged than what you are doing, and the military advisory programs which are carried on in the same countries, and the Peace Corps activities which are carried on in some of these countries also. The presence of the United States as a leading power in the free world is involved in your work directly. The people who are opposed to aid should realize that this is a very powerful source of strength for us. It permits us to exert influence for the maintenance of freedom. If we were not so heavily involved, our voice would not speak with such vigor. And as we do not want to send American troops to a great many areas where freedom may be under attack, we send you. And you, working with the people in those countries, to try to work with them in developing the economic thrust of their country so that they can make a determination that they can solve their problems without resorting to totalitarian control, and becoming part of the bloc.

That is the issue. That is why you are very much in the front line of this effort. That is why every President of the United States since 1947—President Truman, President Eisenhower, and myself—have strongly supported this effort. It represents a very essential national commitment. It is a burden, but far less than the burden that would be involved to us directly if we did not have this program. So I hope that you have the satisfaction of realizing how significant this effort is. All these heads of state come to the United States to talk to us. One of the reasons is because we are engaging in this effort. This is a tremendous source of influence for a President of the United States, in exerting the power of this country in a way which serves our security and the long range security of the countries that are involved. If we did not have this program our voice would not be as distinct.

So that this is very essential. I don't always know why we have so much difficulty explaining it, but we do, because the arguments are rather easy to make, and they do not require much thought, against it. But the American people, though they may not like it, in my judgment they support it. It has gone by every year, not in the way that the administration's wanted, but in the final analysis the Congress has supported it. And in my judgment, I know very few occasions when members of Congress who have supported it have suffered any political repercussions because they have supported it.

I think the good sense, even though the superficial opinions may be against it, the good sense of the American people in the final analysis has supported this program for 15 years, more than any other country in the free world. We hope that other countries who have benefited from our assistance who are now more prosperous will do more themselves, but we have to continue to do our part.

So I am delighted to have you here today. Most of you are not the age of the Peace Corps. You all have other things you could be doing. You are at very important stages in your own lives. So we are doubly indebted to you for being willing, and your families, to go to these countries and take on this task. As I say, I am sure that most of you have served in the Armed Forces of the United States on other occasions, and I would say that the job that you are engaged in is as important as any work which is being done by anyone for this country at this time to protect the security of the country. So we are particularly glad to have you here at the White House.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:30 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. Prior to his remarks, the 38 mission directors were introduced by Fowler Hamilton, Director of the Agency for International Development.

233 Remarks at a Dinner Honoring Matthew McCloskey Upon His Appointment as Ambassador to Ireland.

June 9, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice President, Ambassador, Mrs. McCloskey, Mayor Briscoe, distinguished guests, friends, subcontractors of Matt McCloskey, President Truman:

I want to echo the words of the Vice President in expressing our thanks to Morton and to Peter, to Miss Clooney, who was kind enough to come in January, and to Sammy Davis. We appreciated their expressions of "It was a great honor to come." We will tell them that the last person who entertained us who only sang Happy Birthday was Marilyn Monroe, and look what has happened to her.¹ You might not advance your careers, but you are appreciated for what you have done.

I also want to commend this idea of the \$250 dinner. This is like that story of the award of prizes by the Moscow Cultural Center, the first prize being one week in Kiev and the second prize being two weeks. For \$100 you get speeches; for \$250 you don't get any speeches. You can't get bargains like that any more!

I am glad also to be here with President Truman. I used to wonder when I was a member of the House how President Truman got in so much trouble. Now I am beginning to get the idea. It is not difficult.

I got a letter, the nicest letter I have gotten, actually, since I have been in the White House, from an official of Bethlehem Steel Company, saying, "You are even worse than Harry Truman."

But he always turns out for the Party, and I must say that he has made the way of all of us much easier. So, Mr. President, we are glad to have you with us today.

In 1945 I visited Ireland and stayed with David Gray, who was our Ambassador to Ireland, who was a first cousin of Franklin Roosevelt. He also indulged. Gray was a distinguished Episcopalian of English descent. He told me he had had some discussions with the Irish Government at that time. He said, "Let me say just one thing to you." He said, "Don't ever send an Irishman to Ireland as Ambassador. They will play Danny Boy, Wearing of the Green, take him to High Mass, and he is all through."

So in view of the closeness of the election, our first Ambassador there was a Mississippi Baptist, Grant Stockdale, a great success. So we figured we might as well take a chance.

I am sorry to see Matt go. He was about the only businessman we had left. But I must say that in the White House, which has a good number of responsibilities and burdens, that one of the great pleasures and opportunities is to have the opportunity of naming as an Ambassador of the United States a distinguished American like Matt McCloskey. He has played his role. One of the great sights politically is to see Matt McCloskey arguing with the Senator who is being honored at a testimonial dinner about how much the National Committee is going to get at the end of the dinner. And I think that all of us over the years have seen him with the greatest good cheer carry on really the most burdensome task. I can't think of anyone who can represent this country with more credit, who we send with more affection, and who is more fortunate to have going with him Mrs. McCloskey, than our Ambassador.

So I want us all to stand and drink a toast to the man who we are going to all visit in

¹ On the previous day Miss Monroe had been dismissed from a movie she was making for Twentieth Century-Fox Studio.

the next year or so. Ambassador and Mrs. Matt McCloskey.

NOTE: The President spoke in the Grand Ballroom of the Mayflower Hotel in Washington. In his opening words he referred to John M. Bailey, Chair-

man, Democratic National Committee; Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson; Thomas J. Kiernan, Ambassador to the United States from Ireland; Mrs. Matthew McCloskey; Robert Briscoe, Lord Mayor of Dublin; and former President Harry S. Truman.

234 Commencement Address at Yale University.

June 11, 1962

President Griswold, members of the faculty, graduates and their families, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me begin by expressing my appreciation for the very deep honor that you have conferred upon me. As General de Gaulle occasionally acknowledges America to be the daughter of Europe, so I am pleased to come to Yale, the daughter of Harvard. It might be said now that I have the best of both worlds, a Harvard education and a Yale degree.

I am particularly glad to become a Yale man because as I think about my troubles, I find that a lot of them have come from other Yale men. Among businessmen, I have had a minor disagreement with Roger Blough, of the law school class of 1931, and I have had some complaints, too, from my friend Henry Ford, of the class of 1940. In journalism I seem to have a difference with John Hay Whitney, of the class of 1926—and sometimes I also displease Henry Luce of the class of 1920, not to mention also William F. Buckley, Jr., of the class of 1950. I even have some trouble with my Yale advisers. I get along with them, but I am not always sure how they get along with each other.

I have the warmest feelings for Chester Bowles of the class of 1924, and for Dean Acheson of the class of 1915, and my assistant, McGeorge Bundy, of the class of 1940. But I am not 100 percent sure that these three wise and experienced Yale men wholly agree with each other on every issue.

So this administration which aims at peaceful cooperation among all Americans has been the victim of a certain natural

pugnacity developed in this city among Yale men. Now that I, too, am a Yale man, it is time for peace. Last week at West Point, in the historic tradition of that Academy, I availed myself of the powers of Commander in Chief to remit all sentences of offending cadets. In that same spirit, and in the historic tradition of Yale, let me now offer to smoke the clay pipe of friendship with all of my brother Elis, and I hope that they may be friends not only with me but even with each other.

In any event, I am very glad to be here and as a new member of the club, I have been checking to see what earlier links existed between the institution of the Presidency and Yale. I found that a member of the class of 1878, William Howard Taft, served one term in the White House as preparation for becoming a member of this faculty. And a graduate of 1804, John C. Calhoun, regarded the Vice Presidency, quite naturally, as too lowly a status for a Yale alumnus—and became the only man in history to ever resign that office.

Calhoun in 1804 and Taft in 1878 graduated into a world very different from ours today. They and their contemporaries spent entire careers stretching over 40 years in grappling with a few dramatic issues on which the Nation was sharply and emotionally divided, issues that occupied the attention of a generation at a time: the national bank, the disposal of the public lands, nullification or union, freedom or slavery, gold or silver. Today these old sweeping issues very largely have disappeared. The central domestic issues of our time are more subtle and less simple. They relate not to basic

clashes of philosophy or ideology but to ways and means of reaching common goals—to research for sophisticated solutions to complex and obstinate issues. The world of Calhoun, the world of Taft had its own hard problems and notable challenges. But its problems are not our problems. Their age is not our age. As every past generation has had to disenthral itself from an inheritance of truisms and stereotypes, so in our own time we must move on from the reassuring repetition of stale phrases to a new, difficult, but essential confrontation with reality.

For the great enemy of the truth is very often not the lie—deliberate, contrived, and dishonest—but the myth—persistent, persuasive, and unrealistic. Too often we hold fast to the clichés of our forebears. We subject all facts to a prefabricated set of interpretations. We enjoy the comfort of opinion without the discomfort of thought.

Mythology distracts us everywhere—in government as in business, in politics as in economics, in foreign affairs as in domestic affairs. But today I want to particularly consider the myth and reality in our national economy. In recent months many have come to feel, as I do, that the dialog between the parties—between business and government, between the government and the public—is clogged by illusion and platitude and fails to reflect the true realities of contemporary American society.

I speak of these matters here at Yale because of the self-evident truth that a great university is always enlisted against the spread of illusion and on the side of reality. No one has said it more clearly than your President Griswold: "Liberal learning is both a safeguard against false ideas of freedom and a source of true ones." Your role as university men, whatever your calling, will be to increase each new generation's grasp of its duties.

There are three great areas of our domestic affairs in which, today, there is a danger that illusion may prevent effective action. They are, first, the question of the size and the shape of government's responsibilities; sec-

ond, the question of public fiscal policy; and third, the matter of confidence, business confidence or public confidence, or simply confidence in America. I want to talk about all three, and I want to talk about them carefully and dispassionately—and I emphasize that I am concerned here not with political debate but with finding ways to separate false problems from real ones.

If a contest in angry argument were forced upon it, no administration could shrink from response, and history does not suggest that American Presidents are totally without resources in an engagement forced upon them because of hostility in one sector of society. But in the wider national interest, we need not partisan wrangling but common concentration on common problems. I come here to this distinguished university to ask you to join in this great task.

Let us take first the question of the size and shape of government. The myth here is that government is big, and bad—and steadily getting bigger and worse. Obviously this myth has some excuse for existence. It is true that in recent history each new administration has spent much more money than its predecessor. Thus President Roosevelt outspent President Hoover, and with allowances for the special case of the Second World War, President Truman outspent President Roosevelt. Just to prove that this was not a partisan matter, President Eisenhower then outspent President Truman by the handsome figure of \$182 billion. It is even possible, some think, that this trend may continue.

But does it follow from this that big government is growing relatively bigger? It does not—for the fact is for the last 15 years, the Federal Government—and also the Federal debt—and also the Federal bureaucracy—have grown less rapidly than the economy as a whole. If we leave defense and space expenditures aside, the Federal Government since the Second World War has expanded less than any other major sector of our national life—less than industry, less than commerce, less than agriculture,

less than higher education, and very much less than the noise about big government.

The truth about big government is the truth about any other great activity—it is complex. Certainly it is true that size brings dangers—but it is also true that size can bring benefits. Here at Yale which has contributed so much to our national progress in science and medicine, it may be proper for me to mention one great and little noticed expansion of government which has brought strength to our whole society—the new role of our Federal Government as the major patron of research in science and in medicine. Few people realize that in 1961, in support of all university research in science and medicine, three dollars out of every four came from the Federal Government. I need hardly point out that this has taken place without undue enlargement of Government control—that American scientists remain second to none in their independence and in their individualism.

I am not suggesting that Federal expenditures cannot bring some measure of control. The whole thrust of Federal expenditures in agriculture have been related by purpose and design to control, as a means of dealing with the problems created by our farmers and our growing productivity. Each sector, my point is, of activity must be approached on its own merits and in terms of specific national needs. Generalities in regard to Federal expenditures, therefore, can be misleading—each case, science, urban renewal, education, agriculture, natural resources, each case must be determined on its merits if we are to profit from our unrivaled ability to combine the strength of public and private purpose.

Next, let us turn to the problem of our fiscal policy. Here the myths are legion and the truth hard to find. But let me take as a prime example the problem of the Federal budget. We persist in measuring our Federal fiscal integrity today by the conventional or administrative budget—with results which would be regarded as absurd in any business firm—in any country of Europe—

or in any careful assessment of the reality of our national finances. The administrative budget has sound administrative uses. But for wider purposes it is less helpful. It omits our special trust funds and the effect that they have on our economy; it neglects changes in assets or inventories. It cannot tell a loan from a straight expenditure—and worst of all it cannot distinguish between operating expenditures and long term investments.

This budget, in relation to the great problems of Federal fiscal policy which are basic to our economy in 1962, is not simply irrelevant; it can be actively misleading. And yet there is a mythology that measures all of our national soundness or unsoundness on the single simple basis of this same annual administrative budget. If our Federal budget is to serve not the debate but the country, we must and will find ways of clarifying this area of discourse.

Still in the area of fiscal policy, let me say a word about deficits. The myth persists that Federal deficits create inflation and budget surpluses prevent it. Yet sizeable budget surpluses after the war did not prevent inflation, and persistent deficits for the last several years have not upset our basic price stability. Obviously deficits are sometimes dangerous—and so are surpluses. But honest assessment plainly requires a more sophisticated view than the old and automatic cliché that deficits automatically bring inflation.

There are myths also about our public debt. It is widely supposed that this debt is growing at a dangerously rapid rate. In fact, both the debt per person and the debt as a proportion of our gross national product have declined sharply since the Second World War. In absolute terms the national debt since the end of World War II has increased only 8 percent, while private debt was increasing 305 percent, and the debts of State and local governments—on whom people frequently suggest we should place additional burdens—the debts of State and local governments have increased 378 percent.

Moreover, debts, public and private, are neither good nor bad, in and of themselves. Borrowing can lead to over-extension and collapse—but it can also lead to expansion and strength. There is no single, simple slogan in this field that we can trust.

Finally, I come to the problem of confidence. Confidence is a matter of myth and also a matter of truth—and this time let me take the truth of the matter first.

It is true—and of high importance—that the prosperity of this country depends on the assurance that all major elements within it will live up to their responsibilities. If business were to neglect its obligations to the public, if labor were blind to all public responsibility, above all, if government were to abandon its obvious—and statutory—duty of watchful concern for our economic health—if any of these things should happen, then confidence might well be weakened and the danger of stagnation would increase. This is the true issue of confidence.

But there is also the false issue—and its simplest form is the assertion that any and all unfavorable turns of the speculative wheel—however temporary and however plainly speculative in character—are the result of, and I quote, “a lack of confidence in the national administration.” This I must tell you, while comforting, is not wholly true. Worse, it obscures the reality—which is also simple. The solid ground of mutual confidence is the necessary partnership of government with all of the sectors of our society in the steady quest for economic progress.

Corporate plans are not based on a political confidence in party leaders but on an economic confidence in the Nation’s ability to invest and produce and consume. Business had full confidence in the administrations in power in 1929, 1954, 1958, and 1960—but this was not enough to prevent recession when business lacked full confidence in the economy. What matters is the capacity of the Nation as a whole to deal with its economic problems and its opportunities.

The stereotypes I have been discussing distract our attention and divide our effort. These stereotypes do our Nation a disservice, not just because they are exhausted and irrelevant, but above all because they are misleading—because they stand in the way of the solution of hard and complicated facts. It is not new that past debates should obscure present realities. But the damage of such a false dialogue is greater today than ever before simply because today the safety of all the world—the very future of freedom—depends as never before upon the sensible and clearheaded management of the domestic affairs of the United States.

The real issues of our time are rarely as dramatic as the issues of Calhoun. The differences today are usually matters of degree. And we cannot understand and attack our contemporary problems in 1962 if we are bound by traditional labels and wornout slogans of an earlier era. But the unfortunate fact of the matter is that our rhetoric has not kept pace with the speed of social and economic change. Our political debates, our public discourse—on current domestic and economic issues—too often bear little or no relation to the actual problems the United States faces.

What is at stake in our economic decisions today is not some grand warfare of rival ideologies which will sweep the country with passion but the practical management of a modern economy. What we need is not labels and clichés but more basic discussion of the sophisticated and technical questions involved in keeping a great economic machinery moving ahead.

The national interest lies in high employment and steady expansion of output, in stable prices, and a strong dollar. The declaration of such an objective is easy; their attainment in an intricate and interdependent economy and world is a little more difficult. To attain them, we require not some automatic response but hard thought. Let me end by suggesting a few of the real questions on our national agenda.

First, how can our budget and tax policies

supply adequate revenues and preserve our balance of payments position without slowing up our economic growth?

Two, how are we to set our interest rates and regulate the flow of money in ways which will stimulate the economy at home, without weakening the dollar abroad? Given the spectrum of our domestic and international responsibilities, what should be the mix between fiscal and monetary policy?

Let me give several examples from my experience of the complexity of these matters and how political labels and ideological approaches are irrelevant to the solution.

Last week, a distinguished graduate of this school, Senator Proxmire, of the class of 1938, who is ordinarily regarded as a liberal Democrat, suggested that we should follow in meeting our economic problems a stiff fiscal policy, with emphasis on budget balance and an easy monetary policy with low interest rates in order to keep our economy going. In the same week, the Bank for International Settlement in Basel, Switzerland, a conservative organization representing the central bankers of Europe suggested that the appropriate economic policy in the United States should be the very opposite; that we should follow a flexible budget policy, as in Europe, with deficits when the economy is down and a high monetary policy on interest rates, as in Europe, in order to control inflation and protect goals. Both may be right or wrong. It will depend on many different factors.

The point is that this is basically an administrative or executive problem in which political labels or clichés do not give us a solution.

A well-known business journal this morning, as I journeyed to New Haven, raised the prospects that a further budget deficit would bring inflation and encourage the flow of gold. We have had several budget deficits beginning with a \$12½ billion deficit in 1958, and it is true that in the fall of 1960 we had a gold dollar loss running at \$5 billion annually. This would seem to prove the case that a deficit produces inflation and

that we lose gold, yet there was no inflation following the deficit of 1958 nor has there been inflation since then.

Our wholesale price index since 1958 has remained completely level in spite of several deficits, because the loss of gold has been due to other reasons: price instability, relative interest rates, relative export-import balances, national security expenditures—all the rest.

Let me give you a third and final example. At the World Bank meeting in September, a number of American bankers attending predicted to their European colleagues that because of the fiscal 1962 budget deficit, there would be a strong inflationary pressure on the dollar and a loss of gold. Their predictions of inflation were shared by many in business and helped push the market up. The recent reality of noninflation helped bring it down. We have had no inflation because we have had other factors in our economy that have contributed to price stability.

I do not suggest that the Government is right and they are wrong. The fact of the matter is in the Federal Reserve Board and in the administration this fall, a similar view was held by many well-informed and disinterested men that inflation was the major problem that we would face in the winter of 1962. But it was not. What I do suggest is that these problems are endlessly complicated and yet they go to the future of this country and its ability to prove to the world what we believe it must prove.

I am suggesting that the problems of fiscal and monetary policies in the sixties as opposed to the kinds of problems we faced in the thirties demand subtle challenges for which technical answers, not political answers, must be provided. These are matters upon which government and business may and in many cases will disagree. They are certainly matters that government and business should be discussing in the most sober, dispassionate, and careful way if we are to maintain the kind of vigorous economy upon which our country depends.

How can we develop and sustain strong and stable world markets for basic commodities without unfairness to the consumer and without undue stimulus to the producer? How can we generate the buying power which can consume what we produce on our farms and in our factories? How can we take advantage of the miracles of automation with the great demand that it will put upon highly skilled labor and yet offer employment to the half million of unskilled school dropouts each year who enter the labor market, eight million of them in the 1960's?

How do we eradicate the barriers which separate substantial minorities of our citizens from access to education and employment on equal terms with the rest?

How, in sum, can we make our free economy work at full capacity—that is, provide adequate profits for enterprise, adequate wages for labor, adequate utilization of plant, and opportunity for all?

These are the problems that we should be talking about—that the political parties and the various groups in our country should be discussing. They cannot be solved by incantations from the forgotten past. But the example of Western Europe shows that they are capable of solution—that governments, and many of them are conservative governments, prepared to face technical problems without ideological preconceptions, can coordinate the elements of a national economy and bring about growth and prosperity—a decade of it.

Some conversations I have heard in our own country sound like old records, long-playing, left over from the middle thirties. The debate of the thirties had its great significance and produced great results, but it took place in a different world with different needs and different tasks. It is our responsibility today to live in our own world,

and to identify the needs and discharge the tasks of the 1960's.

If there is any current trend toward meeting present problems with old clichés, this is the moment to stop it—before it lands us all in a bog of sterile acrimony.

Discussion is essential; and I am hopeful that the debate of recent weeks, though up to now somewhat barren, may represent the start of a serious dialog of the kind which has led in Europe to such fruitful collaboration among all the elements of economic society and to a decade of unrivaled economic progress. But let us not engage in the wrong argument at the wrong time between the wrong people in the wrong country—while the real problems of our own time grow and multiply, fertilized by our neglect.

Nearly 150 years ago Thomas Jefferson wrote, "The new circumstances under which we are placed call for new words, new phrases, and for the transfer of old words to new objects." New words, new phrases, the transfer of old words to new objects—that is truer today than it was in the time of Jefferson, because the role of this country is so vastly more significant. There is a show in England called "Stop the World, I Want to Get Off." You have not chosen to exercise that option. You are part of the world and you must participate in these days of our years in the solution of the problems that pour upon us, requiring the most sophisticated and technical judgment; and as we work in consonance to meet the authentic problems of our times, we will generate a vision and an energy which will demonstrate anew to the world the superior vitality and the strength of the free society.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. on the Old Campus after being awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. His opening words referred to A. Whitney Griswold, President of the University.

235 Remarks of Welcome to President Chiari of Panama at the Washington National Airport. *June 12, 1962*

Mr. President, Mr. Foreign Minister, members of your government:

I want to welcome you to the United States in very un-Panamanian weather, and to tell you that in spite of the rain, you are most welcome here.

The first President of the United States to leave these shores during his incumbency was that great destroyer of tradition, Theodore Roosevelt, and the country he went to was Panama. I think this was only one of many historic manifestations of the very vital, as well as close and fraternal, relations which exist between Panama and the United States. We have stood side by side in great wars and in peace, and we are obligated, both Presidents as well as our citizenry, to work in the closest harmony.

We share a responsibility, in a sense, in the Panama Canal to the world, a canal which is of the most vital and historic importance to Panama, and on which so much of our security and the security of the maritime and defense fleets of the free world depend.

These flowers which are of great mutual significance should be occasionally watered by frequent consultation, and I think that it is therefore most appropriate that you should come here. Because we are so close, because the mutuality of interest exists between us so intimately is all the more reason why we should meet. So I must say, Mr. President, few meetings since my term of office began bear so importantly upon the great interests of this hemisphere. Panama and the United States and the other sister Republics of this hemisphere are joined in a great Alliance for Progress to bring a better life to our people. I know the commitment of the Government and the people of Panama, as well as the commitment of the

Government and the people of the United States, so I think we meet at a most important time, and I think this meeting can be most fruitful.

We are particularly glad, therefore, Mr. President, to have you here. And we regard this meeting as one from which significant results can come which can maintain, as well as develop, the cordial relations between our countries and people upon which we both depend. Mr. President, rain or shine, you are most welcome here.

NOTE: President Chiari responded as follows:

"Mr. President, Secretary of State, distinguished members of this committee:

"Mr. President, I certainly appreciate very much this gracious and warm welcome that you are giving me today here in Washington. I am glad that I had this opportunity of coming over to meet you and to talk to you in a very frank and sincere way about our relations between Panama and the United States due to the Panama Canal being in our country. I believe this is the only way that two nations, really friendly nations, can get together, when they talk and find solutions that are proper for both places.

"Being here in Washington also gave me the opportunity to extend to you a very hearty greeting and to wish you a very secure success in your program of the Alliance for Progress. All the countries in Latin and Central America have great faith in this program that you have yourself taken upon yourself as President of the United States. I believe that in the not very long time the source will be available.

"Mr. President, once again I want to thank you. I want to thank you for this welcome and I want to thank you also in the name of my country of Panama, in the name of my people, for this warm reception that I have received from you. And I hope it will last and be repeated so many times, because I do hope, too, that there will be some time when you can reciprocate this visit; and Panama will be very much honored, and we will be very glad to have you there in my country."

President Kennedy, in his opening words, referred to Galileo Solis, Panama's Minister of Foreign Relations.

236 Remarks Upon Presenting Certificates to Graduates
of the Capitol Page School. *June 12, 1962*

FIRST I want to congratulate you and the teachers and the parents. I don't know whether the pages are exempted from the Child Labor Act, but I know you carry on work and school. How many of you are going to college from here? Perhaps you can hold up your hands. That you have been able to carry through a working school, be admitted to college, and at the same time work in the House and Senate as you do long hours I think is very admirable. I want to express from my own experience in both the House and Senate very warm appreciation to all of you. How many are here from the Senate and how many from the House?

How many were there in 1960 in the Senate?

I must say after 14 years with the Congress, I think we have been most fortunate in having a most unusual group of boys. I also hope, as a result of coming here, that you are not in any way disillusioned by political experience, but instead will choose to come back here yourselves as members of the House and Senate. If you don't do that and follow some other career that you

choose, maintain your interest in political life in both of our parties.

You have had an unusual experience, and you don't want to let it go to waste. There are too few people in this country who understand how the Congress works. Having been exposed to this at a very significant time in your lives, it would be a shame if you did not use that experience in a way that would be useful to our country.

I want to congratulate the parents who were willing to let their sons leave home and go to work and work hard. It has been an opportunity for them, and I hope you will continue to stimulate their interests.

Over the years the records of the boys who have been here have been most unusual; so we expect great things from you. I know this is just the beginning of a great career which I hope will be marked by public service not only in the Congress, but also perhaps in other places. It is here, so it is available to all of you.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon on the portico at the White House, following which he presented Presidential Certificates to the graduates. Prior to his remarks the graduating class was introduced by Henry L. De Keyser, Principal of the Capitol Page School.

237 Message to the Congress Transmitting the Final Report on the
Mutual Security Program. *June 12, 1962*

[Released June 12, 1962. Dated June 11, 1962]

To the Congress of the United States:

Transmitted herewith is the final Annual Report on the operations of the Mutual Security Program for the period ending June 30, 1961. The report was prepared under the direction of the Administrator of the Agency for International Development as Coordinator of the foreign assistance program, with participation by the Department of State and the Department of Defense.

This report marks the end of one decade

in our aid programs and the beginning of another; the transition from what was primarily a decade of defense to a Decade of Development. The past decade has seen the strengthening of many of our friends and allies so that they have been enabled not only to thrive without our grant assistance, but also to bear an increasing share of the responsibility of helping the less-developed nations.

Fiscal year 1961 can perhaps best be char-

acterized as a year of re-evaluation for the foreign assistance program. A Presidential Task Force was set up early in 1961 to review the program thoroughly—from basic policy to future objectives. The work of this Task Force, and subsequently the constructive efforts of the Congress, resulted in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, which created the Agency for International Development and in effect inaugurated the Decade of Development.

For the new decade, new tools have been forged to implement the changes in program emphasis toward economic and social progress through self-help, long-range develop-

ment, and a shift from grant assistance to loans. These objectives can be realized, however, only if the strength and will of the free world against overt aggression and subversion from within is maintained. We must continue, therefore, to carry forward an effective military assistance program to sustain the safeguards and defensive arrangements necessary for the peaceful development of the free world.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The "Report to Congress on the Mutual Security Program for the Fiscal Year 1961" (48 pp.) was published by the Government Printing Office.

238 Toasts of the President and President Chiari of Panama.

June 12, 1962

Gentlemen, Mrs. Sullivan, who represents the women of America here, especially selected for that responsibility:

I know that you all join me in expressing our great welcome to the President. I must say that his visit has particular pleasure for me.

Mr. President, 2 weeks ago we were the host to the President of the Ivory Coast, President Houphouet-Boigny, who in a free election was elected by 98 percent of the vote which made us in this country where we have had closer elections than that feel somewhat uncomfortable. But I understand the President here was elected by 8,000 votes, so he is really welcome. We had a landslide here.

We are just getting some figures from the election in Peru, where the prediction is one candidate will get 32.3 percent and the second candidate will get 32.1 percent. It shows what a vigorous democracy we have in this hemisphere.

We are glad to have here the President and his distinguished Ambassador who is a friend of all of us; Dr. Arias, who is the Finance Minister, who is a graduate of Harvard. It took him 3 years to get a degree from Yale. It can be done in less than that.

I will tell you that. We also have the Foreign Minister, who played a very vigorous role on many occasions, including Punta del Este, for which we are most indebted, and we are very glad that the President brought him in his party, the leader of the opposition. The bipartisan tradition is strong here, and I will take Everett with me wherever I go out of the United States in an attempt to follow your example.

In any case, we are very glad to have you here, Mr. President. Panama has been very generous to the United States. And we are quite aware that whatever contribution or whatever blessings the Canal gives to Panama, it gives great blessings to the United States and is very essential to our security and also to the economy and security of so much of the world. Obviously this places—whatever good things it brings to Panama, it also places heavy burdens upon Panama, and we recognize those, and we recognize that there are many problems that come from it. The Finance Minister was talking about only one of them the other day, but everything we do here in this country has a reflection upon Panama. So that these are matters—merely because countries have long traditions of friendship, I believe that they

should meet more frequently than those countries which have disagreements, because we want to maintain our close relations with our friends. Therefore, I think it is most appropriate that you should come here, Mr. President, and that this administration, in a sense for the first time, should have a chance to review our relations, to see what steps we can take to serve the interests of both of our countries, and these are not matters which should be left to time.

So I think this is a most appropriate time. I want the delegation from Panama to know how welcome they are. I can assure them that all of the matters that are on the agenda have been given, are being given, and will be given the most serious consideration by this Government. We are very anxious to maintain the most friendly relations with Panama, and take every step we possibly can to insure that these relations are friendly and fruitful in the future.

We recognize the challenges that Panama faces as I am sure you recognize the responsibilities that the United States carries.

So, Mr. President, you are most welcome and the members of your Government are most welcome. And I hope that in your presence here in a sense the people of Pan-

ama sit at this table, as well as the people of the United States.

So that I hope all of you will join with me in drinking to a country with whose destiny ours is inextricably tied, and that we will pay a salute to our friends in Panama, and also drink particularly to the very good health of our distinguished guest, the President.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House.

In his response, President Chiari expressed his appreciation for the welcome accorded him. He stated that it was good for the two presidents to get together and discuss the relations between the two countries which, he noted, "are tied in a good and sincere friendship. You believe in democracy, you fight for it, and you have shown it at different times.

"Mr. President," he continued, "we are a small country and we do not have the ways that we can show the way you did it, but we believe also in democracy and we fight for it, and we fight to keep it in our country . . ."

President Chiari concluded by saying, "We bring from Panama an outstretched hand to shake a hand that we believe is our friend and certainly for a great many years."

In his opening remarks President Kennedy referred to Mrs. Leonor K. Sullivan, U.S. Representative from Missouri. Later he referred to Ambassador A. Guillermo Arango, Finance Minister Gilberto Arias, and Foreign Minister Galileo Solis, all of Panama, and to U.S. Senator Everett McK. Dirksen of Illinois, minority leader of the Senate.

239 Message to Chairman Khrushchev Following the Formation of a Coalition Government in Laos.

June 13, 1962

[Released June 13, 1962. Dated June 12, 1962]

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I share your view that the reports from Laos are very encouraging. The formation of this Government of National Union under Prince Souvanna Phouma marks a milestone in the sustained efforts which have been put forward toward this end, especially since our meeting in Vienna.

It is of equal importance that we should now press forward, with our associates in the Geneva Conference, to complete these agreements and to work closely together in

their execution. We must continue also to do our best to persuade all concerned in Laos to work together to this same end. It is very important that no untoward actions anywhere be allowed to disrupt the progress which has been made.

I agree that continued progress in the settlement of the Laotian problem can be most helpful in leading toward the resolution of other international difficulties. If together we can help in the establishment of an independent and neutral Laos, securely

sustained in this status through time, this accomplishment will surely have a significant and positive effect far beyond the borders of Laos. You can count on the continued and energetic efforts of the Government of the United States toward this end.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: In the first paragraph President Kennedy referred to Mr. Khrushchev's view on the Laotian situation as expressed in a message to the President dated June 12. The message is published in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 47, p. 12).

240 Remarks Upon Signing Bill for Construction of the San Juan-Chama and Navajo Projects. *June 13, 1962*

TODAY I have signed S. 107, a bill to authorize the Secretary of Interior to construct the San Juan-Chama Reclamation Project, and the Navajo Irrigation Project. By my natural resources and conservation message, I emphasized the importance of water resources development to the Nation, and expressed this administration's commitment to a sound and orderly program of new projects to meet accumulated needs.

The projects authorized in S. 107 were included among the major western water resource developments recommended in my conservation message as part of this program. These projects will provide major benefits to the West, and to the Nation as well as to the communities directly involved.

The Navajo Indian Irrigation Project will assist the Navajo people in making full use of their own resources to achieve a higher standard of living by providing employment opportunities in irrigation farming.

The San Juan-Chama Reclamation Project will provide water supplies needed to permit continued economic growth and development and stabilize an existing agricultural economy in the Rio Grande Basin of New Mexico.

These developments represent investments in the Nation's future that will provide major dividends in the years to come. I am especially pleased to approve this bill because I regard this legislation as the forerunner of additional authorization for western water resources development now pending in the Congress.

We are particularly glad to have the chairman of the Navajo Indian Tribe here representing the Navajo Tribe.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in his office at the White House. In his remarks he referred to Paul Jones, chairman of the Navajo Tribe.

As enacted, S. 107 is Public Law 87-483 (76 Stat. 96).

241 Telegram to Senator Johnston Following His Victory in the South Carolina Primary. *June 13, 1962*

CONGRATULATIONS on your decisive primary victory. Confidence demonstrated by so great a number of South Carolinians is a great source of satisfaction to all of those who work with you here in the Capital for

South Carolina and the country.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Honorable Olin D. Johnston, Wade Hampton Hotel, Columbia, South Carolina]

242 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Chiari of Panama. *June 13, 1962*

THE MEETINGS of the President of the Republic of Panama and the President of the United States of America during the past two days have been marked by a spirit of frankness, understanding and sincere friendship. During their talks the two Presidents discussed general relations and existing treaties between their two countries, their mutual interests in the Panama Canal, and topics of world-wide and hemispheric concern. They emphasized the close and friendly ties on which have been established a mutually advantageous association through partnership in the Panama Canal enterprise. On the conclusion of these talks, they agreed to publish the following joint communique.

They reaffirm the traditional friendship between Panama and the United States—a friendship based on their common devotion to the ideals of representative democracy, and to their determination that both nations should work as equal partners in the cause of peace, freedom, economic progress and social justice.

The Presidents recognize that their two countries are bound together by a special relationship arising from the location and operation of the Panama Canal, which has played such an important part in the history of both their countries.

The President of Panama and the President of the United States agreed upon the principle that when two friendly nations are bound by treaty provisions which are not fully satisfactory to one of the parties, arrangements should be made to permit both nations to discuss these points of dissatisfaction. Accordingly, the Presidents have agreed to appoint high level representatives to carry on such discussions. These representatives will start their work promptly.

As to some of these problems, it was agreed that a basis for their solution can now be stated. Accordingly, the two Presidents further agreed to instruct their rep-

resentatives to develop measures to assist the Republic of Panama to take advantage of the commercial opportunities available through increased participation by Panamanian private enterprises in the market offered by the Canal Zone, and to solve such labor questions in the Canal Zone as equal employment opportunities, wage matters and social security coverage.

They also agreed that their representatives will arrange for the flying of Panamanian flags in an appropriate way in the Canal Zone.

In order to support the efforts of the Government of Panama to improve tax collections in order to meet better the needs of the people of Panama, President Kennedy agreed in principle to instruct his representatives to work out in conjunction with the Panamanian representatives arrangements under which the U.S. Government will withhold the income taxes of those Panamanian and non-United States citizen employees in the Zone, who are liable for such taxes under existing treaties and the Panamanian income tax law.

The President of Panama mentioned a number of other practical problems in relations between the two countries of current concern to his Government including the need of Panama for pier facilities and the two Presidents agreed that their representatives would over the coming months discuss these problems as well as others that may arise.

The Presidents reaffirmed their adherence to the principles and commitments of the Charter of Punta del Este. They agreed on the need to execute rapidly all steps necessary to make the Alliance for Progress effective; they recognized that the Alliance is a joint effort calling for development programming for effective use of national as well as external resources, institutional reforms, tax reforms, vigorous application of existing

laws, and a just distribution of the fruits of national development to all sectors of the community.

The two Presidents declared that political democracy, national independence and the self-determination of peoples are the political principles which shape the national policies of Panama and the United States. Both countries are joined in a hemisphere-wide effort to accelerate economic progress and social justice.

In conclusion the two Presidents expressed their gratification at this opportunity to exchange views and to strengthen the friendly and mutually beneficial relationship which has long existed between Panama and the United States. Their meeting was a demonstration of the understanding and reciprocal cooperation of the two countries and strengthened the bonds of common interests and friendship between their respective peoples.

243 Remarks at a Meeting With the Headquarters Staff of the Peace Corps. *June 14, 1962*

Sarge, Governor, Fowler:

I never thought I would get such a warm hand at the Chamber of Commerce, and I don't think I ever will again.

I wanted to come over here this morning to express my very great appreciation to you for all that you have done to make the Peace Corps such an important part of the life of America and, though I hate to use this word which we have inherited from other days, the image of America overseas.

I don't think it is altogether fair to say that I handed Sarge a lemon from which he made lemonade, but I do think that he was handed and you were handed one of the most sensitive and difficult assignments which any administrative group in Washington has been given, almost, in this century.

The concept of the Peace Corps was entirely new. It was subjected to a great deal of criticism at the beginning. If it had not been done with such great care and really, in a sense, loving and prideful care, it could have defeated a great purpose and could have set back the whole cause of public service internationally for a good many years. That it has turned out to be the success that it has been has been due to the tireless work of Sargent Shriver, and to all of you. You have brought to Government service a sense of morale and a sense of enthusiasm and, really, commitment which has been absent

from too many governmental agencies for too many years.

So that while the Peace Corpsmen overseas have rendered unusual service, those of you who have worked to make this a success here in Washington I think have set an example for Government service which I hope will be infectious. Government service should be, in these days when so much depends upon the United States, the most prideful of all careers. To serve in the United States Government, to be a public employee, to be a bureaucrat in the critical sense—that should be the greatest source of satisfaction to any American.

I hope that when the times are written and when we have moved on to other work inevitably the sense of having worked for the Government during important days will be the greatest source of pride to all of us.

You remember, in the Second World War, Winston Churchill made one of his speeches—I think at Tripoli, when the 8th Army marched in there—and said, “they will say to you ‘What did you do during the great war?’ and you will be able to say ‘I marched with the 8th Army!’” Well, they may ask you what you have done in the sixties for your country, and you will be able to say, “I served in the Peace Corps, I served in the United States Government,” and I think that people will recognize that you have made your contribution.

There have been three Peace Corpsmen who have died already in the service of their country and in a larger sense in the service of peace and the service of all people, one in the Philippines, and two in Colombia. And I suppose through the hazards of fate, living as these young men and women do, and not all of them are young, on the horizon of experience that others will find themselves giving up their lives.

I can imagine if that must come, no cause—cause of peace—is more worthy of that kind of a great contribution. To be able to make a maximum effort to serve peace in a time of maximum danger, I would consider the most satisfactory of human experiences.

I am particularly pleased that the first enthusiasm for the Peace Corps has not given way to a sense of disillusionment. The fact is that we are getting more and better recruits than ever before. The standards have been maintained and at an increasingly higher pitch. This has not become a routine assignment as so many other experiences become. I hope this sense of participation in a new and important cause will be maintained over the years.

So I want you all to know that you—most of you are young in the service of the Government—that you have set a very high standard for the Government, that even those who have worked in other agencies for years, who have come here, have found themselves caught up in this tide, and therefore all of us are indebted to you. I hope that this spirit is maintained, and I hope all of you realize that this country, and countries far beyond, are most indebted to you, and that you are playing a part in an activity and an adventure that goes far beyond the shores of the United States. We appreciate all that you are doing.

[At this point, Mr. Shriver stated that the President had indicated that he would answer questions from those who would like to ask them. He pointed out that the President had said that the questions did not have

to deal with the Peace Corps exclusively, but could be on any subject including any aspect of foreign policy.]

[1.] Q. I wonder if the President may discuss briefly the relationship between the Peace Corps and present U.S. foreign policy.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, to speak about only one area, I think that the United States, because the defense of the free world rests in the main upon the United States, the military defense, the emphasis has been continually, of course, upon alliances and upon the military strength of our country and our willingness to sustain our words with our deeds.

In addition, this inevitable requirement is subjected to continual attack by those who are opposed to us as a matter of propaganda, and as a matter of attack that the United States is essentially militaristic, that the emphasis that has been placed upon the use of atomic weapons, all of this has presented the United States in many key parts of the world as a rather harsh, narrow-minded militaristic, materialistic society.

This, of course, has its adverse effects, particularly upon intellectuals, students, and others who have a—hold a power in a sense disproportionate to their numbers, if not their importance, but certainly far greater than their opposite numbers do in the United States. They are key groups who are the object of a concentrated Communist or Marxist assault in these areas of the world which hang on the razor's edge of decision.

The Peace Corps, it seems to me, gives us an opportunity to emphasize a very different part of our American character, and that which has really been the motivation for American foreign policy, or much of it, since Woodrow Wilson, and that is the idealistic sense of purpose which I think motivates us, which is very important and a real part of American character, and has motivated a good deal of our international policy in the private church groups, in the aid groups, and all the others. It is a part of American character and purpose and policy which is sub-

merged frequently by the press, by political speeches, by the political dialog that goes on in this country. But the great efforts which have been made by American missionaries in so many parts of the world, the AID programs and all the rest, have their roots not only in the national self-interest of the United States, but also in this quality.

The Peace Corps, it seems to me, gives this particular side of American life a channel for expression and also gives us a chance to express it overseas.

I am not saying that we have enough teachers to teach all the people English who are today unable to speak it; that we have enough engineers to survey in Tanganyika every road; that we have enough people who are familiar with farming to teach farming to everyone who needs it. I know that foreign aid has been subjected to criticism recently, because they say there are not enough capital resources in the free world to materially affect the lives of all the millions of people who live on the edge of starvation. That may be true, but it does indicate a sense of hope, and it does indicate the Peace Corps, even though there may be only a thousand scattered thinly around through millions of people, it does give us a chance to call attention to a side of our life which is extremely important, and which is so frequently ignored.

This is unrelated, now, to your question, but another side of American life which is ignored is the cultural side of American life. More people play musical instruments probably in the United States than any other country in proportion to our population. More people go to concerts in the United States than, almost, go to ball games. The best chamber music in the world is played in the United States, in Vermont, in a small town. There are more boys orchestras and girls orchestras and choirs in this country than probably any place in the world. Yet it is a side of American life which is almost unnoticed.

When my brother came back from his trip, particularly to Japan and Indonesia, what

struck him so remarkably was the impression of America which is half a century old, which is in many places unsatisfactory, which is held by so many of the students who will be the future leaders of these countries.

This side of American life—the Peace Corps, the great emphasis which has been placed in our country on the development of cultural assets—these are terribly important things when people are determining which represents the best hope for them.

So, in answer to your question, I think the Peace Corps, a vivid and obvious demonstration of this side of American life, is of great material help to the foreign policy of the United States, and therefore to the peace of the world.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, for some of us not quite so educated on the subject, I wonder if you could give us some of your understanding of this fluctuation of the stock market as related to our national economy?

Mr. Shriver: That question, obviously, is not very closely related to the Peace Corps. But Mr. President, would you like to talk about the market?

THE PRESIDENT. I suppose in a sense there is a relation, because so much of the strength of the United States and its foreign policy abroad is related to its domestic economy at home. I think as I stated the other day the market was selling at an average of about 23 times earnings. Some stocks were selling at 40 times earnings, which is an extremely high ratio when you consider it would only represent a sound investment if you were going to have a tremendous increase in the cost of living, or if you were having a tremendous inflationary pressure. As wholesale prices have been relatively stable, in fact the wholesale price index is almost the same as it was in 1958, you do not have a strong inflationary pressure, and in fact have not had it for a period of 3 or 4 years.

But nevertheless, a good many people thought we did have it. I think in my speech in New Haven on Monday, when I

went into great detail about some of the differences between the realities and the myths of some of our economic life, I attempted to indicate what the effect was. I think because we had a deficit in fiscal 1962, it was assumed that automatically we would have an inflationary spiral. That has not been true. Inflationary pressures are not particularly strong in our economy at the present time. Therefore, you cannot justify, as I think the market has found, the selling at 23 to 1, or as I say in some cases, 40, 45, and 50 to 1, which represents, of course, an investment which most people would not regard as particularly stable at a time of stable prices.

The more basic question, of course, of the economy is whether we can maintain a forward thrust. We had a recession in 1958. We had a recession in 1960. We do not want to have a recession again.

So this represents a major challenge, of course, to all of us—members of the Chamber of Commerce, business, government, labor, all Americans. And what I have been attempting to suggest is that we should look at these problems in the sense of management of a complicated economy with a tremendous effect on what we do here and abroad, that we should think anew. We should, as Abraham Lincoln said, disentrall ourselves, and it is to that effort that we have been attempting to carry on some dialog; and I hope, although I know Mr. Shriver does keep you busy reading, that you might have a chance to read my speech on Monday at New Haven at which I attempted to suggest some of the areas where we could usefully disentrall ourselves, if we are going to be able to manage our economy.

[3.] Q. What are the chances of diverting moneys from our space program, not the military aspects, but in getting to the moon and projects like that?

THE PRESIDENT. Diverting money from those programs? Well, I support the program. I do not think the United States can afford to become second in space because I think that space has too many implications

militarily, politically, psychologically, and all the rest.

I saw a survey taken the other day of young French students, asking which countries they regarded as ahead in various areas or which systems. About 67 or 68 percent regarded the Soviet Union as being first in science and technology.

I would not regard that as a very satisfactory statistic. I think the fact that the Soviet Union was ahead first in space in the fifties had a tremendous impact upon a good many people who were attempting to make a determination as to whether they could meet their economic problems without engaging in a Marxist form of government. I think the United States cannot permit the Soviet Union to become dominant in the sea of space. There are many military implications to it which are still yet unknown. And in addition, I think that the political and psychological effects are also serious.

The amount of money that we are putting in of course is substantial, but it also will bring with it a good many industrial benefits that we are only beginning to see. So I must say the decision made by the administration to make a more determined effort in space is not merely to take some man to the moon, but rather to have the capability.

As I said last year, the significance of Lindbergh's flight to Paris was not because he wanted to get to Paris but because rather it demonstrated a competence in the field of air travel which could have significance in after years.

So it is with space. Space may be the means of transportation. It has military implications and all the rest. So I must say I am completely committed to the concept that the United States must make a determined effort in the field of space, and no one can tell me that the United States cannot afford to do what the Soviet Union has done so successfully with a national income of less than half of ours.

[4.] Q. Would you care to comment, sir, on the prospects of the concept for a domestic Peace Corps?

THE PRESIDENT. Of course we have in a sense a good many areas of the Peace Corps as a formal organization. However, based upon the idea of service compensated by the National Government to work in various communities, juvenile delinquency and all the rest—is that what you are asking about?

Q. It was mentioned in a commencement address by Mrs. Shriver.

THE PRESIDENT. I saw that speech. I was interested in it. I thought the idea has merit, but she has not briefed me fully on exactly what her proposal is. One of the problems that I think we ought to be concerned about is Americans. I know juvenile delinquency is talked about all the time, but it is a major problem and it is going to become more serious. One-fourth of all the boys and girls under 20 now are unemployed. We are going to have 8 million school dropouts in this decade. We are moving into a period where the demand for unskilled labor is substantially decreasing, where the big demand is going to be for skilled labor. Now, you are going to have these millions of boys and girls, many of them members of minority groups, living in areas which are basically underprivileged, where the employment opportunities are limited, and you are going to have millions of them looking for work. Bad housing, bad social conditions, and all the rest—I consider them to be major problems that this country is going to face in this decade. We face it right here in Washington, D.C.

Now, we have begun in New York City through the cooperation of the National Government and the city of New York. We have set aside an area in New York City, a geographic area where combined with the help of private foundations, the National Government, the city, and the State, a combined attack is going to be made in a small city area on juvenile problems. It is going to be done on the question of employment, education, recreation, employment counseling, motivation, and all the rest. We are going to try to see if by the expenditure of

seed funds we can make an appreciable dent in the problem in that particular district.

In some of these areas, in Harlem and so on, you have 65, 70, 75 percent of the boys of school age who have dropped out of school unemployed. What is true there is also true, as I have said, in the District of Columbia. We have a very serious problem in that area in our own home town. So I think my sister Eunice and others are concerned in our zeal for sending Americans to serve overseas that we also concern ourselves with this problem here.

So I think the suggestion has merit. I think its organization and how it ought to be developed and what exactly its services ought to be should be very carefully examined. There may be an opportunity for great service on an organized basis here in our own country, and what role the Federal Government should play is one that has to be considered carefully. But I think that Mrs. Shriver's concern, and the concern of all of us, is that we meet our problem here, and particularly the problem that faces us in the area of young people who are adrift and who make a decision at 13, 14, or 15, or the decision is made for them, to drop out of school, and they never recover. They are the ones we ought to think about in the coming months and years.

So I think there is a great chance here and we ought to think about it very carefully.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, some of us have not been satisfied with the number of Negroes, Mexican Americans, and others who have presented themselves for consideration in the Peace Corps. I would suspect it is because of domestic concerns, preoccupations, the kind of domestic cynicism. Do you have anything to say to those potential Peace Corps volunteers that might point out to them the desirability of service in the Peace Corps, or how they can face up to what appears to them to be a contradiction?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is not only for the reason that you suggested, but also because again motivation, the desire to go away from the country or out of the country and

serve is in a sense the result of motivations which, if I may use the word, are somewhat sophisticated. And it is quite natural that growing up surrounded by endless problems, as most of them do, that they would not be as concerned about the opportunity to serve abroad as they would be about the very difficult problems that they face in their own lives, in their families' lives, and in their neighborhood.

In addition, there is a denial of opportunity and therefore we have, for example, been working very hard in trying to get a Negro to go to the Coast Guard. We don't have any Negro in the Coast Guard Academy. Well, the demand for the opportunity for those Negroes who have sufficient educational ability and have had a sufficient chance to go to school—they can do many things. There are many demands for them. They can be lawyers; they can go to many schools. They don't want to particularly spend their lives in the Coast Guard. The same is true with the Peace Corps. The kinds of boys and girls who can pass the very exacting test for the Peace Corps have so many responsibilities thrust upon them in working in their own communities and in working for their people in their own way that they really feel that they cannot afford, in a sense, the diversion of going across the ocean.

We have to meet that in two ways. One, explain to them in serving overseas they are serving their own country and their people in the best sense of the word, and secondly, to give a good deal more attention ourselves to the problems of their own neighborhoods which I spoke about earlier. Mexicans and Puerto Ricans have a special skill in language and an inborn feeling about Latin culture and background and feelings that make them very valuable in the Peace Corps.

The same is true of Negroes in many areas of the world. So we hope to have them.

In addition, my own hope is that the Peace Corps men and women will also be encouraged enough to come and serve in the Foreign Service; that this will be one of the

great recruiting grounds for the Foreign Service after they have gotten out of the Peace Corps; that this will not be a temporary experience for 2 years, but instead will bring them in and they will then come to us so that we will have them available. They are exactly the kind of people that we want to get into the Foreign Service, that we need.

One of the problems we have had in the Foreign Service, of course, is the inadequacy of the so-called minority groups at the higher levels. If we can get them started through the Peace Corps and then into the Foreign Service, I think this country will be much stronger.

The question really goes not to how we can get them into the Foreign Service, but how we can get them to play a much fuller part in all aspects of American life—Government and private.

I am going to have a press conference this afternoon, so perhaps I can answer one more question, and then we can all go back to work.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, why does not the United States offer to send some Government food to Red China? I understand that Red China has not offered much aid but I think it would be a very good idea for America to do this to change this, this image of America to—

THE PRESIDENT. The question was why don't we offer to send food to Red China. I have stated that we do meet, as you know, with the Chinese Communists in Warsaw at 2-month intervals. There are two Americans that I know about quite intimately that are still imprisoned, ever since 1951, who took part in the Korean War in Red China, one called Downey from Wallingford, Conn., the other, Fecteau from Lowell, Mass., both very young men, 21 or 22, and they've been taken prisoner and they are still there, 10 years later. I think that the Chinese Communist regime has been extremely hostile to us in their propaganda, and so on. I think that there has been no indication that they want the food. There has been no indica-

tion that they desire it. They have never asked us for it, and they have never suggested that they wish us to discuss it with them. And I must say that I think that it is only proper, given the problems that we do have, that at least some indication come from them before we decide what we should do, rather than the United States making an offer that might be summarily refused, and without any indication or guarantees that the food would be distributed in a way that would meet our desires, which would be to help the Chinese people.

So I think we ought to stick with our policy which is to do nothing on the food until there is some indication that the Chinese Communists desire it, and then consider it on an independent basis at that time. Until that time comes, it does not seem that it is fruitful for us to go ahead.

I am glad to have a chance to discuss these. I am sure you have many suggestions and proposals, and that is the reason you are here, and I think it is rather useful to have a chance to come over here this morning.

I want to express again my thanks to you all. What we want here in the National Government, what we need are some new faces with new thoughts, and I am hopeful that those of you who are in the Peace Corps,

as I said, will regard this as only the first step in governmental service. I can assure you that the next 10 or 20 years are going to be among the most critical and sensitive for the United States of any in our history. I cannot believe that there is any private career that will offer you half the rewards in the sense of doing a job that is important that Government service will do, so I hope that the experience that you will gain during your service in the Peace Corps in the next 18 months to 2 years will only be the beginning in a long journey in the service of our country. It is the most rewarding—not in the material sense but in a real sense. And the place to be in the 1960's, I believe, is in the service of our country, and it is for that reason that I want to thank you for beginning that voyage in 1962.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke on the occasion of the anniversary of the selection of the first 12 candidates to enter training for overseas assignment with the Peace Corps. The meeting was held at 10:30 a.m. in the United States Chamber of Commerce auditorium in Washington.

The President's opening words referred to Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., Director of the Peace Corps; LeRoy Collins, former Governor of Florida; and Fowler Hamilton, Administrator of the Agency for International Development.

244 Statement by the President Upon Receiving Report of the Missile Sites Labor Commission. *June 14, 1962*

I HAVE received and read with interest the report of the first year's activities of the Missile Sites Labor Commission.

I appointed the Commission a year ago to help resolve labor problems at our missile and space sites and to assure the country of uninterrupted and economical operations at these vital installations.

Through the combined efforts and cooperation of labor, management and government officials we have been able during the past year to reduce considerably the man days lost at these sites due to labor disputes. I think this is a tribute to all concerned with

this program. When men of so many divergent interests can set aside their separate interests and work in harmony in the national interest, all Americans can be justifiably proud.

I know that our missile and space sites are not located in choice working areas. I know that in many cases the workers are exposed to undue hardships and that the remoteness of these sites makes sacrifice necessary. I also know that when the Nation demands it our people will respond.

I am certain that the American people join me in congratulating the Commission

and the workers and management representatives at the sites for the job they have done. The record that has been set, while good, is not perfect, and perhaps we can never reach perfection. I am confident, however, that the Commission will continue to get the cooperation of all our workers, our labor unions and our management officials in making sure that our missile and

space programs go forward uninterrupted by labor disputes and as economically as possible. Such cooperative effort is necessary for the defense and progress of our nation.

NOTE: The Commission was established by Executive Order 10946 of May 26, 1961. Its report "United for America" (16 pp., Government Printing Office, 1962) was dated May 26, 1962.

245 The President's News Conference of *June 14, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. I have one opening statement.

[1.] The welfare and economy of the American public would be seriously damaged by the strike now being threatened by the flight engineers union against three major airlines, TWA, Pan American, and Eastern. This action would create and have a significant impact upon our economy, and we have made every effort during the past months to bring about a happy solution.

This dispute stems from the recommendations made last year by the special commission I established that flight crews on jet aircraft be reduced from four men to three men. No one has questioned either the wisdom or the necessity of that recommendation.

The commission also recommended that all presently employed flight engineers are to be given prior job rights on the three-man crews, and that any changes made in the transition would in no way prejudice their representational rights. The companies agreed to pay all costs of training the flight engineers to enable them to serve on three-man crews.

The Air Line Pilots Association, in a related dispute involving Pan American Airways, agreed that arbitration was the responsible means of settling this matter, and the airline companies in this dispute have accepted my request made in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Railway Labor Act that all issues be voluntarily sub-

mitted to the final and binding judgment of a three-man arbitration panel composed of outstanding public, labor, and management leaders.

But the flight engineers union has ignored this request. They are threatening to strike for still more job and representational security, for wage increases of more than 20 percent over a 3-year period, for reduction in working hours—from 85 hours a month to 75 hours a month—and other demands.

Eighteen hundred men are threatening a strike which would cause the immediate layoff of some 60,000 employees, the immobilization of 40 percent of the Nation's airline service, and the loss of over \$1 million a day from international flights, which our balance of payments cannot afford.

We have been, under the Railway Labor Act procedures, seeking a settlement for 17 months, but the flight engineers have not accepted the decision of the National Mediation Board. They have rejected the report of the special Presidential commission on jet crews. They have refused to accept the careful recommendations of the three Presidential emergency boards. They have failed to cooperate with the long and thoughtful mediation efforts offered by the National Mediation Board, the Secretary of Labor, and the Special Mediation Panel. And this morning they rejected my request to submit these issues to arbitration.

A strike could have, as I have said, a sig-

nificant impact on our economy at this time. I strongly urge the flight engineers to meet their public responsibilities, to reconsider their action, and to either submit this case to arbitration or agree with the carriers on some other means of settling this dispute without any interruption of operation.

Q. Mr. President, should the flight engineers not meet your request, would you then be prepared to go to Congress with a request for emergency seizure powers?

THE PRESIDENT. We would have to wait until—I am hopeful that the flight engineers will heed my request and submit this matter, as I have said, to arbitration, or find some other satisfactory method of settling it peaceably. We have been working, as I have said, for more than a year, because of the responsibilities placed upon us by the Railway Labor Act which covers the airlines. And I am very hopeful that the engineers will reconsider this matter. If they do not, of course, we then will have to consider what would be the proper action.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, following up your recent statements on the economy, particularly your speech at Yale the other day and the Solicitor General's yesterday, is it the Government's intention to play an active role in major labor and industry wage and price discussions and, if so, how would this role be played?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think that—I have not read the speech of the Solicitor. My speech at Yale, I think, was quite clear. It dealt mainly, chiefly, with another subject, which was that we should attempt to engage in a dialog on the very intricate questions which are involved in the management of a very complicated economy such as ours, in order to maintain full employment and keep our economy moving.

As far as the—we have attempted to indicate, of course, through the Council of Economic Advisers and by other means, our concern that we follow policies—particularly in those basic industries which affect our competitive position overseas—that we follow policies that permit us to continue to

compete, and to continue to keep our economy moving. But these—this is a free economy in the final analysis and we have to attempt to work out the solutions on a voluntary basis.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, India is reported leaning toward the purchase of MIG aircraft from the Soviet Union, and the equipment to manufacture such aircraft in their country. Does the United States have any alternative plan or offer to such an arrangement, and what effect might this have on the tensions within the area?

THE PRESIDENT. This is a matter which is being considered in this Government, and also being considered with other governments. It is a matter on—Ambassador Galbraith is returning to India at the end of the week and will, I am sure, be reporting to us on the situation as well as giving our views.

It would seem to me that we should keep it at that level at the present time.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, in a note to the Japanese Government today, Soviet Premier Khrushchev said that it is a criminal act that "a certain element is trying to prepare for a surprise attack on us, by trying to attain the upper hand in the application of nuclear weapons." Would you address yourself to that remark?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I haven't seen that statement. We are not preparing, if he is referring to us and I don't know who else he might be referring to, but the United States is not, quite obviously—it has not been our policy, we made it clear what our policy is, which is to build for our own security. The United States has gone to great lengths, as far as nuclear weapons, to secure effective means of control over their testing. The world knows the history of how this present series of tests began, and our great reluctance to commence them. And we have been engaged for many, many months in Geneva in the test ban discussions and also in the disarmament conference to secure some effective means of bringing an end to the arms race, including the nuclear arms race, and also bringing world tensions under control.

We are seeking to do so in Berlin; we've been seeking to do so in Southeast Asia. And I'm confident that if there is good will on both sides, that there can be a lessening of tensions. But there has to be good will on both sides.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, this is a question about a recent report called "Does Overpopulation Mean Poverty?" It recommended expanded Government research on fertility control and expanded technical assistance to underdeveloped countries seeking to solve problems of overpopulation. What is your attitude toward those recommendations?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't seen those recommendations. I've said from the beginning that these were matters which every country must decide for itself. This is not a matter—as it goes to basic national feelings, personal feelings. This is a matter which each individual, each family, each country must determine. It cannot be determined by the actions of another country.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, in your Yale speech you spoke of deficits as not being necessarily inflationary or harmful. As you know, the attitude about deficits among the American people is largely an unfavorable one. I wonder in light of that if you can elaborate on why you think that deficits may not be bad or harmful.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it depends. As I tried to say at Yale, the key word is "necessarily." I think there has been a feeling that deficits bring inflation with them. And I attempted to make the point at Yale that we had had surpluses in the 3 years after the war, rather large budget surpluses, and still had very sharp inflation; that we had had deficits in 1958 and in 1962, and that there had been a stable price level. The largest deficit was in 1958, \$12½ billion. The point I am trying to make is that what we must be concerned about is trying to maintain the vitality of our economy. And that the administrative budget, which is the budget people talk about, is not wholly revealing of the amount of money that the Government

takes in. If the administrative budget were balanced, the Federal Government would be taking in about \$4 billion more than it was spending. On the cash budget side—these are all rather complicated subjects because of the trust funds and all the rest—that has a deflationary impact on our economy.

Now, we have to realize that we had a recession in 1958 and a recession in 1960. We do not want to run through in this country, which is the—on which so much depends, which is the source of strength for the free world—we do not want to run into periods of recurrent recession. One of the ways that has been considered to avoid this is by following a budget policy which is related to the economy and not related to what I called rather formal traditional positions which may not be applicable to the present time. And I thought the experience of Europe, which has had a decade of unequalled progress, partly because they have managed their economy with some skill, partly because they are in a different period of growth, partly because of the Common Market, that it had some lessons for us. These are the matters, I said at Yale, that we should be talking about: how we can manage our economy, what should be our budget policy, what should be our fiscal policy? And the automatic response that a deficit necessarily produces inflation is not necessarily true.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, a lot of people seem to feel that the idea of a Democratic administration trying to win the confidence of business is something like the Republicans trying to win the confidence of labor unions. Do you feel, sir, you are making headway in your efforts? Have you seen anything to indicate that business is coming around to your point of view on the economy and that the confidence you asked for is being restored in the market place?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as I said, what is necessary is not really whether some businessmen may be Republicans—most businessmen are Republicans, have been traditionally, have voted Republican in every

presidential election. But that is not the important point—whether there is political agreement.

The important point is that they recognize and the Government recognizes, and every group recognizes, the necessity, as I have said, of attempting to work out economic policies which will maintain our economy at an adequate rate of growth. That is the great problem for us. They feel, as I said, that they would be happier if there were a Republican in the White House, but there was a Republican in the White House in 1958 and we had a recession, and there was in 1960. So I think that what we have to realize is, is that I could be away from the scene, which might make them happy, and that they might have a Republican in the White House, but the economic problems would still be there. So that what I hope is that we can address ourselves to those and not to a political matter because, after all, the presidential race isn't until 1964 and at that time it would seem to me to be the appropriate time to argue politics.

Right now we should be concerning ourselves with the real problems of our country, which are of great interest to me economically—which are to them, which are to labor, which are to all American people.

Q. Mr. President, there is a feeling in some quarters that big business is using the stock market slump as a means of forcing you to come to terms with business. One reputable columnist, after talking to businessmen, obviously, reported this week their attitude is now, we have you where we want you. Have you seen any reflection of this attitude?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't believe I'm where business—big business, wants me. [*Laughter*] I read that column in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, as a matter of fact, and I found that Mr. Childs made the point that some, as I believe his phrase was, rich men were quoted as having said what you have said. I cannot believe that anybody thinks that in order to take some political—gain some political benefit, it

would be a source of pleasure to them to see the stock market go down or see the economy have difficulties. I don't believe that anyone who looks at our problems at home and abroad could possibly take that partisan attitude. So I don't accept that view. I know that when things don't go well they like to blame the Presidents, and that's one of the things which Presidents are paid for. But I think what we want to be concerned about, as I have said before, is not a personal dialog as much as it is a dialog on the problem of what tax policies, what budget policies, fiscal policies we should pursue. Because if it were merely a matter of the party, or of personalities, we would not have had our experience that we had in the late fifties. So that shows there's something more substantive here. And this is what concerns, I think, all of us—or should.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, Senator Mansfield a few days ago suggested a review of Far Eastern policies because he said they seem to him either marking time or, at worst, on a collision course. Do you think such a review is necessary?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we've been reviewing it. As you know, we've been attempting in the case of Laos to work out a policy which would prevent either one of those situations. Whether we shall be successful or not, only time will tell.

I know that we have put large sums of money, and the situation there is still hazardous. What is true there of course is true all around the world. This is a period of great tension and change. But if the United States had not played a part in Southeast Asia for many years, I think the whole map of Southeast Asia would be different. I am delighted—as you know, I have the highest regard for Senator Mansfield, and I think we should constantly review, and I think as he suggested, we should make judgments between what is essential to our interest and what is marginal. We have been attempting with great difficulty to carry out a policy in Laos which would permit a neutral and independent government there. In Senator

Mansfield's speech he used the examples of Burma and Cambodia. Those were the examples that were also used at the Vienna meeting by Chairman Khrushchev and myself in which we stated the kind of government that we both said we hoped would emerge in Laos. That is the commitment that was made by the Soviet Union and by the United States.

Now we've moved to a different plateau and we are going to see whether that commitment can be maintained. But on the other hand, if—and I am sure Senator Mansfield—and I know Senator Mansfield does not think we should withdraw, because a withdrawal in the case of Viet-Nam and in the case of Thailand might mean a collapse of the entire area.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, the Senate passed a number of restrictive amendments on the foreign aid bill besides that limiting aid to Yugoslavia and Poland. Do you think this reflected a growing disenchantment in the Senate on the whole question of foreign aid, and do you think such actions as that contemplated by India in purchasing jets from the Soviet Union has anything to do with that disenchantment?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, well, it's a—we've carried it a long time—and Senator Mansfield's speech showed it's a—the world is still with us, and still uncertain, and all of our effort and all of our sacrifice has not produced the new world. But it is not going to.

What we are attempting to do is to maintain our position. There have been a good many changes in the Communist bloc in the last 10 years, and some of those have been—should encourage friends of freedom. So what we want to do is maintain our position and that of our associated nations with us in this effort, and not to desist in 1962 because the race is not over and we have not been completely—we have not come to home port. We are still at sea. Now, I think we ought to stay there and continue to do the best we can.

There was, as has been revealed in the press, Mr. Kennan—Ambassador Kennan—

who has been very realistic in his appraisal of our relations with Yugoslavia, is extremely disturbed about what has happened. He feels, and the story quoted him in the paper as saying, that this has been a great gift to the Kremlin at this particular time. And Mr. Cabot, our Ambassador to Poland—both of these men are long experienced, Mr. Kennan probably the longest experienced, almost, of any American, in his studies of the Soviet Union—both of them regard this action as a major setback and as a great asset to Moscow. I don't think we should do those favors to them if we can help it.

Q. Mr. President, in this same connection, you have had a great deal of trouble with the Democrats on other parts of your legislative program. Have you arrived at any new formula for persuading them to come along?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, I think the Democrats—except for a few Democrats who have habitually voted with the Republicans—the Democrats have done pretty well today, for example, on the debt limitation. Every year during, I think, President Eisenhower's administration, except 1953, he had to ask for a change in the debt limit. Every time I voted for it, to give him that power. Today on the final roll call on a measure which instead of giving us our request of 308 would have rolled it back to 285 billion, which would, of course, have meant that every defense expenditure—space, agriculture, veterans, and every other commitment of the Government—would have been in great difficulty and would have been, of course, extremely difficult for us to maintain our—meet our obligations. Every Republican in the House except nine voted against us. Now it passed, however, because the Democrats met their responsibility. They did in the House on the tax bill; they have on the trade bill. I think that we do expect, however, that all these matters will not be made matters of party loyalty and we have to get some support from the Republican side, and on occasions in the Senate we certainly have gotten it.

We now have a farm bill upcoming next week. That farm bill can save \$1 billion a year to the taxpayers of this country; over a period of 4 years, \$4 billion. Now this is a vote which is in the best interests of American agriculture and is in the best interests of the country, and is in the best interests of the economy of the United States. I hope that this will not be made, as it's indicated, a party issue on which every Republican will then vote against us and we will find ourselves with a very close vote on a matter which has the first chance of bringing some order out of what is a very chaotic situation.

If we fail and our farm bill is defeated, we go back to the program which is in permanent legislation, the Benson program, which has brought us great so-called—which has brought us tremendous surpluses and expenditures of over \$6½ billion by the Government every year.

So there is a very good chance, and I think that we have a right to expect that on these matters of great national import, that at least we will receive some help from across the aisle, because on other occasions many of us voted to give assistance to the President of the United States when he was a member of the opposite party.

On the question of aid to the Poland-Yugoslavia matter, I voted twice to give President Eisenhower the flexibility he felt he needed in order to conduct foreign policy. He bears a great responsibility and the Congress does also, but I thought that he should have that power, if the situation required it. I would hope that those who are on the opposite side would also, at a time particularly when there are so many things which are encouraging in the world to us, would be willing to sustain us in giving us a similar power.

Q. Mr. President, on the farm bill: you have said, and others in the administration have said repeatedly, that the present programs, because of their expense, cannot go on indefinitely. If Congress should refuse to enact your current program, would you feel

required to request the Congress to repeal the existing price support program without controls?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the choice, it seems to me, is very clearly—the satisfactory provision is the one that we have suggested. Now, if we fail there, of course, then we have, as you have said, the permanent legislation in which we have price supports and no controls, which of course will pile our surpluses up bigger and, I think, depress our farm income. We would then have to consider what appropriate legislation would be asked for. But the bill we have sent is the one we need. We don't want a bill which has no support for the farmers; we don't want to go to the Congress and say, "Now that you have refused to permit us to have a balance between supply and demand of the kind you have in tobacco and cotton, now we are going to pull out and have no support for the farmers." So that this is the best solution—the one we have before the House next week, and which has already passed the Senate.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, in regard to the Hong Kong refugee problem, yesterday the Colonial Secretary said that food and clothing relief would not resolve the colony's problems, nor would immigration, but that Hong Kong would welcome the assistance of other governments in building hospitals, schools, and clinics, and so forth. Is the administration considering this type of assistance?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we have contributed very heavily, as you know, toward food. I am not aware that any request has been made for additional assistance, but we would certainly be prepared to consider it, and we—along with other governments.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, proposals for a Senior Service Corps, patterned after the Peace Corps, for the older members of our population have been discussed by your Council on Aging at its first meeting. How do you view this?

THE PRESIDENT. I think—at the Council on

Aging that's one of these things they're looking at, and I think they're going to make a report to me very shortly. And I think that they'll give us some recommendations on it.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, do you feel the Latin American countries are making the contribution that they should within the problems they face on the Alliance for Progress?

THE PRESIDENT. Some countries are making a major effort; in some countries the effort is slower. As you know, in nearly every country they're dealing with staggering problems, including exchange problems, which are partly induced by the decline in the price of the raw materials they're getting, so that Latin America faces—in many of the countries, they're making a real effort. They face great problems, and I'm hopeful that the United States will be persistent in supporting the Alliance for Progress and not expect that suddenly the problems of Latin America, which have been with us and with them for so many years, can suddenly be solved overnight merely by, within a period of a few months. It's going to take a long time, but at least in some countries they are making progress towards it.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, in reference to your exchange of letters with Chairman Khrushchev on Laos,¹ with both of you suggesting that this might lead to settlement of other international problems, could you comment on two aspects of that: one, is the Laotian formula in any way applicable to divided Berlin, or divided Germany, and secondly, if it is not, is there still a hope perhaps that this might be a step toward another summit meeting for settling outstanding problems?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't see the parallel. The situation is different in Berlin than it is in Laos, quite obviously. Obviously if we can solve by peaceful means and not only get an agreement, but make it work, and both parties demonstrate a sincere commitment to a solution of what has been a difficult problem over a period of time, then it would

encourage us to believe that there has been a change in atmosphere, and that other problems also could be subjected to reason and solution. That is why I regard the Laos matter as so important. We have to wait now and see whether we can make this agreement, which has been signed, make it work. If we can, then it will be an encouraging step forward to more amicable relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and we can discuss other problems. There is nothing on a summit as yet.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, President Chiari of Panama said at his press conference this morning that the binational commission which will be set up to consider points of difference between Panama and the United States would have the power to consider renegotiation of the Panama Canal treaty. I was wondering if this was your attitude also or what your attitude is towards this interpretation of your talks?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I haven't seen—I would rather not comment on the statement until I have seen President Chiari's statement in toto. I think the communique² describes quite clearly the responsibilities of the commission, and it is going to get to work right away. I would have to look at his statement and read it in detail before I could tell about his interpretation.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, about a year ago you sent to the Congress a greatly expanded space program, and I was wondering if you could give us your own assessment of how we stand technologically, how you think the American people as a whole have responded to the space effort, and when you plan any major realignment such as a bigger military role.

THE PRESIDENT. Such as a what?

Q. Such as a bigger role for the military in space.

THE PRESIDENT. Starting at the end, the military have an important and significant role, though the primary responsibility is

¹ Item 239.

² Item 242.

held by NASA and is primarily peace, and I think that that proportion of that mix should continue. I think the American people have supported the effort in space, realizing its significance, and also that it involves a great many possibilities in the future which are still almost unknown to us and just coming over the horizon. As far as where we are, I don't think that the United States is first yet in space, but I think a major effort is being made which will produce important results in the coming months and years.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, in view of the Common Market retaliation, would you perhaps be prepared to concede that it was an error to raise the duties recently on carpets and glass?

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. Do you have any intention of rescinding it or will it stand?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it is going to stand. Carpets and glass were a unanimous recommendation of the Tariff Commission. They were very hard hit. We were quite aware of the fact that actions would be taken by the Europeans. If we had had passage of the Trade Act, we could have then offered an alternate package which I think would have prevented retaliation. Retaliation is not the most satisfactory device, but as you know, we were limited under present law, and, therefore, not able to be as forthcoming as we might have hoped. But there was a particularly drastic situation facing us in carpets and glass, and the Tariff Commission found unanimously that relief should be granted and we went ahead and granted it, and I would not change it.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you think the Congressmen yesterday were justified who said that there had been pressure put on them to get them to vote for the rise in the debt limit and that this pressure had come from the Defense Department to people in districts with large defense contracts; who were told that these defense contracts under negotiation might not be completed if they did not vote for the debt limit?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think—I'm sure—I hope that it was explained to every one what the effect would be if we did not—if we had to have a stretchout—were not able to pay our bills. And that would have been the situation. I recall very clearly in the fall of 1957, in my own State of Massachusetts, when there was a stretchout and the contractors and others had to assume the—pay their own bills. It not only had a very drastic effect on them, but according to Brookings Institution and a good many other studies it was one of the factors which helped lead to the 1958 recession. This would have taken, in effect, in a period of 4 months, \$2 billion out of our economy at a time when we need money flowing into our economy. So they were only being informed of what was a fact, which was that we could not pay the bills in some of these areas if we were not given the kind of flexibility which had been requested of the Congress. It's the same flexibility, as I have said, that President Eisenhower requested and which he received, and which we have now received.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, while most of business certainly doesn't oppose your income tax reduction plan, many businessmen have said if you really want to give business and the economy a shot in the arm, that you should give them a better break on depreciation, tax writeoffs, and so forth. Now I know that a new schedule is coming out, I think within the month, but in addition to that, do you contemplate anything in this area that will help?

THE PRESIDENT. We are going to, as I said before, by the 6th of July come forward with the quicker depreciation writeoffs under schedule F for \$1,200 million. That could have been done any time in the last 15 to 20 years. We have been working on it now for a year. That is going to be important.

In addition, under the tax bill itself, it provides very important assistance to business if we are able to secure its passage by the Senate. And, of course, the third provision of the tax bill is the standby tax authorities in case unemployment begins to move

up, which will permit us to have a temporary tax reduction in many brackets. All those I regard as very important.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's thirty-sixth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Thursday afternoon, June 14, 1962.

246 Letter to the Chairman, Commission on Civil Rights, on Plans for Observing the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. *June 15, 1962*

[Released June 15, 1962. Dated May 23, 1962]

Dear Dr. Hannah:

I am most gratified to learn that the Commission study of 100 Years of Progress which we discussed at our December meeting is now under way. When submitted on the effective date of the Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1963, it should prove an important contribution to a national and international understanding of the progress we have made, the factors which have made this possible, and the road we still have to travel.

The plans for this Progress Report constitute a recognition that the Federal Government has a grave responsibility to bring home to the nation the full meaning of the Emancipation Proclamation. To further meet that responsibility, I believe it appropriate that your Commission, which has acquired so much knowledge and experience in this

area, should take a leading role in commemorating the occasion of the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. I hope you will find it possible to plan and carry out an appropriate commemoration which could properly center upon the submission of your report. Such an undertaking could well include recognizing and coordinating the similar efforts of many states and private organizations.

You may be assured that should you undertake this project, you will have the full cooperation of the Administration.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Dr. John A. Hannah, President, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan]

NOTE: Dr. Hannah's reply, dated June 5, was released with the President's letter.

247 Letter to the Attorney General Directing Him To Petition for an Injunction in the Republic Aviation Corporation Strike. *June 15, 1962*

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

On June 7, 1962, by virtue of the authority vested in me by Section 206 of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947 (29 U.S.C. 176), I issued Executive Order No. 11025, subsequently amended on June 8, 1962, by Executive Order No. 11026, and further amended on June 13, 1962, by Executive Order 11029, creating a Board of Inquiry to inquire into issues involved in labor disputes between Republic Aviation Corporation,

Farmingdale, New York, and certain of its employees represented by the International Association of Machinists; Republic Lodge 1987, International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO; Local 775, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, AFL-CIO; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local Union 25, AFL-CIO; Local Union 1318, United Brotherhood of Car-

penters and Joiners of America, AFL-CIO; and International Union of Operating Engineers, Local Unions 30 and 30-A, AFL-CIO; and in a labor dispute between John G. Sharp, Cafeteria Concessionaire at this Republic Aviation Corporation facility and certain employees represented by Local 164, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders' International Union, AFL-CIO.

On June 14, 1962, I received the Board's written report in the matter. I understand you have a copy of that report.

In my opinion these unresolved labor disputes have resulted in a strike affecting a substantial part of the tactical fighter production industry, which is part of the aircraft industry of the United States, and which is engaged in trade, commerce, and transportation among the several states; which strike, if permitted to continue, will imperil the national safety.

Therefore, in order to remove a peril to

the national safety and to secure a resumption of trade, commerce, and transportation among the several states, I direct you, pursuant to the Provisions of Section 208 of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, to petition in the name of the United States any District Court of the United States having jurisdiction of the parties to enjoin the continuance of such strike and for such other relief as may in your judgment be necessary or appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: On June 15 the Attorney General sought and obtained in the District Court for the Eastern District of New York a temporary restraining order, and on June 20, after a full hearing, the parties were enjoined from taking part in any strike or lockout.

Terms of the various contracts were agreed upon during the course of the injunction. The Board's reports of June 13 and August 13 (with addendum dated August 28) were made public by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

248 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Deputy Prime Minister Marshall of New Zealand. *June 15, 1962*

THE Deputy Prime Minister reviewed his recent discussions in England and on the Continent relative to the possible entry of the United Kingdom into the European Common Market. The Deputy Prime Minister emphasized New Zealand's dependence on the United Kingdom market for her export trade which is primarily based on temperate agricultural products. He mentioned the assurances he had received in the United Kingdom that New Zealand's position would be a matter of special concern to the British Government in considering arrangements for possible entry into the European Common Market. Mr. Marshall explained why New Zealand wished to see Commonwealth preferences retained; he emphasized, however, that for New Zealand, the issue of paramount importance was market outlets for its products in the United Kingdom, or in an enlarged European Community, comparable to what it now enjoyed,

with the opportunity for growth as the market expanded.

The President and the Deputy Prime Minister agreed upon the desirability of European unity as well as the importance of liberalizing world trade. The President described the trade expansion legislation now pending before the United States Congress, explaining that with the passage of this legislation he expected a general expansion of trade among the nations of the free world. The special problems of New Zealand trade were recognized with understanding. The President and Mr. Marshall agreed that regular consultations between their two countries on matters of trade should continue.

Also participating in the discussions in Washington were for New Zealand, Ambassador G. R. Laking and Mr. Foss Shanahan, Deputy Secretary, Department of External Affairs, and for the United States, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Secretary of

Commerce Luther Hodges, Under Secretary of Agriculture Charles Murphy, Under Sec-

retary of State George Ball and Assistant Secretary of State W. Averell Harriman.

249 Message to the President of the Republic of Cyprus on His Departure From the United States. *June 17, 1962*

[Released June 17, 1962. Dated June 13, 1962]

Your Beatitude:

Your visit here has been a source of great pleasure to me and to the people of the United States. It has given us a new appreciation of the challenges you and the Cypriot people face in building a stable country with expanding opportunities to lead richer and fuller lives. Our discussions have enabled us better to understand each other's problems, and have underscored the fact that we have many common objectives.

I am happy to reassure you of my Government's intent to help with the implementa-

tion of your program of economic development, and I look forward to the prospect of increasingly effective cooperation following your return.

May God grant you a safe journey, and a happy and prosperous future for you and the people of Cyprus.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[His Beatitude, Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus]

NOTE: The Archbishop's reply, dated June 15, was released with President Kennedy's message.

250 Remarks of Welcome to Participants in the Summer Intern Program for College Students. *June 20, 1962*

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am glad to see you in Washington. I appreciate your willingness to come down and submit yourselves to the living on the bull's-eye here. I sometimes wish I just had a summer job here!

I do want to say what an opportunity it is for us in the Federal Government to have you here. These programs of bringing young Americans, particularly college students, to Washington every summer to work in the various departments have been going on for a great many years. The Federal Government does not do this out of largess. It does it because it hopes that in the 1 or 2 months that you come to Washington and work with us that you will become sufficiently interested in Government as a career that many of you will come back; and in that way we can attract to the national governmental service the best of the talents of our country, those who are most interested,

those who are most committed. This has been going on, as I have said, for a great many years.

What we have been attempting to do this year, however, is to spread your interests. Those who may work in the State Department or the Department of Defense, those who may work in the White House or in the Executive Office do get a very clear idea, whether it may be because of carrying messages from one part of the building to another or working in more sophisticated jobs, they get some idea of what the work of the Government department in their area may be. But what we are anxious to do is use this time while you are here to give you as much information as broadly based and as sophisticated as is possible. And therefore during the next 2 months, with your help and cooperation, we will attempt to bring to your attention some of the many facets of governmental service.

It is my judgment that there is no career that could possibly be open to you in the 1960's that will offer to you as much satisfaction, as much stimulus, as little compensation perhaps financially, as being a servant of the United States Government.

I think within all of us, and really in a sense, I suppose endowed almost by nature in addition to a natural desire to advance our own interests, there is also a parallel desire, and that is to be part of this great enterprise of public service. The totalitarian powers have exploited that. Even in Cuba Mr. Castro's emphasis, certainly at the beginning, was on a desire to improve the lot of the Cuban people. In China we had all of these examples of people spending their days off going out on illiteracy, health, building dams, doing all the things to build a better country. This is in all of us.

I think that it is a more difficult and subtle problem in a democracy, with a great deal of emphasis, of course, on individual liberty, on the right of pursuing our private interests, and so on, so that while there is this desire, frequently it does not have a chance to express itself. But the desire is there, and it is our hope that the desire is there stronger in these years than ever before. And I think the response to the Peace Corps indicates how real this feeling is, the willingness of thousands of young Americans, and some not so young, to volunteer to serve their country and a much larger constituency than their country in dozens of countries overseas. I hope and in fact I know you would not be here if you did not feel the same way.

When you leave here in August I hope that you will come back in other days when you have finished your studies and be willing to give part of your time and life to the service of our country. When I say come back, I do not mean it in the geographic sense. It may be that your service will take place in your own community or your own county or your own State, but to contribute part of your lives, part of your effort, if not all, to the advancement of the great interests of this country.

I do not regard the great interests of this country in a narrow sense. Our interests are really the free world's interests. And I am constantly impressed day after day with the fact that this rather small country in the relative sense, only 6 percent of the world's population, that we are carrying the burden for the defense of freedom in nearly every part of the globe. It is the United States, as a member of the SEATO Treaty, who sent its troops to Thailand to help preserve the independence of Southeast Asia. It is the United States which is making the major effort in Viet-Nam. It is the United States which has the great number of troops stationed in West Germany today. It is the United States, when the moment of crisis comes in Berlin, that plays the large role. It is the United States that has poured out its billions of dollars of gold in order to help rebuild Western Europe. It is the United States which contributes to the economic and political and social development of Latin America through the Alliance for Progress. It is the United States on behalf of the free world that makes the great effort in space and makes the great effort in national security.

Our dollar payments which we hear so much about would long ago have been balanced, the United States would have had nearly all the gold in the world if in the last 15 years we had followed a narrow, parochial viewpoint instead of assisting those whom we regarded as heavily pressed. We should feel a great sense of satisfaction in that and a sense of pride. The United States today spends nearly four or five billion dollars a year for national security interests abroad which add to our gold drain. This is only one of the countless examples that could be given of the great role we play in the defense of freedom at a time of maximum danger.

So when we serve our country in 1962, I think we are serving the cause of freedom; and it is, of course, our hope that Western Europe and the Common Market will be an outgoing institution which will associate with this great effort and not merely turn

into itself and build greater prosperity merely for its own people. So this is the effort that we are engaged in and will be engaged in, in this decade and the next decade and the rest of this century, and therefore the opportunity for all of you will be very real.

In addition, I think the kinds of problems we face now are entirely different from the problems we faced in the administrations of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. And that is why I have tried to say recently that the slogans and clichés and the political arguments which so suited an earlier generation are not particularly adapted to the kinds of problems which we have now. Most of our problems are technical, administrative, sophisticated, and merely being a member of one or the other political party does not offer you a solution to the problem.

How to maintain our economy at a satisfactory rate of growth, how to mix fiscal and monetary policy in order to maintain employment and protect our balance of payments, how to absorb at a reasonable return to our farmers the productivity of our farms which is increasing twice as fast as our ability to consume it—all this in a very hungry world. How do we protect the public interest in the great variety of economic areas and political areas which absorb our attention? These are all very sophisticated and technical problems, and the great sort of passions and movements of the early part of this century—William Jennings Bryan and all the rest—are not involved today because now it requires the finest judgments upon which even experts differ, and to bring a solution to these kinds of problems in the midst of a very turbulent and large country involved in more traditional political dialogs requires the best of all of us.

So I am glad you have come to Washington. This Government needs your assist-

ance. It needs the disciplines which you have acquired. Bismarck once said that one-third of the students of German universities broke down from overwork; another one-third broke down from dissipation; and the other one-third ruled Germany. The question is which third is here in Washington this summer. I am confident it's the future rulers of the United States.

Recently I heard a story of a young Peace Corpsman named Tom Scanlon who is working in Chile. He works in a village about 40 miles from an Indian village which prides itself on being Communist. The village is up a long, winding road which Scanlon has gone on many occasions to see the chief. Each time the chief avoided seeing him. Finally he saw him and said, "You are not going to talk us out of being Communists." Scanlon said, "I am not trying to do that, only to talk to you about how I can help." The chief looked at him and replied, "In a few weeks the snow will come. Then you will have to park your jeep 20 miles from here and come through 5 feet of snow on foot. The Communists are willing to do that. Are you?"

When a friend saw Scanlon recently and asked him what he was doing, he said, "I am waiting for the snow."

Well, I hope that spirit motivates all of you. You are most welcome here. And I want to say come rain or shine, I hope that when you leave in August you will have a chance to come to the White House and say goodbye.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. at Constitution Hall in Washington.

The establishment of a seminar for some 6,000 college-age students working in temporary Government jobs in Washington during the summer was announced by the White House on June 17. See also Item 349.

251 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Menzies of Australia. *June 20, 1962*

THE WHITE HOUSE today made public the following Joint Communique after meetings between the President and the Right Honorable Robert Gordon Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia.

The President and the Prime Minister expressed gratification at the opportunity presented by the Prime Minister's visit for furthering their personal as well as official friendship symbolizing the cordiality of relations between the American and Australian people.

The President and the Prime Minister discussed the question of peace in Southeast Asia. The President noted with satisfaction Australia's active interest in supporting the struggle of the Government of Vietnam against subversion and aggression organized and directed from abroad. Both leaders looked forward to the effective realization of the Geneva Accords assuring the independence and neutrality of Laos.

The President and the Prime Minister agreed that a peaceful solution of the West New Guinea dispute would be in the best interests of all concerned, and they recognized that the efforts of the Acting Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant, and his representative, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, had provided the atmosphere for the achievement of a significant contribution to the cause of peaceful settlement of international disputes.

Both the President and the Prime Minister agreed on the desirability of maintaining the excellent record of Australian-American security consultation and coordination through the ANZUS and SEATO Treaties.

President Kennedy expressed his strong belief in the importance of the Commonwealth as a source of stability and strength for the Free World. At the same time both leaders recognized that European unity could contribute substantially to the strength of the Free World.

They reviewed therefore the implications for the trade of their two nations of the possible accession of the United Kingdom to the European Economic Community.

It was agreed that in this event the United States and Australia would, as great suppliers to Britain and Europe, face problems in endeavoring to maintain and expand access for their goods.

The Prime Minister offered the view that it would be a grave misfortune if, after the negotiations, it turned out that the conditions laid down for Britain's entry were unacceptable to Commonwealth countries on the ground that they damaged Commonwealth trade and expansion.

The President and the Prime Minister took note of the fact that with respect to certain articles and commodities Australia's historic terms of access are different from those of the United States. They recognized, however, that Australia competed with the United States in the United Kingdom market with respect to only a relatively small number of these items—though the items themselves are by no means of small importance. They agreed that with respect to these items technical discussions would be held between the two Governments in an effort to reconcile the trading interests of both nations.

With respect to the great bulk of articles and commodities they noted that, as non-members of the European Economic Community, their countries faced essentially the same problems, and they joined in hoping that the Community would pursue liberal trading policies. President Kennedy pointed out that under the Trade Expansion legislation now pending before the Congress the United States Government might be able, through reciprocal agreements, to bring about a general reduction of trade barriers for the benefit of all. Moreover, both leaders agreed that, with respect to a number of key

primary products, the problems raised by the expansion of the Common Market might best be solved through international arrangements.

During the course of their interviews the President expressed his warm interest in Australia and his understanding of Australian needs in terms of development and growth, recognizing the problems of particular regions as well as industries. Both he and the Prime Minister were agreed that

the problems arising out of Britain's proposed entry should be approached not on any basis of theory or the use of particular words but upon a practical basis examining commodities one by one, having in mind the protection of the interests of both countries.

As a result of their discussions the President and the Prime Minister were encouraged to believe that satisfactory solutions will be found to these problems faced by their two countries.

252 Remarks of Welcome to the Graduating Class of the Glen Lake, Michigan, High School. June 21, 1962

Congressman Hechler, Congressman Griffin, boys and girls:

I am glad to see you here. I must say I don't think that there is any group of high school students who have been more welcome in Washington and welcome here at the White House.

Is Duane Richardson here? I understand the young man might have come with you. Duane, I am glad to see you.

We want to say that we are particularly glad to welcome you for the reasons you know. The fact that this high school class spent several years in building up a \$700 fund to get them here to Washington, and then to help a classmate, gave up their trip, makes it really in a sense unnecessary for you to have come to Washington because all the things we hoped you might learn, all the lessons that a trip to this capital, to this very old house might have taught you, I think you learned in your own home town, in your own home school. But, nevertheless, I am glad you came anyway. And I do think it demonstrates that on occasions, on more occasions perhaps than we think, acts of generosity and consideration bring back returns many times.

You are very much honored guests here. This house belongs to all of you. You can't possibly move through Washington without getting a greater sense of devotion to your

country. This house which is, I think, a symbol of all that is best about our country—that magnolia tree which was planted by Andrew Jackson; that building over there, if you can see through there, is the Treasury. They had trouble deciding where it should be, and one day while Jackson was out walking, he put his cane down and said, "This is where we are going to build the Treasury."

Washington is full of these very close contacts with the past. All the people you have read about in your history books—Lincoln, the Adamses, Monroe, the Wilsons, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and all the others all lived here and all participated in making this country greater.

So, we are very glad to have you, and I hope this will only be the first of many trips, that some of you will come to work in Washington, and others of you will think of how you can serve your own home town and State, and others of you will think of going abroad to serve our country.

We are glad to have the best resource this country has—all of you—and we are particularly glad to have had a chance to welcome you here.

I first heard about this when Senator Hart made a speech on the floor of the Senate, and Ken Hechler—who doesn't even come from Michigan, nor do I—said how important this effort was.

Congressman Griffin whom you all know, all of the Congress, all of the Government, all of the country welcome you here to Washington. We are very glad to see you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The 33 high school graduates had spent their travel fund on cancer treatments for a classmate, Duane Richardson. The trip was then financed by a group of Washington residents.

253 Statement by the President on the Settlement of the Trans World Airlines Labor Dispute. *June 21, 1962*

I WAS very gratified to learn of the settlement this morning, after many long days and hours of arduous and constant bargaining, of the dispute between the Flight Engineers International Association and Trans World Airlines.

This is a statesmanlike agreement and all who participated in it—the company officers, the union officials, and government representatives—are deserving of praise. The resolution of a problem of this type, involving a reduction in the size of crews, is of its nature a difficult matter. Here it has been resolved humanely in terms of the people

involved and sensibly in terms of the industry involved. It is of great significance that this question was resolved without a strike. It is thus a good example of what can be accomplished in like situations.

I know I speak for the nation when I extend to the parties and to the mediation team, Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, Under Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, Chairman of the National Mediation Board Francis A. O'Neill, and Professor Nathan P. Feinsinger my heartiest congratulations on a difficult job, well done and the public interest well served.

254 Remarks to Student Volunteers Participating in Operation Crossroads Africa. *June 22, 1962*

Ladies and gentlemen, members of the White House Photographers Association, Reverend Robinson:

I want to welcome you all to the White House. I thought that this was such an extraordinary group that you deserved the best orator in the Senate to speak to you and, therefore, I brought along as a reserve Senator Hubert Humphrey who has been very interested in this program and who is a member of the African subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee.

I was just looking over—and I apologize to you for keeping you waiting—we were just looking over the areas that you are going to and the functions that you are going to perform. This group and this effort really were the progenitors of the Peace Corps and what this organization has been doing for a number of years led to the establishment of

what I consider to be the most encouraging indication of the desire for service not only in this country but all around the world that we have seen in recent years.

This is a voluntary effort. Most of you, I understand, pay, to the extent you can, your way overseas. You spend your time in a good many countries, living under conditions of hardship. All of you go to a continent about which we know very little.

I have been the host of more than a dozen rather extraordinary leaders of African countries who have come to the United States in the last 12 months. I would suppose that most of them have been imprisoned at one time or another in their fight for freedom. Most of them come from countries where there is almost no higher education except in a few exceptional cases. They are faced with, in a sense, the far more pedestrian but

more difficult challenge after the fight for independence has been won, which carries its own built-in enthusiasm. They are faced with the job of building a new country, lacking skilled administrators, lacking the traditions of self-government, and they represent an extraordinary group of people.

I am constantly impressed by the great convulsion which a fight for revolution brings, the extraordinary talent it brings to the surface. But the problems they face today in every case, they have told me, were far more difficult than the problems they faced in the fight for independence. Now the problem is to maintain that national sovereignty and independence and make it worthwhile, because disillusionment is the second wave that comes after the wave of enthusiasm.

Now, you cannot change the face of Africa any more than the Alliance for Progress can immediately change the face of Latin America. But you can begin. And you can demonstrate our interest and concern, and we in this country know very little about Africa.

In 1957 we had more people in Bonn, Germany, than we had in all of Africa in our Foreign Service. This has been an unknown continent to us because it was dominated by Europe. Now it is opening up and we want to be part of it, and our interest is wholly disinterested. We have no great commercial history, we have no record of exploitation. We have supported the United

Nations' effort in Africa. We want them to be independent. We recognize they face staggering problems. We recognize they are dependent upon the finest shifts in international trade whether there is going to be prosperity or not.

So, I want you to know that in going to Africa you represent the best of our country, and I know they will welcome you. And I think that you will have the feeling of having served this country and, in a broader sense, the free community of people in a very crucial time. So that is why you are particularly welcome here today.

There is an old saying that only in the winter can you tell which trees are evergreens. It is very easy to make speeches about what ought to be done about this country and how it can be improved. I hear them all the time, but you at least are picking up your bags and going some place and doing something, and that is why we are glad to have you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. The group was made up of 292 students who were about to spend the summer in Africa, teaching and working in hospitals and schools and on roads. Operation Crossroads Africa is a privately financed interracial, non-denominational organization.

In his remarks the President referred to the Reverend James H. Robinson, Director, Operation Crossroads Africa, and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, both of whom also spoke. The text of their remarks was made public by the White House.

255 Remarks to Participants in the Signing of Equal Opportunity Agreements. *June 22, 1962*

Mr. Secretary, Mr. Vice President:

I want to express my thanks to all of you. Looking down this list of companies we have some of the most important companies in the United States. I think the fact that you have been willing to sign up in the Plans for Progress will carry a good deal of weight with other companies which we hope to influence.

I know that you do this because you are as convinced as we are that all of us as Americans have a very definite obligation to secure adequate employment opportunities for all of our citizens. The whole essence of our country is the idea that the competition for talent and those that have it, those who have ability, those who are highly motivated, those who work hard, will have a chance to

advance whether it is on a company basis or an individual basis, and that therefore the matter of color or racial origin, religion, and all the rest of it, should not be involved in a society based on the principles which ours is.

Now this requires an effort by all of us. There is no use in the Federal Government merely putting out an order and assuming that that is enough. There is no use all of you doing it voluntarily and, even though that is important symbolically, and then letting it go at that.

This requires, like every useful project, work by all of us. It requires work in the Federal Government. You may be familiar with one of our experiences in attempting to secure some Negroes in one of our service academies. We had to go out and find them, interest them, inform them of the opportunities, encourage them to come in. Now we are bringing them into the Coast Guard for, I think, probably the first time. But it is not easy. It requires a good deal of effort by all of us. A good many of the people who would be helpful to you in your company work may not feel that they have an opportunity. They may not have had a chance in the past; they may not expect it. So it requires not merely your setting up in your company standards and waiting for it to happen. We have to go out and make it happen. And therefore I want to first express my thanks to you, all of you, for signing up. I want to urge you to put someone in your companies, as has been well explained, who will follow it up and who can really show after 6 months that in this program, which represents a cooperative effort by all of us to try to achieve a great national objective, that this can be done, each company working on its own, so that when we get our semiannual report, we can really say that the number of people working in the various levels represent a genuine effort by the companies to secure the best talent available and also to make opportunities available for the best talent.

We have been working on this in the Federal Government, but I don't think we have

done enough here. It requires constant stimulus. If you look at it statistically at the lower level, I am sure that Bob Troutman probably went through these figures, we have an awful lot of people working in the Federal Government who are members of minority groups, but as you go up higher, it becomes more difficult. We have to go find them. We have to tell them about Government service. We have to insist that they be given a chance. We have to stimulate them and motivate them to come to work for the Government.

I think you will have to do the same or otherwise we will end up the year with a handful of changes. I think it is worth your effort; it is worth your time. We cannot have, as we are in danger of having, important segments of our population who are out in the cold, while opportunities are given to those who are in, based on what we would consider extraneous conditions.

This is only one phase of the whole challenge which is very serious. The number of school dropouts, the lack of skills—this is a real problem, the amount of people who are talented who can do these jobs. Because they don't have the education and the motivation they don't have the talents for the kind of work that might be available. You may have a good many jobs that you would be glad to give to members of minority groups, but you can't find the people who have the skill. You can't find the people who have the skills because they have not had the training and that starts away back before they might have come into your sphere of interest. So this is a very long job requiring the efforts of not only the companies, but the local communities, the school boards, all of us in the National Government, in an attempt to focus national attention on this matter.

I want to tell you that we appreciate your effort. And I hope that it will be possible for people to be assigned to each of the companies who have the responsibility, that the companies themselves will take pride in going to work on this matter. It will not be

merely a question of acquiescing, but will be enthusiastically pursued with the feeling that you are helping advance a great national cause and of giving people a fair chance. So that is what this program is in the best sense. It is your doing it in coming in and signing up, on your own, and that is the way we want to keep it. And I think if we keep that spirit we can do an extraordinary amount.

I want you to know that we will continue to try to support this effort, support your efforts, and that what you are doing is very much worth your attention.

I want to express my thanks to the Vice President, who has been particularly active as the chairman of this, and the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Troutman, and others, who have

been working very hard on this program, and particularly to all of you who have come down here—and I am very glad that this ceremony is held in this very historic room—and engaged in a great national enterprise.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:30 p.m. in the East Room at the White House at a ceremony attended by representatives of 33 major defense contractors. His opening words "Mr. Secretary, Mr. Vice President" referred to Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, Vice Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Chairman of the Committee. The President later referred to Robert Troutman, a member of the Committee.

With the signing of the agreements by the 33 contractors present, the number of "Plans for Progress" in effect among the Nation's largest employers reached 85.

256 Statement by the President on the Dispute Between the Flight Engineers and Eastern and Pan American World Airlines.

June 23, 1962

THE TWA settlement demonstrates that the strikes on Eastern and Pan American Airlines are unnecessary. The course was plainly open to all Flight Engineer Chapters for a sensible and equitable resolution of the issues in dispute. The good offices of the government were and are fully available, as they were in the TWA dispute, to assist in such a resolution. Such a proffer was made last night by the National Mediation Board. It is most regrettable that this offer was spurned by the Flight Engineers.

The way is still open for a sensible solution without the injury, both to the parties and the public, inherent in the present course of action. To persist in the strike course would be the height of irresponsibility on the part of the Flight Engineers International Association and on the part of the

Eastern and Pan American Chapters. It is a course clearly destructive to the best interests of the membership of the Flight Engineers International Association.

Good judgment and even a minimum concern for the public interest require prompt termination of the strikes so that sensible collective bargaining and effective mediation can result in an equitable solution, as was provided in the TWA agreement.

I hope that good sense will prevail even at this late hour.

It goes without saying that all court orders issued in connection with this dispute must be obeyed.

NOTE: For the President's statement on the settlement of the Trans World Airlines labor dispute, see Item 253.

257 Letter to the Chairman of the Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces. *June 24, 1962*

[Released June 24, 1962. Dated June 22, 1962]

Dear Mr. Gesell:

The Department of Defense has made great progress since the end of World War II in promoting equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the Armed Forces. The military services can take justifiable pride in their outstanding accomplishments in this area over the past ten years.

It is appropriate now, however, to make a thorough review of the current situation both within the services and in the communities where military installations are located to determine what further measures may be required to assure equality of treatment for all persons serving in the Armed Forces.

There is considerable evidence that in some civilian communities in which military installations are located, discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin is a serious source of hardship and embarrassment for Armed Forces personnel and their dependents.

In order that I may have the benefit of advice from an independent body of distinguished citizens on the most effective action that can be taken to cope with the problem I am establishing a Committee on Equality of Opportunity in the Armed Forces, and I ask that you serve as Chairman of the Committee.

The Committee will include in its consideration of the general problem the following specific questions:

1. What measures should be taken to improve the effectiveness of current policies and procedures in the Armed Forces with regard to equality of treatment and opportunity for persons in the Armed Forces?

2. What measures should be employed to improve equality of opportunity for members of the Armed Forces and their dependents in the civilian community, particularly with respect to housing, education, transportation, recreational facilities, community events, programs and activities?

The Secretary of Defense will make all necessary facilities of the Department of Defense available to the Committee for carrying out this important assignment.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Gerhard A. Gesell, Esquire, Union Trust Building, Washington 5, D.C.]

NOTE: The White House release of which the letter was a part announced the President's appointment of the Committee and listed the members, in addition to Mr. Gesell, as follows: Joseph O'Meara, South Bend, Ind.; Nathaniel Colley, Sacramento, Calif.; Abe Fortas, Washington, D.C.; Benjamin Muse, Manassas, Va.; John Sengstacke, Chicago, Ill.; Whitney Young, New York, N.Y.

258 Toasts of the President and President-Elect Valencia of Colombia. *June 25, 1962*

Gentlemen:

I know that you all join me in expressing a very warm welcome to our distinguished guest, the President-elect, who is passing through his happiest days at this moment, and also to the members of his Government, and to our friend, the Ambassador.

Speaking personally, I will say that we

have never received, Mrs. Kennedy and myself representing our country, a warmer welcome and more genuine one than that we received on that Sunday when we visited the capital of Colombia. I mean that quite sincerely. It was the most spontaneous outpouring of friendship for the United States which I have seen, and which I think was

extremely helpful not only in giving us a warm feeling of welcome, but also in indicating the happy relations which can exist and must exist between our two countries and the other countries, the other sister Republics of the Western Hemisphere.

Our ties with Colombia are specially close. Colombia was the only country in this hemisphere in the south that sent troops to Korea. They had a most distinguished record. They were given a unit citation. Their casualties were high. Nearly half of those who went were casualties. Those who were taken prisoner had a most extraordinary record of endurance and of standing by their principles. And this is only one of many evidences of determination to maintain the independence and freedom of their country and their people.

We have been very grateful for the friendship of the present government, Lleras Camargo, who occupies a position of distinction here in this country and throughout the free world.

The President-elect is well known to us all. His father was a distinguished poet. He himself has had wide experience and won an overwhelming electoral triumph. He is committed, as are we committed, to the best ideals of the Alliance for Progress. We look forward to working with him in the closest cooperation.

Two of our young men in the Peace Corps

died in his country a few weeks ago as evidence of our desire for peaceful cooperation.

So that in a real sense our blood, our interests, our hopes, are commingled.

So, President-elect, you are most welcome here, and we drink to your very good health and success in your administration, to the well-being of the people of Colombia, and to the good health of the President of Colombia.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the family dining room at the White House.

In his response Dr. Valencia expressed his pleasure at the honor of being permitted by his Government "on this occasion to sit side by side with President Kennedy and with the leaders of the American Government." He spoke briefly of his career which he said had been climaxed by his election as President after 33 years of political life, 20 of them in the Senate.

Thanking President Kennedy for his reminder of the efforts of Colombian troops during the Korean conflict, Dr. Valencia stated that they had gone to Korea "in defense of the principles of law and freedom that were being threatened there, and to cast our fate in this great battle, side by side with the United States."

"I have the honor of telling President Kennedy here and now," he continued, "that on any occasion when the United States might have to go somewhere in the world to defend the cause of law and freedom that he may count on some very humble but very faithful allies—and that is the country of Colombia."

In conclusion Dr. Valencia spoke briefly concerning President Kennedy's address on the Alliance for Progress, stating that he did not hesitate "to qualify it as the most important document in all Pan American history."

259 The President's News Conference of *June 27, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon. I have two statements.

[1.] The situation in the area of the Taiwan Strait is a matter of serious concern to this Government. Very large movements of Chinese Communist forces into this area have taken place. The purpose of these moves is not clear. It seems important in these circumstances that the position of the

United States Government be clearly understood.

Our basic position has always been that we are opposed to the use of force in this area. In the earlier years President Eisenhower made repeated efforts to secure the agreement of Communist China to the mutual renunciation of the use of force in the Taiwan area, and our support for this policy continues.

One possibility is that there might be aggressive action against the offshore islands of Matsu and Quemoy. In that event the policy of this country will be that established 7 years ago under the Formosa Resolution. The United States will take the action necessary to assure the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores. In the last crisis in the Taiwan area in 1958, President Eisenhower made it clear that the United States would not remain inactive in the face of any aggressive action against the offshore islands which might threaten Formosa.

In my own discussion of this issue in the campaign of 1960, I made it quite clear that I was in agreement with President Eisenhower's position on this matter. I stated this position very plainly, for example, on October 16, 1960: "The position of the administration has been that we would defend Quemoy and Matsu if there were an attack which was part of an attack on Formosa and the Pescadores. I don't want the Chinese Communists to be under any misapprehension. I support the administration's policy towards Quemoy and Matsu over the last 5 years."

Under this policy sustained continuously by the United States Government since 1954, it is clear that any threat to the offshore islands must be judged in relation to its wider meaning for the safety of Formosa and the peace of the area.

Exactly what action would be necessary in the event of any such act of force would depend on the situation as it developed. But there must be no doubt that our policy, specifically including our readiness to take necessary action in the face of force, remains just what it has been on this matter since 1955. It is important to have it understood that on this point the United States speaks with one voice. But I repeat that the purposes of the United States in this area are peaceful and defensive. As Secretary Dulles said in 1955, "The Treaty arrangements which we have with the Republic of China make it quite clear that it is in our mutual contemplation that force shall not be used.

The whole character of that Treaty is defensive."

This continues to be the character of our whole policy in this area now.

[2.] Secondly, I want to emphasize once again how deeply I am convinced that the passage this year of the trade expansion bill, on which one House will vote tomorrow, is vital to the future of this country. To recommit this bill back to the committee is to defeat it. To extend it for 1 year is to defeat the purpose, because we have exhausted the powers given under the previous—under the present—law. All its bargaining authority has been used up, and it will mean that we will fall back and behind at a time when the Common Market in Europe is moving ahead. This is no time to penalize our industry and agriculture by denying them markets. If we cannot make new trade bargains with the Common Market in the coming year, our export surplus will decline, more plants will move to Europe, and the flow of gold away from these shores will become more intensified.

It is for these reasons that this bill has enjoyed bipartisan endorsement from the very beginning, and I am confident that the members of both parties will support this bill in the national interest tomorrow.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, in the furor over the Supreme Court's decision on prayer in the schools, some members of Congress have been introducing legislation for constitutional amendments specifically to sanction prayer or religious exercise in the schools. Can you give us your opinion of the decision itself and of these moves of the Congress to circumvent it?

THE PRESIDENT. I haven't seen the measures in the Congress and you would have to make a determination of what the language was and what effect it would have on the first amendment. The Supreme Court has made its judgment, and a good many people obviously will disagree with it. Others will agree with it. But I think that it is important for us if we are going to maintain our constitutional principle that we support

the Supreme Court decisions even when we may not agree with them.

In addition, we have in this case a very easy remedy and that is to pray ourselves. And I would think that it would be a welcome reminder to every American family that we can pray a good deal more at home, we can attend our churches with a good deal more fidelity, and we can make the true meaning of prayer much more important in the lives of all of our children. That power is very much open to us. And I would hope that as a result of this decision that all American parents will intensify their efforts at home, and the rest of us will support the Constitution and the responsibility of the Supreme Court in interpreting it, which is theirs, and given to them by the Constitution.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, in a somewhat related field, there seems to be an impasse in a conference committee on a bill to aid higher education over a 5-year period, that \$1½ billion bill. There are some administration figures who have been advocating the House bill which provides across the board grants for all types of colleges, including church-related colleges, as opposed to the Senate version which provides loans only for church-related colleges, and I wonder what your position is. Which of these two versions do you prefer?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, the administration sent up a program which is somewhat different from the bills that are in the Congress now, which provided loans to all schools. As you know, based on the brief on which I relied last year in my comments on the question of aid to nonpublic schools, secondary schools, I stated at that time that the brief indicated, and my own analysis indicated, and that of the Department of HEW, that there was not a comparable constitutional question on aid to higher education, to non-State colleges or universities.

In my opinion there are very clear limitations based on the Supreme Court decisions on aid to nonpublic schools in the secondary field. But in those fields the attendance is

compulsory, it is universal. There is particular tradition connected with our public school system which has placed it in a special place in the traditional and constitutional life of our country. This is not true of higher education. So I did not feel, based on that, that there was a constitutional question, a public policy matter. And I am hopeful that the Congress will report out legislation which will assist schools of higher learning and also that some arrangement will be made on scholarships, and that all schools will be treated as they are in research grants and other ways—will be treated in the same fashion.

[5.] Q. In connection with your China statement, would you say, sir, what the position of the United States would be toward a return to the mainland by Chinese Nationalist forces? There have been reports recently, from Taiwan, that the time may be approaching for such a move.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it seems to me that the statement indicates the view that I wish to express today. I think the statement at the conclusion emphasized the defensive nature of our arrangement there. That was true in 1955. General Eisenhower made that clear, I think, in his letter to Senator Green in 1958. I have made it clear today that our arrangements in this area are defensive.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, in your television interview about a month ago now, explaining your new trade expansion bill, I was impressed with your emphasis on the need for the European nations to take over more of their own defense. My questions are two: Does this mean that you would like to see a gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops from Europe; and, two, are you also considering sending men to Europe on shortened tours of, say, 1 year, without their families?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would hope that we could withdraw or lessen the number of forces at some time but certainly not under present conditions until we have had a clear indication of what the future is going to be in Berlin. Quite the reverse, as you know,

we have in the last 12 months strengthened our forces in Berlin and we have expressed our hope that other members of NATO would strengthen theirs. The United States has six divisions in Western Germany. Other members of NATO have substantially less, with the exception of the West German Government itself, and I would hope that they strengthen their forces. They represent a large geographic area with ever-increasing wealth. The United States cannot sustain this burden of maintaining the atomic deterrent, maintaining the sea strength we do, our ground commitments all around the globe, and still maintain such a large force in Western Germany. But we shall continue to do so as long as we feel it contributes to the security of Western Europe and the maintenance of our commitments.

Now, in regard to your second question, that is not a matter which is before us at the present time. At the present time we are planning to continue the tours of duty that we have on the books.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, in your campaign for the Presidency, in connection with the offshore islands, you suggested in advance of any violent attack in the area that might be construed as an attack upon Formosa and the Pescadores that we might reduce our commitment to Quemoy and Matsu, that this was not the appropriate place to draw the line because the islands were strategically indefensible and unnecessary. What is your view now?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that my statement represents the view of the United States Government, and the view of the United States Government is regulated by the resolution which was passed in—by the Congress in 1954, and which has been interpreted by President Eisenhower and again by me.

President Eisenhower, as you know, had some views about what should be the extent of the commitment of the Chinese Nationalist forces to these islands and, as a matter of fact, sent Admiral Radford out in the mid-fifties to discuss it. I also made some state-

ments. My views on the matter in 1954 when the treaty came up are well known. But the fact of the matter is I also said in the fall of 1960 that there should be no withdrawal from these islands under the point of a gun, and that the matter of these islands—that the President must make a judgment based on the resolution of the Congress, that the action he will take will depend upon his judgment as to the effect of any action which the Chinese Communists might take on Formosa and the Pescadores.

Now, that is what my statement says. We stand in the traditional policy which has been true since 1954.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, speaking generally about your legislative program, do you feel that it has had the proper degree of support from the Democratic majorities in the House and Senate?

THE PRESIDENT. No, we haven't gotten the legislative program. I don't think we ought to go home until we get a good deal more of it by. I think that is the wishes of the majority. We should realize that some Democrats have voted with the Republicans for 25 years, really since 1938, and that makes it very difficult to secure the enactment of any controversial legislation. You can water bills down and get them by, or you can have bills which have no particular controversy to them and get them by. But important legislation, medical care for the aged and these other bills, farm programs, they are controversial, they involve great interests, and they are much more difficult.

Now, if you recall in January 1961 when we had a very basic issue before the Congress, which was whether the administration and the National Democratic Party would have the power to put its program on the floor of the House, the fight over the rules with Speaker Rayburn coming to the well of the House and making this a matter of his own personal prestige, we won that by five votes.

That indicated how close the balance was in the House of Representatives. Some Democrats vote with the Republicans, and have for a good many years. So that we have

a very difficult time, on a controversial piece of legislation, securing a working majority. That is why this election in November is an important one, because if we can gain some more seats, we will have a workable majority, and if we don't, then of course we will not. So that I am concerned about what progress we make. There is no sense in the Congress going home without taking action on a whole variety of steps which will strengthen our country and our economy.

Now, on the farm bill, where we got defeated, as you know, by a close vote, there were powerful interests against it. In the first place, there was the unanimous opposition, with the exception of one Congressman, of the Republicans. And in addition there was the opposition of those who store surpluses. They like to have additional surpluses built up. There are 9 billion of them now, but they want more because they make money out of it. Then there were those who want cheap feed, and they want—the more surpluses there are, the cheaper the feed is. So that those who feed livestock, they did not want it. Then there are other parts of the country who want to plant corn, and who figure that if there are restraints on production they won't be able to plant it. So there are powerful interests that build up, and to try to get a program under control is very difficult. The fact of the matter is if we secured passage of that bill, it would have meant a saving of \$1 billion, and that means that if we do not get a bill this year, it will cost \$7½ billion in the next budget, instead of \$6½ billion for agriculture. In addition, the farm income will drop, as it dropped in the fifties, because the surpluses will pile up. We will try to buy them under the support price, which is compulsory—the permanent bill—the surpluses will pile up, the farmers' income will go down, and no one will benefit.

So I think it is a great mistake.

Now, what is interesting, if I may conclude, is that there was support indicated, after our bill was defeated, for the emergency feed grain bill. The Republicans indicated they would support it. Yet last year when

that bill was up, all but four or five voted against it. Now, it is hard to get bills by, that put restraints, but these are the kinds of bills, the tax bill and others, that a complicated economy such as ours must have passed.

They may not be of great emotional public issues, but we have got to pass them or otherwise we will begin to lose control of the management of our economy and of our governmental finances.

So that I think the Democrats have to do better and I hope that some Republicans would support us. We supported President Eisenhower in important matters, and I would hope some Republicans will support us on the trade bill, which is vital, and on other measures as the summer goes on.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, Secretary Rusk has just about completed his rounds of the Western European capitals. I wonder if you can give us an evaluation of his trip, with particular reference to whether this Government has now accepted France's determination to build its own nuclear power, and whether we will seek to coordinate and integrate that power into the NATO system?

THE PRESIDENT. We have always accepted its determination to do so. What we have not agreed to is to participate in the development of a national deterrent. We believe that is inimical to the community interest of the Atlantic Alliance, that it encourages other countries to do the same.

Now, France has determined to do so, she is going to do it. But I think that for the United States to associate with that effort, to associate with the concept of additional independent national nuclear deterrents, to play our part in its development, would be a mistake, both from the point of view of the United States, of the Atlantic Community, and of peace, because other countries will be compelled to do the same. And in my judgment, the NATO Alliance and the steps we have taken to implement the NATO Alliance give adequate security to Europe and the United States. I think we should stay with that. Now, the French do not agree,

and they are going ahead. We accept that. But we do not agree with it.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, going back to the fall election, there has been considerable criticism of the candidacy of your brother, Ted, for Senator from Massachusetts. Among your most vigorous supporters it is said that there are going to be too many Kennedys in Washington and that Ted has not demonstrated a capacity for this. Would you comment and tell us whether you think this might be an issue in the fall?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don't know whether they—I would characterize them as my most vigorous supporters, but I would say that there has been criticism. But as Ted, my brother, pointed out, there are nine members of my family. It is a big family. They are all interested in public life. So public life is centered—at least the great issues—in the United States Capital. Now, the people of Massachusetts are going to decide that. He had a very vigorously contested convention. He is going to have a primary in September. He will have a very vigorous fight in November. And I would think the people of Massachusetts could make a judgment as to his qualifications and as to whether there are too many Kennedys.

Now, as far as my own judgment, aside from the fraternal relations, I did put him in charge of managing my campaign in '58 in Massachusetts. But more important, he was in charge of our western campaign in the preconvention period which was a very intensive campaign, where we secured the support of a good many delegates, and in charge of our campaign in the West in the campaign itself, so that I have confidence in his ability. The people of Massachusetts must make the judgment, however.

[11.] Q. The organization of a committee to raise \$62 million to ransom the invasion prisoners held by Castro was announced yesterday. One of its members is your sister-in-law, Mrs. Radziwill. Do you approve of public subscription to ransom these prisoners? And don't you think this money

would contribute a great deal towards easing Castro's economic difficulties?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am not informed about it. She is a good citizen and is free to make a judgment and anyone who wishes to contribute certainly is free to do so. And I certainly sympathize with the basic desire, which is to get a good many hundreds of young men out of prison whose only interest was in freeing their country. So I am certainly not critical of any efforts that are being made in this field.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, some members of your own party have a feeling that it might be a good idea to get Congress out of town and get them out to campaigning. On the other hand, you have outlined today quite a program remaining, and I wonder if you had any specific date in mind when you would like to see them go?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think that is up to them. It is much easier in many ways for me, and for other Presidents, I think, who felt the same way, when Congress is not in town—[*laughter*]—but it seems to me that we cannot all leave town. We ought to all stay here. I think Congress is determined to try to bring up a program which is useful: higher education; we've got medical care coming up next week; we've got the trade bill. I think that we've got a number of things left to do and I am confident the Congress will stay and try to do them.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, in December 1954, following the signing of the Mutual Security Treaty with Nationalist China, there was an exchange of letters between the United States and Nationalist China under which Nationalist China pledged itself not to take forceful action against the mainland without the consent of the United States. Do you think it is within the spirit of that exchange of letters that Chiang Kai-shek should be making statements proclaiming his intention of regaining a foothold on the mainland?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think that that letter still governs. We would regard the agreement which was part of the '54 action, that

no such action as you mention would take place without the agreement of the United States, and I have indicated that our interest in this area is defensive, and we would like to have a renunciation of the use of force. Does that explain it?

[14.] Q. Mr. President, you mentioned Berlin in connection with the presence of our sizable forces in Europe. Have you thought of any reduction or withdrawal of those forces with respect to having a written agreement on Berlin, or would lessening of tension suffice?

THE PRESIDENT. No, it would be a strategic and tactical judgment as to the use of our resources which would include, of course, men and financial resources, and the assessment of what effort the other countries were making.

For example, and this is only for example, we would have to make a judgment as to whether a conventional force of sufficient size could be developed in Europe to maintain itself without the use of atomic weapons, short of an all-out attack by the Soviet Union. This would require a different force level than it would if we decided to use weapons under different conditions. These are all part of the matter which we must consider. We must also see what the Europeans themselves are doing about conventional forces. And we also must take into account our dollar—our balance of payments problems. As you know, it costs about \$750 million to keep our forces in Germany. That is balanced off by German purchases here. But it costs us \$325 million to keep them in France, and that is not balanced off—\$200 million-odd in Britain—\$100 million in Italy. We have to make a judgment of what is in the best security interests of the United States.

But let me just make it clear that a good deal of what we are now talking about is in a sense academic. We plan to keep the six divisions in Europe for the foreseeable future.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, General Eisenhower said the other night that he felt the current present administration was spending

too much money on defense. He also said that he felt the administration was floundering in the face of various problems. Would you care to comment on those two points?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think, I would be glad—I think we are spending a good deal of money on defense, and I don't enjoy it. But on the other hand, I think we live in a very dangerous world, and I believe that being strong helps maintain the peace. I must say on the one hand that we seem to be under attack by some Republicans for not doing enough to stand up to the Communists, and on the other by those who say we are spending too much on defense. There should be some coordination of policy, because it seems to me that otherwise it may appear that the Grand Old Party may be floundering. [*Laughter*]

[16.] Q. Mr. President, a poll of about 30,000 businessmen by the Research Institute of America came up today with a vote of 2 to 1 in favor of your legislation, including the tax credit and the trade bill. Yet at the same time a substantial majority considers the administration hostile to business. What does this apparent inconsistency suggest to you?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that it suggests that most businessmen, number one, are Republicans, and, number two, that they realize what is in the best interests of business and the country, and that is the trade bill and the tax credit.

I am glad to have that poll even though it did not result in a resounding vote of confidence for the administration. I think the fact that businessmen so strongly support these two pieces of legislation which have been somewhat—which have been attacked by a few, or relatively few, who have mounted a very effective attack—I thought this was a poll which every member of the Congress should look at carefully. I think the businessmen are right. Both of these pieces of legislation are useful. I think the administration is, also. But more importantly is the fact they are supporting two important bills which I hope will pass, and

which will be in the interest of the American economy, this year.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you could tell us something about your plans for your Mexican trip and any comments you have relating that to the general Latin American situation?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is important. Mexico is extremely important. I am following where President Roosevelt and every other President since then have gone to pay a visit. We have been honored by visits from the Presidents of Mexico. We are neighbors. There are a good many problems that we have in common, as well as opportunities. And, in addition, we are anxious—I am anxious—to discuss not only the bilateral relations but also what we together can do to strengthen the democratic fabric in all of Latin America.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, 4 weeks ago you said that you had no plans to propose tax reduction at that time, at the moment, but that in new conditions you might think about it again. In the past month, the economic situation has not gotten markedly better, and the stock market has gotten worse. What do you think of tax reduction now?

THE PRESIDENT. I think if we decide it is needed we will propose it, though I do point out that we do have one bill which would give us standby powers on tax reduction which I think would be very useful. It doesn't seem as if we are going to get action on that, but that is a tax reduction bill which would give us powers to move if the economy turned down. It has taken us nearly 18 months and we haven't finally gotten a judgment on our tax credit bill, which indicates the length of time it can take moving through the ordinary procedures of the Congress. That is why the standby power is important.

However, we will continue to watch the economy. There are good signs in the economy and there are signs which are not so good, so we will continue to watch it very carefully and make a judgment.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, the recently released report of the National Advisory Com-

mittee on Radiation has pointed out that in the event the fallout contamination from weapons testing should exceed acceptable limits only you have the authority to halt testing and order countermeasures. The report also points out that responsibility for action against other nuclear hazards has not been clearly assigned. Under what circumstances would you halt nuclear tests or order countermeasures to protect against these hazards, and are you considering assigning responsibility for countermeasures against all nuclear hazards to a special agency?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as of today, the situation is such that our interests are served by testing. In addition, as you know, the iodine content has increased recently. The hazard is not present and will not be present, from our tests. Quite obviously, if tests are carried on for a long period of time all over the world this will become an increasingly serious problem. It is not today, however, and there is no health hazard here in this country nor will there be from our tests.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, aside from your constitutional responsibilities, as an individual American citizen do you personally approve or disapprove of the Supreme Court decision outlawing prayer in public schools?

THE PRESIDENT. I think my answer was responsive to that question.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, did you ask Walt Whitman Rostow to draw up this paper on foreign policy and defense policy, or did he just undertake it on his own to interpret the policies of the Government?

THE PRESIDENT. To interpret the policy—he was acting as the successor to Mr. George McGhee and fulfilling his function of policy planning and one of the functions of the policy planning staff is to plan policy. [Laughter] And that is what he is attempting to do.

Now, the fact of the matter is that we have in the National Security Council voluminous papers from the fifties which are the general guide of policy lines in the United States. But there have been a good many changes since the 1950's. In the first place, we dis-

cussed one of them today, the French atomic rearmament, the question of the Sino-Soviet relations. There are a great many problems, Castro and all the rest.

We are examining to see—guerrilla warfare, anti-insurgency—what should be our military policy in it, what should be our force levels. These are matters which the State Department and the Department of Defense are examining and will come through to the National Security Council to see whether there should be any changes in the policies that were laid down in the 1950's. So Mr. Rostow is fulfilling his function. I have not studied the paper; the Secretary of State has it. But Mr. Rostow is acting under instructions and acting very responsibly.

Q. Mr. President, what are your views of the present situation in Laos?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am concerned that

the agreement which came into effect in June among the three princes, that it shall be successfully implemented, and that the Geneva accords agreed to last summer shall be amplified at the coming Geneva conference. Laos continues to be a matter of great concern to us. We have never suggested that there was a final, easy answer to Laos. On the other hand, there is a cease-fire, there is a government; they are meeting in Geneva. We will continue to cooperate in every way we can. It is a situation which is as uncertain and full of hazard, which life is in much of the world, and we will continue to support the concept of an independent and neutral Laos, to which Mr. Khrushchev has also given his personal commitment.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's thirty-seventh news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, June 27, 1962.

260 Remarks Upon Opening an Exhibit of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Naval Prints. *June 27, 1962*

Mr. Boutin, Mr. Grover, Admiral Morison, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express the appreciation, I know, of all of us to the Archives for the devoted work of those who have made this exhibit possible.

About a year ago, I read an article in the New York Times about the extraordinary collection of naval prints which was referred to as the largest and best known in this country. Even though I have been interested in the sea from my earliest boyhood, I had not been aware of what President Roosevelt had done in this field.

I think all of us were very familiar with the stamp collection. But the fact that he had—in addition to having one of the finest stamp collections in the United States if not in the world, that he also had—in spite of having some other interests in his life, the most unusual collection of naval prints, indicates an extraordinary versatility as well as

vitality to which he brought everything that he did. So that I thought it would be very appropriate that the best of these pictures should come to Washington and be exhibited. And I hope that after the exhibition is completed here it can go to other parts of the country so that other Americans can see it.

It serves two very useful purposes. First, it tells us more about a very important part of our lives—our lives at sea. We think of ourselves, I think, as land animals in a sense, but we really look to the sea—the Atlantic and the Pacific—which have defended us and have secured us and have enriched us.

Our naval history is one of the most exciting threads that runs throughout the long history of our country; and the combination of the Navy and the Maritime and the extraordinary men who served and who gave it life and thrust and thesis deserves to be recorded.

So that I think this exhibit will enrich all of those who look east and west from our seashore.

In addition, I think it tells us something about one of our most distinguished Presidents. He did not spend very much money on this collection. He looked for bargains. His descent was Dutch and frugal. He did not merely buy other collectors' exhibits, but instead he went over catalogues for long periods of time. Mr. Louis Howe represented him and went to a number of places and secured pictures and some extraordinary bargains. In 1938-1939 he felt that prices were getting too high and his collection began to taper off. So this was not a question of putting large financial resources into buying it the easy way but instead, day after day, year after year it was built up, and now it is extraordinary.

In order to make this exhibit truly meaningful, we asked our great historian, Admiral Morison, if he would be kind enough, with the cooperation of the Government people

here and the Librarian at Hyde Park, to pick the pictures which should be exhibited. Admiral Morison, who has been so generous to the Navy and really to all of us who are interested in the Navy, agreed to do so; and he is here today. And we are very indebted to him for participating in this exhibit.

We hope that this opening today, attended as it is by the family and old friends of President Roosevelt—that we will be the first of a great number of Americans who will touch, through this exhibit, not only the life of President Roosevelt but also the old Navy.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:45 p.m. in the Exhibition Hall at the National Archives. In his opening words he referred to Bernard L. Boutin, Administrator of General Services; Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States; and Rear Adm. Samuel Eliot Morison, professor emeritus of history at Harvard University.

An elaboration of these remarks, with illustrations, was published in the August 10, 1962, issue of *Life* magazine under the title "The Strength and Style of Our Navy Tradition."

261 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act. *June 28, 1962*

I AM gratified that the Congress has acted affirmatively on my request of July 21, 1961, by enacting H.R. 8291, the "Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962."

I am personally grateful to the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator J. W. Fulbright, and to the Chairman of Subcommittee Number One of the House Judiciary Committee, Representative Francis E. Walter, for their efforts in securing the passage of this legislation. With this expression of approval for the Administration's proposals to continue our assistance to refugees, the American people will be assured that this Government's leadership will be maintained in the great humanitarian endeavor of helping the world's stateless and

homeless people. In continuing this endeavor, we will be carrying forward a great American tradition which is as well-known as the generosity of our people in coming to the aid of those in need.

The Congress is to be congratulated for its action in providing the necessary authorization. I am confident it will be equally responsive to the appropriation requests which will be submitted to implement the programs which it has endorsed in this bill.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 8291 is Public Law 87-510 (76 Stat. 121).

For the President's request of July 21, 1961, proposing reorganization and reenactment of refugee aid legislation, see the 1961 volume, this series, page 526.

262 Remarks at the Presentation to President and
Mrs. Kennedy of Copies of a New White House
Guide Book. *June 28, 1962*

Dr. Finley, Dr. Grosvenor:

I want to express our thanks to the National Geographic Society for the work that they have done, the members of the staff, Mrs. Pearce who was the Curator and who supervised the drafting and drafted most of it and who, I think, has done an outstanding job.

It is, I think, an extraordinary document. It will be sold to those who visit the White House and the profits from the selling will go to buy additional treasures for the White House so that we can constantly enrich the White House and make it more important to us as Americans.

We are freeing ourselves somewhat from annual appropriations in this regard and setting up business on our own, and this has been made possible by the generosity of the National Geographic Society and others who have participated.

I must say it is a beautiful book. The White House, it seems to me, is becoming of greater and greater interest to Americans. Last year was the first year we had over a million people visiting. This year we hope to have 1.5 or 1.6 million, and in another year or so we will be up to 2 million. And I think when they all go home, if they can take this book with them, it is a most fascinating story of the White House, filled with most interesting historic details. And as I say, everyone who buys it will also be, in a sense, contributing to the White House and contributing to making it more beautiful for those who will come after them.

This started out, as Mrs. Kennedy tells in her foreword, to be, in a sense, a book for boys and girls so that they would get more out of their visit to the White House. And then I think, quite rightly, she says, "It was planned—at first—for the children. It seemed such a shame that they should have nothing to take away with them, to help sort out the impressions received on an often crowded visit. It was hoped that they would go over the book at home and read more about the Presidents who interested them most. Its purpose was to stimulate their sense of history and their pride in their country.

"But as research went on and so many little-known facts were gleaned from forgotten papers, it was decided to make it a book that could be of profit to adults and scholars also."

And I think it is. It is for scholars, it is for grownups, it is for boys and girls; it is for Americans and it is for visitors to our country. So I am grateful to all those who participated in a very important public service, and they are to be congratulated.

And I also want to express my warmest congratulations and appreciation to my wife.

Thank you.

NOTE: The presentation ceremony was held at 4:15 p.m. in the Conference Room at the White House. The President's opening words referred to David E. Finley, Chairman, Board of Directors, White House Historical Association, and Melville Grosvenor, President, National Geographic Society, both of whom also spoke. The text of their remarks was made public by the White House.

263 Remarks Upon Arrival at the Airport in Mexico City.
June 29, 1962

Mr. President, Señora, distinguished guests:

It is a great pleasure for Mrs. Kennedy and for myself to come once again to this ancient

city, and this beautiful country, and we look forward to seeing the changes which have taken place since our wedding trip nearly a

decade ago. Certainly the first change is the size and warmth of the welcome here at the airport.

We come as good neighbors and follow in the footsteps of one of my most distinguished predecessors, Franklin Roosevelt, who prophesied that the day would ultimately come when Presidents of Mexico and the United States would freely meet and freely communicate upon their common responsibilities and common opportunities.

I do this, Mr. President, today, with the greatest of ease, not only because of my high regard for you, but also because I believe that there is so much which unites this great country with my own. We share a border of 2,000 miles. Over 3 million of our citizens in the United States are descended from your citizens. Most of all, we are both children of revolution, and it is my hope that the spirit of our revolution in the United States is as alive today in our country as is the spirit of your revolution here in Mexico. That revolution in our country and, in a sense, in yours, was primarily political, a declaration of political liberty.

It is our responsibility, Mr. President, I believe, in the sixties, and the responsibilities of others in our sister republics in this great

hemisphere, to recognize that there is also a necessity for an economic revolution, if political independence, political equality, national sovereignty are all to have true significance and true meaning.

As you yourself have said, Mr. President, until every child has a meal and every student has an opportunity to study, and everyone who wishes to work can find a job, and everyone who wishes a home can find one, and everyone who is old can have security—until that is done in this hemisphere from the top to the bottom, our revolutions and the revolution of this hemisphere are incomplete.

So we come, Mr. President, on a mission of friendship and also of great purpose. And it is a source of satisfaction to come to this country which has demonstrated in its own time and in its own life how closely bound are the concepts of political and economic independence and equality and, indeed, hope.

So, Mr. President, I salute you and I salute this country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. His opening words referred to President and Mrs. Adolfo López Mateos of Mexico.

264 Address by the President at a Luncheon Given in His Honor by President López Mateos. June 29, 1962

Mr. President, Señora, members of the Government, saludos amigos:

It is with great pleasure and high regard that I have crossed the peaceful border which separates our two nations. For Mexico and the United States share more than a common frontier. We share a common heritage of revolution, a common dedication to liberty, a common determination to preserve in these great days the blessings of freedom and to extend its fruits to all.

While geography has made us neighbors, tradition has made us friends. Economics has made us partners. And necessity has made us allies—in a vast *Alianza para el*

Progreso. Those whom nature has so joined together, let no man put asunder.

Two great and independent nations, united by hope instead of fear, are bound to have matters on which we must consult together, and we are equally bound to discuss them in a frank and friendly manner, to agree where we can agree, to respect each others' views where we disagree. As co-tenants of the same great continent, we cannot meet our mutual needs in disarray, but working together we can face the future with confidence for there is much to be done in that future.

We in the United States are committed to

a better life for our people, for no nation can seek social justice abroad that does not practice it at home. But now, in addition, the United States of America is committed to help fulfill these goals throughout the Americas, to work together with Mexico and all the other nations of the inter-American system, to create a society in which all men have equal access to land, to jobs, and to education—a society in which no man is exploited for the enrichment of a few, and in which every arm of the Government is dedicated to the welfare of all the people.

This effort is not a one-way street. We in the United States have much to learn, as well as something to teach. There are commodities we must buy as well as sell. There are national burdens to be shared, as well as individual burdens to be lifted. Where obstacles to understanding are existing, they must be shattered on both sides. And so, my friends, I come to speak, as your President said, of what we can do together.

Your President and I, your people and mine, are united in our ideals and aspirations for this hemisphere. Together we shall work and together we shall succeed.

Permit me now to remind you of a few of these common aspirations. First, we are determined to reinforce the inter-American principle of absolute respect for the sovereignty and independence of every nation. That principle was at the heart of the Good Neighbor Policy, and we remain good neighbors today. That principle is the foundation of our Alliance, and we shall always be allies for progress. We recognize the right of every nation to order its own affairs, to formulate its own policies, to decide upon its own actions, subject only to the obligations of international law and the rights of other nations. And all nations who seek forcibly or by subversion to impose their will on any American country will find the free nations of this hemisphere, I am sure, united and determined to preserve the independence of all.

Secondly, we are dedicated to the ideal of a peaceful and free hemisphere, of free and

equal nations. "Democracy," said Benito Juárez, "is the destiny of humanity; freedom its indestructible arm."

This was the destiny of the American Revolution and it is the destiny of the Mexican Revolution; and this destiny will not be achieved in full until the entire Western Hemisphere is a community of free democratic nations, committed to the individual freedom of all their citizens.

Third, we are devoted to the increasing social justice of all. National independence, the fact of political freedom, means very little to the man who is not yet independent of poverty and illiteracy and disease. New factories and machinery mean little to the family without a home, to the student without a meal, to the farmer who even gives up hope of finally owning the land that he tills. If you and I, Mexico and the United States, and our two great nations believe in peaceful revolution—if we believe as we do that social justice can be achieved without the sacrifice of freedom or progress, indeed that economic progress is the handmaiden of political freedom, then we have ample opportunity in this hemisphere to carry out those convictions to implement those promises.

But it will not be easy, for if it were easy, it would have been done long ago. Ending the outmoded systems of land tenure, reforming unjust systems of taxation, expanding the opportunities for better housing and better health and better education, where no such opportunities existed before—all this will not be easy. But the Mexican revolution has helped to show what could be done—that the path of freedom is the path of progress. In the almost 20 years since Franklin Roosevelt came to Monterrey, your supply of goods and services has tripled, your per capita income has increased nearly 80 percent. You have become virtually self-sustaining in agriculture, and you have maintained the most consistent and impressive rate of growth of any nation in this hemisphere. These are, I realize, only statistics, but behind those statistics, I know, hope has replaced despair, and opportunity,

misery. And while, as your President, López Mateos, said, your revolution is far from completed in your own nation, just as our goals have not been achieved in our own country; yet we must now work together, your country and mine, to help bring such hope and opportunity to all the Americas.

There will be delays and setbacks and frustrations. We cannot double the number of classrooms, double the rate of literacy, reduce by three-fourths the rate of infant mortality, and increase by 50 percent the average life expectancy in the matter of months or even in a few years. But we can in a decade. While the price agreements are difficult to work out, power and transportation systems are a long time building, and basic internal reforms in many countries are certain to be resisted, but now I believe that this hemisphere has a common plan and knows where it is going, and we are on the way, and we have chosen to do it through the democratic road.

We do not seek to change or direct any nation's political or economic system, but we do seek to assist the Latin American

nations to make fundamental changes in the life of the peoples of Latin America, and thereby to change the course of human history. If we can pursue this course with unyielding determination, the unyielding determination that you have shown in this country, we shall surely prevail in the end.

A century ago, President Abraham Lincoln instructed his Secretary of State to tell the people of Mexico of his "respect for the . . . heroism of her people and, above all, their inextinguishable love of civil liberty."

Today, 100 years later, that deep respect remains in the hearts of the people and the President of the United States. Our two nations have been blessed with the same blessings of liberty. We now dream the same dream of opportunity in the future. And our two continuing revolutions have now been joined as one, one great effort, one great continent, in one great *Alianza para el Progreso*.

Viva Mexico!

NOTE: The President spoke at 2 p.m. in the National Palace in Mexico City.

265 Remarks at a Civic Ceremony at the Municipal Palace, Mexico City. June 29, 1962

Mr. Governor, members of the City Council, Mr. Minister, Ambassador, Senator Mansfield, Ambassador Moscoso, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to first of all express to you, Governor, to the members of the City Council, and through you, to the people of this city, the very real appreciation which my wife and I felt this morning on having really the warmest welcome that we have ever received any place. So I want you to know how appreciative we were to the people of this city, who were kind enough to line the streets and greet us, and through us, the people of my country.

I am, gentlemen, the grandson of a mayor of my native city of Boston, on one side, and the grandson, on the other, of a member of

the City Council; and I am quite aware, having grown up with them, that I have, in a sense, let them and my family down by not holding a similar honor in my own lifetime.

I do want to express also the impression I get—two impressions I get from coming to this city: one is of age and the other is of youth. The city from whence I come, Boston, is regarded as an ancient city, but I am afraid that the wind blew through empty paths when this square was founded, and long before that there was a civilization even earlier. So when we come to Mexico City, we come to an old people, and an old country, and an old city; and I also get an impression of youth, and that is the extraordinary vitality of this city and your people.

Driving through this city this morning, and again this evening, the force, the vigor, the life of the Mexican people, and particularly the citizens of your city, I regard as one of the most heart-warming indications of the great spirit which exists in this country and which exists in this hemisphere.

The revolutions of the United States and of Mexico were, in their beginning, political revolutions. But in the case of Mexico—and I think this is true of the entire hemisphere—we have come to realize that our obligation in the 1960's really is to match political independence with economic independence, to indicate that with a system of political freedom can also go a system of economic well-being. That is the assignment which history has placed upon the people of the United States and the people of Mexico. And working through the *Alianza para el Progreso*, a great communal effort, not that of the United States, not that of Mexico, but of all of the sister republics of our free hemisphere working together, it is our obligation to bring to the people of this hemisphere the same opportunities that you gentlemen are working for for the people of Mexico City—housing and jobs and education and a future as well as a past.

And let me say finally, Governor, how much I am impressed by all that I have heard of what you have done in this city and in this

area, and the members of the City Council. All that Presidents may do, and you have an extraordinary President—but all that he can do or any of us may be able to do in other countries really, in the final analysis, depends upon the effectiveness of local government, because you are closest to the people and, therefore, they are impressed by their government and by their freedoms as they are expressed by the work that you are able to do with them. When you succeed, the whole country succeeds. Where you fail, the people become disappointed. So in the final analysis, the City Council, the Governor in this city, and in dozens of cities stretching from the north all the way down to the south, the City Councils and the Mayors and Governors working together can make our system of freedom work. And you have done that in this city, and in a whole variety of ways which are familiar to us all.

So I compliment you and it makes me particularly proud to be an honorary citizen and guest of this celebrated city. *Viva Mexico!*

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:05 p.m. at the Municipal Palace. In his opening words he referred to Ernesto P. Uruchurtu, Governor, Mexico, D.F.; Manuel Tello, Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations; Antonio Carrillo Flores, Ambassador of Mexico to the United States; Mike Mansfield, U.S. Senator from Montana; and Teodoro Moscoso, U.S. Coordinator, Alliance for Progress.

266 Message to King Mwami Mwambutsa IV on the Occasion of the Independence of Burundi. *June 30, 1962*

[Released June 30, 1962. Dated June 28, 1962]

Your Majesty:

It gives me the greatest pleasure to extend to Your Majesty, and to the government and people of the kingdom of Burundi, the congratulations of the government and the people of the United States on the attainment of independence by Burundi.

We in the United States have watched with interest the transition of Burundi from its status as a UN Trust Territory to inde-

pendence as a sovereign state. We know that your people, like ours, cherish individual liberty and national independence. Therefore, we share with the people of Burundi the knowledge that these goals are achieved and can be maintained only at the cost of unremitting labor and sacrifice.

Americans also share with the people of Burundi a profound respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter. We

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look forward to your participation in world councils as befits a sovereign nation.

The people of the United States of America will work to strengthen the bonds of friendship between our two countries. We anticipate a future in which our two peoples shall work together in the cause of

freedom, dignity and peace.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[His Majesty Mwami Mwambutsa IV, Usumbura, Burundi]

NOTE: The message was released in Mexico City.

267 Message to President Kayibanda on the Occasion of
the Independence of Rwanda. *June 30, 1962*

[Released June 30, 1962. Dated June 28, 1962]

Dear Mr. President:

I wish to extend to you, your Government, and the people of the Republic of Rwanda, on the occasion of Rwanda's accession to independence, the congratulations and warm wishes of the people of the United States.

We in the United States have observed with great interest the transition of Rwanda from its status as a UN Trust Territory to sovereign independence. We are confident that the spirit of cooperation which has brought about this wonderful day will condition the Republic of Rwanda's future relationships with all who hold freedom dear.

In extending the congratulations of my country, I speak for a people who cherish individual liberty and independence and who have made great sacrifices so that these

principles may endure, and who share with the people of Rwanda a profound respect for the principles of the United Nation's Charter.

I look forward to the establishment of the most cordial relations between our two countries, and all Americans stand ready to work with the people of Rwanda to reach the goals we all share of peace, enlightenment and material well-being. I am confident that in the future our two countries will be as one in safeguarding the greatest bond between us—our common belief in a free and democratic way of life.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[His Excellency Gregoire Kayibanda, President of the Republic of Rwanda, Kigali]

NOTE: The message was released in Mexico City.

268 Statement by the President on the Signing of an Agricultural
Agreement With Mexico. *June 30, 1962*

THE AGRICULTURAL credit agreement we sign here today is an historic step forward in cooperation between our two countries under the Alianza para el Progreso.

It is especially significant that this agreement is in the field of agriculture. For improvement of the life of the campesino is one of the central goals of the Mexican revolution—and a major part of the Alliance for Progress. Here in Mexico you have carried forward the largest and most impressive land

reform program in the entire history of the Hemisphere. Since the beginning of your revolution more than 133,000,000 acres of land have been distributed to almost two million people. And never has this program been more vigorously administered than during the last three years when the government of López Mateos distributed 24 million acres to hundreds of thousands of campesinos.

The tangible results of your land reform can be witnessed in the 223% rise in agricul-

tural output over the last two decades—a rise which has made Mexico virtually self-sufficient in foodstuffs and a major exporter of agricultural products. It can be seen too in the new hope which your revolution has brought to all those who work the land—the hope and expectation that they and their children will have ever-widening opportunities for education, health and a rising standard of living.

But if much has been done, much remains to be done. Farmers who own their own land need credit and technical assistance so that productivity and income can be raised. Land tenure must be made increasingly secure and agricultural units made economically stronger. New research programs and new marketing systems must help bring a new life to those who live on the land.

All these things—and much more—are part of your impressive agricultural development program. And I am glad that through today's agreement we will be able to assist you in this most important effort. This twenty million dollar loan will be added to your present agricultural credit program—a program designed to help the small farmer buy equipment, improve irrigation, increase

storage, and gain access to those resources he so desperately needs to improve his income and raise the productivity of the land.

Today's agreement is another tangible reaffirmation of my country's unyielding and continuing commitment to work with the Mexican Government in its vast development effort to provide more jobs for its workers, a better life for its farmers, and to help Mexico rise to its inevitable high rank among the industrialized nations of the world.

And I hope also that this signing will be heeded beyond your borders and our Hemisphere. For—as your own Mexican revolution has so vividly demonstrated—until all the campesinos of this Hemisphere have the opportunity to own the land they till—until they are given the resources to till that land productively—until every rural family has an opportunity for health and a decent income, and education for its children—until that day the peaceful revolution of the Americas will not be complete.

NOTE: The agreement is entitled "Alliance for Progress Loan Agreement, Mexico: Supervised Agricultural Credit" (A.I.D. Loan No. 43, 25 pp., processed).

The statement was released in Mexico City.

269 Remarks at the Unidad Independencia Housing Project in Mexico City. June 30, 1962

Mr. Director, Mr. Coquet, Ambassador, amigos:

I want to express my warm appreciation to the distinguished Director for being kind enough to invite us here this morning. He must get somewhat discouraged to realize that as fast as he builds these homes, he then looks out at all these young ladies and realizes that in the short space of a few years, they are all going to have families of 8, 9, 10 who are going to need homes.

I want to compliment the members of the council, the Director and the architects, and all of you for how beautifully this project has been put together. I have seen in many

places housing which has been developed under governmental influences, but I have never seen any projects in which governments have played their part which have fountains and statues and grass and trees, which are as important to the concept of the home as the roof itself.

And finally, I want to say again the strong impression I have had from this short visit to this city and this country, how strongly your President, your leaders, and the people of Mexico have understood that political freedom, however vital it may be, does not reach its full significance until there is also economic participation in the life of the

country by the people themselves. Housing, education, jobs, and security go hand in hand with the real concepts of political equality and freedom.

This, Mexico has understood in the revolution. This, this hemisphere must understand if we are going to accomplish the goals of *Alianza para el Progreso*, a great

movement forward by the people of this hemisphere.

Viva Mexico, arriba, Mexico!

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:35 a.m. In his opening words he referred to Benito Coquet, director of the housing project, and Antonio Carrillo Flores, Ambassador of Mexico to the United States. Later in his remarks he referred to Alejandro Prieto and José María Gutierrez, architects for the project.

270 Remarks at an Independence Day Celebration With the American Community in Mexico City. *June 30, 1962*

Mr. Chairman, Ambassadors, Mike Mansfield, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to say that this is the most prosperous looking Peace Corps contingent which I have reviewed, and I want to tell you what a pleasure it is to come and celebrate our national holiday here in this city. As the Chairman pointed out, Mrs. Kennedy and I were welcomed with the warmest hospitality and feeling, which I believe reflects the true sentiment of the people of Mexico for the United States, and I believe that part of this hospitality and friendship has been due to your efforts. When they see you, those of you who are Americans, they see the United States. And this is true of people all around the world; they make an impression, one way or the other, about our country and what we stand for and what we believe, and where we have been, and where we are going. And if the relations between Mexico and the United States are felicitous, which I believe they are, then you can take satisfaction in it; because you represent the long hand of the United States day in and day out, not merely on a ceremonial or state visit, but year in, year out, working among them, and giving an impression of what kind of a people we are.

Next Wednesday I am going to Philadelphia to speak on the Fourth of July. But I think it is just as appropriate to celebrate the Fourth of July here in this city as I do in Philadelphia in the United States, and the reason is very simple. That is because the

people who wrote the Declaration of Independence from the beginning recognized, and in their public statements indicated, that they were not advancing a theory of government merely for the people of the United States, but for the people around the world. George Washington, John Adams, and the others, all emphasized that this spirit which had motivated the Declaration of Independence represented the basic concept which should govern around the world, of the relationship between the Government and the people.

It is not accident that the revolutionary spirit in the best sense which sprang out of Philadelphia and the United States has had the most profound reverberations down through the long corridors of time ever since that date.

Simón Bolívar, the liberator, wore next to his skin a picture of George Washington. And the heads of state who come year in and year out to Washington, and the 30 or 40 new states which have been formed since the end of World War II, in nearly every case in their constitutions, in their declarations, have used phrases from our Constitution and our Declaration.

So this is a most heart-warming event, to come here to this city and this country which feels so much in their everyday life the principles which our country espoused in those momentous documents. And I believe we feel them because we realize that this was not merely an event which took place a long time

ago, and is consigned to the past, but, instead the whole premises upon which Mr. Jefferson and Adams and the others sat when they drafted the Declaration are under a more serious challenge today than they were even in the earliest days of the great Republic.

So I do not believe that these are phrases to be trotted out on the Fourth of July, but they are phrases to work, to implement and fight for all around the globe, every day—particularly in the great decade of the 1960's.

So I come here today. I am particularly happy that this represents a meeting not only of the American community, but also of their Mexican friends, and that both today celebrate a national holiday of ours as we celebrate Mexican national holidays, and other holidays of freedom all around the globe.

Any American would feel at home on their anniversaries as they would feel at home on the anniversary of any free people. So, ladies and gentlemen, we are very grateful to you for taking part in this ceremony. I want you to know that you are part of us, and we part of you, and I appreciate this opportunity to reaffirm the solidarity which binds all of us together, particularly at this time of year.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:35 p.m. in the recreation area at Satellite City. His opening words "Mr. Chairman" referred to Willard D. Andrews, President, American Society of Mexico. He also referred to Antonio Carrillo Flores, Ambassador of Mexico to the United States; Thomas C. Mann, United States Ambassador to Mexico; and Mike Mansfield, United States Senator from Montana.

271 Remarks at a Luncheon Given in Honor of President López Mateos. June 30, 1962

Mr. President, Señora, President of the Permanent Commission of the Congress, the President of the Supreme Court, the Foreign Minister, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express our very warm appreciation to you for your presence here today. First, I would like to express our thanks to the Harvard-Radcliffe Orchestra, who are giving up their summer by spending their tour in Mexico. Those kinds of sacrifices should be appreciated. Do you want to stand up and we will applaud.

We want to thank you very much.

First, I want to say that I have been speaking through some extraordinary, in fact, both my wife and myself have been speaking through some very gifted interpreters in the last 24 hours to the people of this city and country, and we want to express ourselves more directly to them. After some debate and protest, it was decided that I would not make the speech in Spanish, but, instead, that Mrs. Kennedy would say a few words in behalf of both of us.

So, ladies and gentlemen, Señora Kennedy.

[Mrs. Kennedy responded, speaking briefly in Spanish. The President then resumed speaking.]

Ladies and gentlemen, if anyone wishes that speech to be translated, they should call Ambassador Mann on the phone on Monday morning, and he will give the whole thing.

I want to express our very warm thanks to all of you and through you to the people of Mexico. I had not realized how radical was the Mexican Revolution until I heard its slogan, which was "Universal Suffrage, No Re-election."

We have a good deal in common, but I am glad to say not everything.

I also realize that there are many who feel that state visits are really in a sense parades, and the people are there, and the noise, and the parade passes, and then there is wind and dust and confetti, and days go on as they were before. But I am not sure that is altogether true.

This visit, it seems to me, has had three very definite results. In the first place, it has given me a chance to meet your distinguished President, and, therefore, in the future, on those matters which concern our countries—and there must be many, because we have great interests in common, and we have a common concern for the welfare of this hemisphere—it will be so much easier for us to work together for the common cause. And, therefore, for that reason alone this visit has been most rewarding to us in the United States, and I hope to Mexico.

The second great advantage is that it has turned the attention of the United States Government, all of us, the Secretary of State, Senator Mansfield, the Majority Leader, those of us who work with a good many matters which pour across any President's desk or any political leader's desk—it has turned the attention of the United States Government, this visit, very directly to those matters which are of mutual concern to Mexico and the United States. So that I regard this visit as most useful and fruitful for that reason alone. We are far more conscious than we have been in the past of the necessity of maintaining those relations which really make, in a very true sense, good neighbors, and I think that this has been most educational for us, and I hope in that

sense also useful to the Government of Mexico.

And third and last, both my wife and I, and I think all members of the Government and all those Americans who came with us, go back with an extraordinary sense not only of the warmth and friendship of the people of this city and country but also the vitality and life and vigor and sense of hope and sense of future which marks so much the American people and, I believe, the people of Mexico. This is really the most important quality of all, a sense not of resignation but a sense of participation in the great movements of history of this country. And it is that impression that I will carry with me, not only as long as I am President but also always of this city and country. *Muy muchas gracias, amigos.*

I ask all of you to join in drinking with me to the very good life of the people of Mexico, and the very good health of the President of Mexico and his charming wife.

Mr. President, Señora.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Hotel María Isabel in Mexico City. In his opening words he referred to President and Mrs. López Mateos; Romulo Sanchez Mireles, President of the Permanent Commission of the Congress; Alfonso Guzman Neyra, President of the Supreme Court; and Manuel Tello, Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations.

272 Remarks to the Staff at the American Embassy in Mexico City. June 30, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

As I am a guest in this house—the Manns are not back yet—I do want to just say a word of greeting to all of you. I first of all would like to introduce to you Mrs. Kennedy, who has journeyed with me to Mexico City. And also I would like to have you meet the Majority Leader of the Senate and Mrs. Mansfield, who came with us, too.

Now, we want to express our very warm regards to you. How many of you here today are Mexican citizens, and how many

United States? How many United States? Hold up your hands. And how many citizens of Mexico? Well, I want to say how happy I am to find here at the American Embassy citizens of both of our countries. I hope those of you who are of Mexican extraction feel in working for the United States Government here at this Embassy that you are also serving the highest ideals and interests of your own country of Mexico. The object of the foreign policy of the United States in the larger sense is similar to that

of Mexico. That is, we want peace for our people and an opportunity for them to develop, and also we wish freedom not only for our own people but for others. So that I think you will feel quite comfortable, I hope, working here as citizens of Mexico, here with all of us for the advancement of our common interests in this hemisphere and around the world.

And I want also to express particular thanks to those of you who are citizens of the United States. It is not easy to go from post to post. This happens to be an agreeable post. But you all know that the day will come, as it inevitably must, when you will draw—I will not mention the country's name, but some country where life is not so agreeable. And yet you will go as Foreign Service Officers, as those associated with the United States Information Service, and all the others, the AID agency, and all the rest,

and serve our country and serve its great interest.

So we are very indebted to you. I don't know whether the people of our country realize what it means, particularly those of you who have families, to pick yourselves up every 2 or 3 years and go to another post. But you are willing to do it, and we are all indebted to you. So we are very glad to see you, and I think that the warmth of the reception we have had here in Mexico City is due in no small measure to the day in and day out work that all of you do. So we are very glad to see you, and we appreciate your coming to say hello to us.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:20 p.m. at the U.S. Embassy residence in Mexico City. In his opening remarks he referred to United States Ambassador and Mrs. Thomas C. Mann and to United States Senator and Mrs. Mike Mansfield of Montana.

273 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President López Mateos. *June 30, 1962*

PRESIDENT Adolfo López Mateos and President John F. Kennedy have held a series of conversations which mark a new era of understanding and friendship between Mexico and the United States.

Both Presidents reaffirmed the dedication of their countries to the ideals of individual liberty and personal dignity which constitute the foundation of a civilization which they share in common. In consonance with their dedication to these ideals and acting always as sovereign and independent countries, which decide their own policies and their own courses of action, they propose to respect and maintain the principles of non-intervention—whether this intervention may come from a continental or extra-continental state—and of self-determination of peoples. Therefore they are resolved to uphold these principles in the international organizations to which they belong, to defend and strengthen the democratic institutions which their peoples, in the exercise of their sov-

eign rights, have constructed, and to oppose totalitarian institutions and activities which are incompatible with the democratic principles they uphold.

Both Presidents fully accept the responsibility of every sovereign nation to form its own policies, without outside dictation or coercion. They also recognize that the Republics of the Hemisphere share the commitment they have freely accepted, in accordance with the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance and the Charter of the Organization of American States to defend the Continent, and to foster the fundamental democratic values. This principle of common responsibility, without impairment of national independence, is the cornerstone of the Organization of American States.

Another dimension of this principle was expressed at the Punta del Este Conference in August of 1961. The two Presidents reaffirm their support of the Charter of Punta del Este and of the program of accelerated

social and economic progress which that Charter embodies. In fact, Mexico and the United States, together with the other countries of the Inter-American system, are closely associated in a vast endeavor, without precedent, to promote the well-being of all the inhabitants of the Hemisphere.

President Kennedy recognized that the fundamental goal of the Mexican Revolution is the same as that of the Alliance for Progress—social justice and economic progress within the framework of individual freedom and political liberty.

The two Presidents also discussed the economic and social development program of Mexico. President Kennedy reaffirmed his country's commitment, made in the Charter of Punta del Este, to continue to cooperate with the Government of Mexico in the endeavor which it and the Mexican people are carrying out to accelerate the economic and social well-being of all the inhabitants of the Republic. The two Presidents agreed that the Alliance for Progress is essentially a program of mutual cooperation, in which the greater effort should come primarily from the nation which is seeking its development. Mexico and the United States are determined, so far as they are concerned, to continue such effort until hunger, poverty, illiteracy and social injustice have been eliminated from this Hemisphere.

The two Chiefs of State concurred in the need of intensifying the efforts which are being made through the various international organizations including the United Nations, the Inter-American system, and the European economic community to achieve expanding levels of trade, with special attention to the elimination of discriminatory and restrictive practices against exports of basic commodities from Latin America. They agreed that it is indispensable that a broadened and more stable market should be provided in order to improve the income of the exporting countries. Of such income, workers and farmers should have an equitable share to permit increases in their levels of living. Cotton, coffee, sugar and metals

were the subject of special discussion.

The two Presidents discussed the importance of achieving higher rates of economic growth in their respective countries. They agreed that government has an essential role in stimulating and supplementing the efforts of private enterprise for attaining this objective, especially through sound economic and fiscal policies. Both Presidents agreed that inflation and financial instability have an adverse effect on economic development and the level of living of the general public. President López Mateos expressed the continued determination of his Government to pursue policies which would promote financial stability and economic growth and President Kennedy promised the cooperation of his Government toward that end.

The two Heads of State exchanged views on the importance of the United Nations in promoting international understanding and peace and in encouraging economic and social progress. They decided, in consequence, that their Governments should consult each other with the view of cooperating even more closely in all matters which maintain and strengthen the purposes and principles of the San Francisco Charter.

Both Presidents expressed the strong desire that, within the scope of the United Nations and particularly at Geneva, negotiations should continue for general disarmament as well as for the termination of nuclear tests, both based upon effective means of control.

Both Heads of State feel gratified by the manner in which their Governments are collaborating in the eradication of illegal drug traffic, and agreed to redouble their efforts and their cooperation to put an end to this criminal activity.

The two Presidents reviewed the progress of the joint undertaking of their countries in constructing the Amistad Dam and Reservoir Project and expressed satisfaction that this project is proceeding on schedule.

The two Presidents discussed the problem of Chamizal. They agreed to instruct their executive agencies to recommend a complete solution to this problem which, without

prejudice to their juridical position, takes into account the entire history of this tract.

In relation to the problem of salinity of the waters of the Colorado River, the two Presidents discussed the studies which have been conducted by the scientists of the two countries. The two Presidents noted that water which the United States plans to release during the winter of 1962-63 for river regulation and such other measures as may be immediately feasible should have the beneficial effect of reducing the salinity of the waters until October, 1963. They expressed their determination, with the scientific studies as a basis, to reach a permanent and effective

solution at the earliest possible time with the aim of preventing the recurrence of this problem after October, 1963.

The Presidents finished their conversations by emphasizing their determination that whatever temporary difficulties may at times arise between Mexico and the United States, the two Governments should resolve them in a spirit of close friendship, inasmuch as they are fundamentally united in defense of those values of liberty and personal dignity which their revolutionary ancestors struggled to establish.

NOTE: The joint statement was released in Mexico City.

274 Remarks at the Dedication of the Restored Mantelpiece in the State Dining Room of the White House.

July 2, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen, Mrs. Longworth:

I want to welcome all of you on this occasion when I think one of the most notable improvements in the White House is being made through the generosity of some of those who are descended from the firm which originally built this marble piece and also the marble industry of the State of New York who have also participated in this very generous gift to the White House.

It is very appropriate, I think, that we have Mrs. Longworth here, who—though she is somewhat reluctant to admit it—was present during the 1902 renovation, as a very small girl, and who shared her father's great interest in restoring the White House to—in the phrase he used—"its original simplicity and in maintaining its original purpose."

Theodore Roosevelt and Thomas Jefferson were both men of extraordinary versatility and combined a great many talents. In fact, I would suppose that they covered a wider range than any of the Presidents of our history and, with the exception of a few extraordinary Americans such as Benjamin Franklin, more than any other Americans of

our history. And it is interesting that Theodore Roosevelt—whose vitality, whose vigor, were such pronounced qualities and such obvious qualities in his administration—was also, with Thomas Jefferson, the President of the United States most concerned with restoring the White House, with the architecture of the White House, with maintaining the spirit of the White House.

This distinguished mantel which bears the prayer is a work with which he had a good deal to do. And most particularly, of course, and most noticeable are the two buffalo heads, which were originally lions, but he felt they should be bison because they were, of course, a distinguished product of our soils.

The original mantelpiece was yellowed and tarnished by age and, therefore, when the White House was restored a plain mantelpiece was put here. I think this is much more beautiful, much more appropriate. It reminds us of a distinguished President and also contributes materially to the restoration of the White House to its original spirit.

So I want to express my thanks to the successors of the firm of McKim, Mead &

White who participated in this originally, which is now Steinmann, Cain & White, and also the Marble Industry Board of New York for their participation, and also the men who carve marble which is not very easy. I wonder if they are here. We would like to have them step forward because that is an extraordinarily creative piece of work. Won't you gentlemen come forward? You both did it—Mr. Ratti and Mr. Salvioli.

Somebody told me that you are about the only two men around who can do this work, so we want to take good care of you. In any case, we are delighted to have you participate.

NOTE: The President spoke in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Mrs. Nicholas Longworth, daughter of President Theodore Roosevelt. Later he referred to Guido Ratti and Alex Salvioli of New York City.

The presentation of the mantel was made by Milton B. Steinmann, Walker O. Cain, and Edwin B. Olson, representing Steinmann, Cain and White, and Malcolm Cohen and John J. Powers, representing the Marble Industry Board of New York.

The prayer referred to by President Kennedy and written by President John Adams in the first letter to his wife from the White House, follows: "I pray Heaven to bestow the best of Blessings on this House and all that shall hereafter inhabit it. May none but honest and wise Men ever rule under this roof."

275 Excerpts From Address at a Meeting of the American Foreign Service Association. *July 2, 1962*

THE Foreign Service, as all of you know, was formed, or at least the State Department was, on July 27, 1789, when George Washington signed the Act establishing the Department of Foreign Affairs. This Act provided that the Secretary should conduct the business of the Department, and I quote: ". . . in such manner as the President of the United States shall from time to time order or instruct."

That is my mandate to involve myself in your business, and I want to say that I do not think that there is any responsibility placed upon the President of the United States, even including that of Commander in Chief, which is more pressing, which is more powerful, which is more singularly held in the Executive (as opposed to so many other powers in the Constitution, which are held between Congress and the Executive) than that which is involved in foreign policy.

I know that many Foreign Service officers feel (like former Marines, who believe that the old days were the best days) that the days before World War II were the golden days of the Foreign Service, that since then the Foreign Service has fallen on hard times and

that there is a good deal of uncertainty about what the future may bring.

I would like to differ with that view completely. In my opinion, today, as never before, is the golden period of the Foreign Service.

In the days before the War, we dealt with a few countries and a few leaders. I remember what Ambassador Dawes said, that the job was hard on the feet and easy on the brain. Theodore Roosevelt talked about those who *resided* in the Foreign Service rather than working in it. We were an isolationist country, by tradition and by policy and by statute. And therefore those of you who lived in the Foreign Service led a rather isolated life, dealing with comparatively few people, uninvolved in the affairs of this country or in many ways in the affairs of the country to which you may have been accredited.

That is all changed now. The power and influence of the United States are involved in the national life of dozens of countries that did not exist before 1945, many of which are so hard-pressed.

This is the great period of the Foreign Service, much greater than any period that has gone before. And it will be so through

this decade, and perhaps even more in the years to come, if we are able to maintain ourselves with success.

But it places the heaviest burdens upon all of you. Instead of becoming merely experts in diplomatic history, or in current clippings from the *New York Times*, now you have to involve yourselves in every element of foreign life—labor, the class struggle, cultural affairs, and all the rest—attempting to predict in what direction the forces will move. The Ambassador has to be the master of all these things, as well as knowing his own country. Now you have to know all about the United States, every facet of its life, all the great reforms of the thirties, the forties and the fifties, if you are going to represent the United States powerfully and with strength and with vigor. When you represent the United States today, it is not a question of being accredited to a few people whose tenure is certain, but instead, of making predictions about what will be important events, what will be the elements of power or the elements of struggle, and which way we should move. And this calls for the finest judgment.

In the Foreign Service today you have a great chance and a great opportunity. And I hope that you recognize it, and realize that on your decisions hang the well-being and the future of this country.

There is a feeling, I think, in the Foreign Service, that the State Department and the Foreign Service are constantly under attack. Well, I would give two answers to that. In the first place, the questions with which you are dealing are so sophisticated and so technical that people who are not intimately involved week after week, month after month, reach judgments which are based upon emotion rather than knowledge of the real alternatives. They are bound to disagree and they are bound to focus their attacks upon the Department of State and upon the White House and upon the President of the United States. And in addition, party division in this country, where the parties are split almost evenly, and in spite of the long

tradition of bipartisanship, accentuates the criticisms to which the Department of State and the White House are subjected.

If change were easy, everybody would change. But if you did not have change, you would have revolution. I think that change is what we need in a changing world, and therefore when we embark on new policies, we drag along all the anchors of old opinions and old views. You just have to put up with it. Those who cannot stand the heat should get out of the kitchen. Every member of Congress who subjects you to abuse is being subjected himself, every 2 years, to the possibility that his career also will come to an end. He doesn't live a charmed life. You have to remember that the hot breath is on him also, and it is on the Senate and it is on the President, and it is on everyone who deals with great matters.

This is not an easy career, to be a Foreign Service officer. It is not an easy life. The Foreign Service and the White House are bound to be in the center of every great controversy involving the security of the United States, and there is nothing you can do about it. You have to recognize that ultimately you will be subjected, as an institution, to the criticisms of the uninformed, and to attacks which are in many cases malicious and in many cases self-serving. But either you have to be able to put up with it, or you have to pick a more secluded spot.

Personally, I think the place to be is in the kitchen, and I am sure the Foreign Service officers of the United States feel the same way.

One of the other points which I know is of concern, is this question of career versus non-career.

The pressures which come upon a President, as you know, are many. We try to do our best in picking the best man available. We have a higher percentage of ambassadorial posts occupied by career men, 68 percent, than at almost any time in this century, with the exception of a few months at the end of 1959.

My own feeling is that there is a place for

the non-career Ambassador—not for political reasons, but when he happens to be the best man available. For example, Mr. Reischauer happens to have special skills in Japan; he has a knowledge of Japanese and of the history of the country, and he has a Japanese wife. I had only met Mr. Reischauer when he came to call on me to go to Japan. But his was a distinguished appointment, and to a country which has an intellectual tradition. My feeling is we should send career men, to the maximum extent possible, unless there happen to be special skills which a non-career officer holds.

On the other hand, the career men themselves have to be of the best quality. You cannot expect any President or Secretary of State, merely to please the career officers, to send a career officer to a post if he is not the best. He should be the best. After 10 or 20 years in the Service, he should be the best, in language, in knowledge, in experience. He should be able to stand up to any competition. If we get the best we can get in the Foreign Service at the beginning, every post will go to a Foreign Service officer. I am sure that all a Foreign Service officer asks is to be judged fairly, without bringing in extraneous circumstances, on this basis of judgment: who is the best man for that post at that time, given the situation in the United States and the situation in that country? That should be the standard.

Now in some cases it will be a noncareer appointment, but in many cases, in my judgment, we will end up with the best man available, and he will be a Foreign Service officer.

Lastly, I want to say one word about the next year or so. We are in a very changing period. Our policies are changing, and should change, and we are very much dependent upon the Department of State for action, for speed, for judgment, and for ideas. I know the difficulty of attempting to clear policy and of coordinating it between the Department of State, the CIA, the Defense Department, the White House, the Export-Import Bank, the Treasury Depart-

ment, the Department of Commerce, and the Congress. But nevertheless, it does seem to me that in the days that are coming, we want, first, action in the sense that we should bring these matters to a head and do it with speed if we can. And still more, we need a sense of responsibility and judgment in order to get the work out—not action for action's sake. We must not become so enmeshed in our bureaucracy that four or five over-burdened men make decisions which should come from the Department itself with some speed and action.

Another point, of course, is that we should have, at least at the White House, Department of State, and Secretary of State levels, evidence of dissent and controversy. We have had some new ideas in the last year in foreign policy; some new approaches have been made. We want them to come out of the State Department with more speed. What opportunities do we have to improve our policies abroad? How, for example can we make the Alliance for Progress more effective? We are waiting for you to come forward, because we want you to know that I regard the Office of the Presidency and the White House, and the Secretary of State and the Department, as part of one chain, not separate but united, and committed to the maintenance of an effective foreign policy for the United States of America.

Therefore, in the final analysis, it depends on you.

That is why I believe this is the best period to be a Foreign Service officer. That is why I believe that the best talent that we have should come into the Foreign Service, because you today—even more than any other branch of Government—are in the front line in every country of the world.

NOTE: The President spoke at a private luncheon of the Association at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington on May 31. The excerpts from his address, published in the July issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* under the title "The Great Period of the Foreign Service," were released by the White House on July 2.

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276 Remarks to Members of a Special Seminar of the
Foreign Service Institute. *July 3, 1962*

I WANT to welcome you all to the White House and to tell you that I am very appreciative to have a chance to say a word to you. This is a matter in which I have been greatly interested, and with the support of General Taylor, our Military Representative at the White House, the Department of Defense, the Department of State, the AID Agency, CIA, and the other groups in Government, we have been attempting to put a good deal more emphasis in recent months on this problem of counter-insurgency. It has so many ramifications, as you know from your analysis of it, and it requires a mastery of so many different areas of national, international life that it has required, I know, study by all of you at the Foreign Service Institute, and will require continued analysis by all of you, I hope, after you graduate, so that we can improve our courses.

The Foreign Service Institute has done an excellent job in laying this out. We are anxious that all of the military colleges emphasize this phase of our struggle. We are anxious that beginning really at the three military academies, that they attempt to inculcate an interest in this phase of military life. We are anxious that all those who are promoted in the career services of the Foreign Service itself, of the CIA, and the AID agency and the military departments, that all of them, particularly the senior officers, have had at least some contact with this subject at various schools so that we become really far more expert than we have ever been in the past.

This most ancient form of warfare, going back as it has to its earliest beginnings, has become far more important than it has ever been in the past, and it is going to become more important in the future. As the great weapons become more deadly and as more and more nations possess them, there will be of course, as has been very clearly pointed out by those who make themselves our ad-

versaries, more and more emphasis on this kind of war, insurgency, guerrilla, and the other kind of struggle, the so-called wars of liberation. So that as the thermonuclear weapons get higher and higher in their megatonnage, and as there becomes less and less occasion to use them, then of course there will be more and more emphasis on this kind of struggle. This is not merely a military effort, but it also requires, as I have said, a broad knowledge of the whole development effort of a country, the whole technique of the National Government to identify themselves with the aspirations of people.

The problem, of course, that we face is that in so much of the world the problems that the people face are so staggering, and there is no immediate answer to them. The United States does not have sufficient capital itself to make an immediate imprint. We can join the countries and encourage them and offer them hope and indicate that they are moving, but even in a country with the resources of Mexico, with the population increasing nearly 3½ percent, with 1 out of every 20 children getting beyond the sixth grade, and a country with the highest standard of living in Latin America, we can see how serious are the problems that so much of the world faces. And therefore this technique of the guerrilla, where you need only one guerrilla, and it requires 15 or 20 troops to track him down, and where you have so much misery which can be exploited, offers a very effective weapon for the overthrow of legitimate governments.

We sometimes take some encouragement in the fact that there are so many obvious evidences of a desire of people to be free and a desire of people to maintain their anti-Communist position. What we realize, and I am sure you realize, is the technique of the Communists which emphasizes organization, which requires comparatively few

people, the people to be at the pressure point at the key moment. And when you realize the Castro experience, starting with such a small number of people, and what eventually came about, you cannot be satisfied to merely feel that 75 or 80 or 85 percent of the people are anti-Communist. They work on a much more selective basis, and it will require the best we have.

So I was anxious to have you come to the White House because we want to emphasize the necessity for the experience which you are going through, that it be shared by all people in the National Government who have anything to do with our international relations. Every senior officer, as I say, in all the key departments must have a comparable experience to yours, have the knowledge that you have, have their attention focused on it. This is particularly true, as I say, in the key agencies, the military across the spectrum, to the State Department, and the agencies in between. They all must concentrate their energy on what is going to be one of the great factors in the struggle of the sixties.

So you are particularly welcome at the White House as men who have been among the first to take the particular courses that you have taken. I congratulate the Institute for its initiative, and we are going to attempt to encourage this kind of effort in every other college and school that we have which is involved with national security. So we wish you the best of success. I am glad to see that your assignments are responsive to your training.

A couple of weeks ago we had a group in from, I think, the Institute who had valuable training, and one of them was going to be in charge of reserve officers at Alameda Air Force Base. It is not exactly what we want, but I am glad to see that in this case you are all going some place where you can use it, and we wish you the very best of success, because I think you can render a real service to the country.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon on the South Lawn at the White House to members of the Country Team Seminar of the Foreign Service Institute.

277 Statement by the President on the Occasion of Algerian Independence. July 3, 1962

THIS moment of national independence for the Algerian people is both a solemn occasion and one of great joy. The entire world shares in this important step toward fuller realization of the dignity of man.

I am proud that it falls to me as the President of the people of the United States to voice on their behalf the profound satisfaction we feel that the cause of freedom of choice among peoples has again triumphed.

We Americans who at this time are celebrating the anniversary of our own independence—a freedom achieved only after great difficulties and much bloodshed—feel with you the surge of pride and satisfaction

that is yours today on this momentous occasion.

We congratulate your leaders and their French colleagues on the wise statesmanship, patience and depth of vision they showed in paving the way for this historic event.

As one who has been interested in the future of the Algerian people for many years, it is with special pride that I extend the good wishes of the American people to the people of Algeria. In the coming days, we wish to strengthen and multiply the American bonds of friendship with the Government and people of Algeria. We look forward to working together with you in the cause of freedom, peace and human welfare.

278 Address at Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

July 4, 1962

Governor Powell, Your Excellency the Archbishop, Governor Lawrence, Mayor Tate, Senator Clark, Congressman Green, distinguished Governors, ladies and gentlemen, citizens of Philadelphia:

It is a high honor for any citizen of our great Republic to speak at this Hall of Independence on this day of Independence. To speak as President of the United States to the Chief Executives of our 50 States is both an opportunity and an obligation. The necessity for comity between the National Government and the several States is an indelible lesson of our long history.

Because our system is designed to encourage both differences and dissent, because its checks and balances are designed to preserve the rights of the individual and the locality against preeminent central authority, you and I, Governors, recognize how dependent we both are, one upon the other, for the successful operation of our unique and happy form of government. Our system and our freedom permit the legislative to be pitted against the executive, the State against the Federal Government, the city against the countryside, party against party, interest against interest, all in competition or in contention one with another. Our task—your task in the State House and my task in the White House—is to weave from all these tangled threads a fabric of law and progress. We are not permitted the luxury of irresolution. Others may confine themselves to debate, discussion, and that ultimate luxury—free advice. Our responsibility is one of decision—for to govern is to choose.

Thus, in a very real sense, you and I are the executors of the testament handed down by those who gathered in this historic hall 186 years ago today. For they gathered to affix their names to a document which was, above all else, a document not of rhetoric but of bold decision. It was, it is true, a document of protest—but protests had been

made before. It set forth their grievances with eloquence—but such eloquence had been heard before. But what distinguished this paper from all the others was the final irrevocable decision that it took—to assert the independence of free States in place of colonies, and to commit to that goal their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

Today, 186 years later, that Declaration whose yellowing parchment and fading, almost illegible lines I saw in the past week in the National Archives in Washington is still a revolutionary document. To read it today is to hear a trumpet call. For that Declaration unleashed not merely a revolution against the British, but a revolution in human affairs. Its authors were highly conscious of its worldwide implications. And George Washington declared that liberty and self-government everywhere were, in his words, “finally staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.”

This prophecy has been borne out. For 186 years this doctrine of national independence has shaken the globe—and it remains the most powerful force anywhere in the world today. There are those struggling to eke out a bare existence in a barren land who have never heard of free enterprise, but who cherish the idea of independence. There are those who are grappling with overpowering problems of illiteracy and ill-health and who are ill-equipped to hold free elections. But they are determined to hold fast to their national independence. Even those unwilling or unable to take part in any struggle between East and West are strongly on the side of their own national independence.

If there is a single issue that divides the world today, it is independence—the independence of Berlin or Laos or Viet-Nam; the longing for independence behind the Iron Curtain; the peaceful transition to inde-

pendence in those newly emerging areas whose troubles some hope to exploit.

The theory of independence is as old as man himself, and it was not invented in this hall. But it was in this hall that the theory became a practice; that the word went out to all, in Thomas Jefferson's phrase, that "the God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time." And today this Nation—conceived in revolution, nurtured in liberty, maturing in independence—has no intention of abdicating its leadership in that worldwide movement for independence to any nation or society committed to systematic human oppression.

As apt and applicable as the Declaration of Independence is today, we would do well to honor that other historic document drafted in this hall—the Constitution of the United States. For it stressed not independence but interdependence—not the individual liberty of one but the indivisible liberty of all.

In most of the old colonial world, the struggle for independence is coming to an end. Even in areas behind the Curtain, that which Jefferson called "the disease of liberty" still appears to be infectious. With the passing of ancient empires, today less than 2 percent of the world's population lives in territories officially termed "dependent." As this effort for independence, inspired by the American Declaration of Independence, now approaches a successful close, a great new effort—for interdependence—is transforming the world about us. And the spirit of that new effort is the same spirit which gave birth to the American Constitution.

That spirit is today most clearly seen across the Atlantic Ocean. The nations of Western Europe, long divided by feuds far more bitter than any which existed among the 13 colonies, are today joining together, seeking, as our forefathers sought, to find freedom in diversity and in unity, strength.

The United States looks on this vast new enterprise with hope and admiration. We do not regard a strong and united Europe as a rival but as a partner. To aid its progress has been the basic object of our foreign policy

for 17 years. We believe that a united Europe will be capable of playing a greater role in the common defense, of responding more generously to the needs of poorer nations, of joining with the United States and others in lowering trade barriers, resolving problems of commerce, commodities, and currency, and developing coordinated policies in all economic, political, and diplomatic areas. We see in such a Europe a partner with whom we can deal on a basis of full equality in all the great and burdensome tasks of building and defending a community of free nations.

It would be premature at this time to do more than indicate the high regard with which we view the formation of this partnership. The first order of business is for our European friends to go forward in forming the more perfect union which will someday make this partnership possible.

A great new edifice is not built overnight. It was 11 years from the Declaration of Independence to the writing of the Constitution. The construction of workable federal institutions required still another generation. The greatest works of our Nation's founders lay not in documents and in declarations, but in creative, determined action. The building of the new house of Europe has followed the same practical, purposeful course. Building the Atlantic partnership now will not be easily or cheaply finished.

But I will say here and now, on this Day of Independence, that the United States will be ready for a Declaration of Interdependence, that we will be prepared to discuss with a united Europe the ways and means of forming a concrete Atlantic partnership, a mutually beneficial partnership between the new union now emerging in Europe and the old American Union founded here 175 years ago.

All this will not be completed in a year, but let the world know it is our goal.

In urging the adoption of the United States Constitution, Alexander Hamilton told his fellow New Yorkers "to think continentally." Today Americans must

learn to think intercontinentally.

Acting on our own, by ourselves, we cannot establish justice throughout the world; we cannot insure its domestic tranquility, or provide for its common defense, or promote its general welfare, or secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. But joined with other free nations, we can do all this and more. We can assist the developing nations to throw off the yoke of poverty. We can balance our worldwide trade and payments at the highest possible level of growth. We can mount a deterrent powerful enough to deter any aggression. And ultimately we can help to achieve a world of law and free choice, banishing the world of war and coercion.

For the Atlantic partnership of which I speak would not look inward only, preoccupied with its own welfare and advancement. It must look outward to cooperate with all nations in meeting their common concern. It would serve as a nucleus for the eventual union of all free men—those who are now free and those who are vowing that some day they will be free.

On Washington's birthday in 1861, standing right there, President-elect Abraham Lincoln spoke in this hall on his way to the Nation's Capital. And he paid a brief but

eloquent tribute to the men who wrote, who fought for, and who died for the Declaration of Independence. Its essence, he said, was its promise not only of liberty "to the people of this country, but hope to the world . . . [hope] that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance."

On this fourth day of July, 1962, we who are gathered at this same hall, entrusted with the fate and future of our States and Nation, declare now our vow to do our part to lift the weights from the shoulders of all, to join other men and nations in preserving both peace and freedom, and to regard any threat to the peace or freedom of one as a threat to the peace and freedom of all. "And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor."

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:40 a.m. in Independence Square in Philadelphia. In his opening words he referred to Governor Wesley Powell of New Hampshire, chairman of the Governors' Conference, the Most Reverend John Krol, Archbishop of Philadelphia, Governor David L. Lawrence of Pennsylvania, Mayor James H. J. Tate of Philadelphia, and U.S. Senator Joseph S. Clark and U.S. Representative William J. Green, Jr., of Pennsylvania.

Included in the audience were members of the 54th National Governors' Conference.

279 The President's News Conference of *July 5, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon. I have two statements on two bills now before the Congress.

[1.] I want to express my very strong support for the foreign aid bill which the House leadership now expects to bring to the House of Representatives next week. Our foreign aid programs have made great demands on our people, and still do, but they are vital to our security and are carefully designed to respond to the national interests of the United States, as well as the maintenance of the peace and security of the free world.

Three facts should be kept in mind. Almost half of the money authorized in the foreign aid bill is for military assistance, or supporting funds for the defense of countries directly threatened by aggression or subversion. More than 80 percent of the money committed to economic assistance is in the form of loans, not grants, and these loans will have to meet our aid criteria and be repaid in dollars.

More than 80 percent of the money appropriated for the foreign aid program will be spent here in the United States on goods and services supplied by American businesses

and American workers, under new and tighter procedures which are being developed. Most importantly we simply cannot stand aside in the face of the needs of developing countries. In Latin America, for example, it is more urgent than ever that the Alliance for Progress should go forward. Here is an area with an income per capita one-eighth of our own. In some of these countries they are overwhelmingly dependent on a single export commodity, and they have to sell at wholesale and buy at retail. It is estimated that Latin America has 50 million underprivileged adults, and 11 million children of school age who are not in school. The stirrings of revolution can be felt in this hemisphere. It will either be peaceful or violent. We want it to be peaceful. But we have to do our part with our sister republics in assuring that. This is a bipartisan bill, supported by my predecessors since 1945, and I hope we can get favorable action this year.

[2.] The second matter is to urge strong support for the Senate effort which is now going forward under the leadership of Senator Anderson to pass a medical care for the aged bill, under Social Security. The bill which is now coming before the Senate is a strong bill. It meets the problems of those who have not been covered by Social Security. It provides participation by the Blue Cross, by private insurance companies. It is an effective bill, and I think could mean a good deal to our older citizens and their children who must sustain them. I hope the Senate will act and then the House.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, there seems to be growing sentiment in various sectors, both labor and business, for a tax cut this year. Have your discussions with Secretary Dillon this week opened the door at all to such action in 1962?

THE PRESIDENT. No. We are continuing to watch the economy. We have, as you know, planned a tax cut and tax reform to come next year. We, of course, would prefer to maintain that schedule. We are continuing, however, to watch the basic indi-

cators of the economy, and if we feel that the situation in the economy warrants a tax cut, then, of course, we would recommend it. At the present time we are maintaining our previous schedule. But I think the recommendations of the Chamber of Commerce, which is, of course, intimately in touch with the business community, and also the recommendations of the AFL-CIO, in regard to the need for tax cuts, should be very seriously considered by the Executive, as it is by me, and by the Congress, because representing as they do business and labor, giving their recommendations in favor of a tax cut, we have to take that judgment into very careful balance, which we are.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, regarding your proposal for a declaration of interdependence and a concrete Atlantic alliance, can you give us any particulars on how these goals can be achieved? I am thinking in terms of how long a period of time may be involved and whether eventually this would be based on alliances or some form of political union.

THE PRESIDENT. As I said yesterday,¹ the first task is for Europe, in its own way and according to its own decisions, to complete its organization. When a decision is reached in regard to Great Britain's joining, which we hope this summer, then, of course, this work will move ahead at a more accelerated pace. What I was attempting to suggest yesterday was that any view in Europe or any stories which might appear that we regard this strong and increasingly united Europe as a rival, were not true. We regard it as a partner. We regard it as a source of strength.

It is true that when this united Europe develops, that, of course, its relationship with us will be different than it has been in the past. The NATO alliance of a series of independent countries placed special responsibilities upon the United States which we were glad to assume, but which—of course, the relationship would be different between a single powerful Europe or a union of

¹ Item 278.

powerful European states and the United States. We would have to work together on economic matters.

As you know, we have been carrying great burdens in many parts of the world, the dollar has—military, economic, political—and I am hopeful that when Europe has completed its work, that Europe and the United States can then attempt to complete and harmonize its relationship in a way that will benefit not merely the United States and Europe but also, as I said yesterday, would look outward. We do not want this to be a rich man's club while the rest of the world gets poorer. We want the benefits of this kind of union to be shared. The first task is Europe's and then it will be the United States'.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, today you named a new Soviet Ambassador. No doubt you have talked in general terms or will talk in those terms with him about his mission. I wondered if you could discuss briefly in a general way your feelings about the relations with the Soviet Union since you have taken office and what you expect in the months ahead.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, in the case of our new Ambassador, Mr. Kohler, I have worked very intimately with him for the last year and a half, because he has been the head of the so-called task force on Berlin and has participated in all the ambassadorial meetings. So that he goes to the Soviet Union with complete knowledge of the Government's policy and also my complete confidence.

We've continued to attempt to work for an adjustment of those major tensions which disturb the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union and between the free world and the Communist world. We have not always been as successful as we had hoped, but we are continuing. We're continuing the discussions over Berlin. We are now in conference in Geneva on Laos, where we are hopeful that a satisfactory treaty can be reached. We are going to be back in conference on July 16 on disarmament

with the Soviet Union, so that we are continuing to see if it is possible to reach an accommodation for the peaceful use of space. In a whole variety of ways we are attempting to lessen the chance of conflict with the Soviet Union and maintain our own security and the peace of the free world. That is the object of our policy.

It cannot be accomplished quickly. It will require, I think, some time to come. But that is the object of our policy and we are going to attempt to continue to live in peace with all countries, and particularly those countries whose military potential is such that any great conflict would involve the future of both of our countries, and of the race. And Ambassador Kohler will attempt to carry out this policy which I have stated, necessarily, in a most general way.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, you say that the Atlantic partnership would be an advance on what we now have. How would it better achieve those things you claimed for it yesterday in Philadelphia? That is, a greater deterrent to aggression; a banishment of war and coercion; and some of the other things?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, this will represent an extremely powerful body of people and productive power—the North Atlantic, North America, and Europe having nearly four or five hundred million people, having a productive power which is enormous, and steadily increasing. This represents a very vital source of strength.

My concern is that the relationship between Europe, using it in the single sense, and the United States, be intimate. We have been dealing, as I have said, with a great many countries which are smaller than the United States. Now we are going to have not one country but one great organization, if the effort is successful in Europe. And, I'm hopeful that we can reach accommodations on the economic relations, of trade, and also the problem of currencies and all of the rest; on the problem of military policy; and then that we can emphasize, which I suggested yesterday, that we look outward.

We do not want a Europe, as I have said, and a United States to be a core of an increasingly disintegrating world. And therefore we're concerned with the admission of the raw materials of Latin America to Europe; we're concerned about the Pacific community—the Philippines, Japan, and the others—and we are concerned that Europe and the United States play their proper role in assisting the underdeveloped world.

These are statements of general policy. They must wait, therefore, for precise implementation while Europe completes its work. But I wanted to indicate yesterday how much we favored this, and we do regard it as a source of strength and satisfaction and not as a rival. Europe does not want to be dependent upon the United States and we do not want that relationship, and I think we meet as equals when this work is completed.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, two questions based on the passage of the sugar act and the foreign lobbying attending it. First, what do you think about the exercise by the House Agriculture Committee of what is essentially the power to make foreign policy by allocating quotas? And, secondly, on the lobbying itself, do you believe there is involved the kind of double standard here? The Executive is controlled by very strict rules on conflict of interest. Do you think something similar to this should be expected of Congressmen?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, the bill that we sent up to the Congress did not provide for this allocation of quotas. The final bill which was passed by the Congress, which I have not yet signed, plus the amendments made today—in the legislation before the Senate today—I think provide for an improvement over the situation as it was in the original House bill. Now, the second—though it is not everything that the administration wished for.

The second question is this matter of lobbying. I don't think it's a double standard. These men are all private people, they're not Government people, so that I

wouldn't say it's a double standard. But I think it is an unfortunate situation when men are paid large fees by foreign governments to secure quotas and where, in some cases, there are contingency fees. For every ton of sugar they get allocated to their country, they secure a payment of so much. Well, now, that is not satisfactory.

I understand that appropriate committees of the Congress may look into the matter. And I think the fact that so much publicity has been given to this may serve as a deterrent. As you know, the bill which has passed the House and Senate, combined with today's bill, provides for a gradual phasing down of these quotas and we will have less of it. And I think we ought to have less of it.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, I think Mr. Shoemaker's question included a question about whether this Atlantic partnership would be a political unit. Could you elaborate on that?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I would think that in a sense we have a political union—it depends on how you define "political." We have in NATO alliance the obligations to accept it under the NATO alliance. The North Atlantic Council, OECD, DAG, and all the other organizations which have been set up represent political commitments. And of course these political commitments will, perhaps, take a different form as Europe changes its form, and I hope a more intimate one. But as I've said, the first task is Europe's, and it will not be accomplished overnight any more than, of course, the length of time which elapsed between the Declaration and our own Constitution.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, what do you think of the propriety of the Reverend Martin Luther King intervening privately with the Chairman of the Home Loan Bank Board in a controversial case pending before that agency?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. I understood that this is a matter which you brought to the attention of the White House and it's now being looked at to see whether there were

any—what the actions were. As far as I know, so far, there is no illegal action. But our examination of the matter is not completed.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, without regard to your statement in Mexico, do you consider that progress has been made in enlisting the cooperation of the Latin American countries in handling the Cuban situation? And with specific regard to Mexico, do you feel that anything that occurred there has weakened your position, or ours, or the Organization's in any way?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the answer to the last part, I would say no. In answer to the former part, as you know, the action taken at Punta del Este indicated, I think, a general recognition that Marxist-Leninism was incompatible with this hemispheric system.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, the Armed Services Committee has not scheduled any hearings on your request for \$460 million for a big fallout shelter program, and apparently it has had no prodding from you. My question is, do you expect to renew your appeal for this program?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have talked to the responsible officials involved. I hope the hearings are held. I hope they can be held this month. I hope we'll secure the money we requested. As you know, within the last 10 days I've sent up a supplemental appropriation request for around \$35 million for the distribution of food throughout the country, which would be available in case of an attack. These matters have some rhythm. When the skies are clear, no one is interested. Suddenly, then, when the clouds come—after all, we have no insurance that they will not come—then everyone wants to find out why more hasn't been done about it. I think we ought to take the action recommended by the administration. It may be that there does not seem to appear to be a need as of today, but that does not mean that there may not be need for it at a later date. Then everyone will wonder why wasn't more done. I think the time to do it is now.

Under the program which we started some months ago, nearly 60 million shelters have been identified. We want to have food in them and other necessities, and I'm hopeful that the Congress will implement the program we have sent up.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, the United States has reportedly invited Japan and other industrialized countries to invest in the building of plants in this country. Would you explain the thinking behind that, sir, and does it imply also that we are discouraging U.S. investment overseas in plants?

THE PRESIDENT. As you know, United States investment overseas has been very heavy. In fact, it has been one of the matters which of course affects our balance of payments. Over the long run it does not; over the immediate run it does. We are anxious to have others invest in the United States, and particularly to invest in those areas where there may be higher unemployment. So this program is being operated through the Department of Commerce.

We've also attempted to speed up the number of tourists who come here. We want investment to come here. All of these will affect our balance of payments and affect our employment. We don't want our capital merely to be invested outside of the United States. We want foreign capital matching to come here. And that's the purpose of this program.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, there are proposals to suspend the equal time requirements to permit major candidates for House and Senate and Governor to debate this year. Do you favor this?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I'd like to see the legislation, but I think the purpose as you've described it—I would favor it, yes.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, this morning Governor Welsh of Indiana visited you about the conflict between the Port and the Lake Michigan-Lake Shore area. He has referred us to you about your comments on that. Did you give him any encouragement on it?

THE PRESIDENT. No. He explained the concern of Indiana—the effect on the jobs. As you know, there is an opposition to this proposal based on the effect it will have on the national park there. The Budget Bureau is having an analysis made tomorrow, which I think Governor Welsh and the representatives will attend. There also will be a White House representative there to hear that discussion, and then we'll make a report or recommendation to the Congress, shortly.

[15.] Q. Sir, the Democrats of Michigan are hoping to invite you to a \$1,000 a plate brunch for a select group of businessmen, with the understanding, which is rather interesting, that if the list is complete, of about 40 men, the list will then be sent to the White House. Whereupon you are to write them invitations for a meeting to discuss the Government's relations with business. Would you care to comment on that idea, and whether this is something that might—or what this might do to the idea that the Democrats are not the party of business?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think, let me say I haven't heard of this brunch—[*laughter*—]—so we have no plan. We are having lunches to which businessmen and others will be invited. That doesn't cost any amount of money. I would think the problem of political parties raising funds is a difficult one. I'm not familiar with this one. I don't think that I'll be able to participate in it. But I'm very concerned about the problem which both parties have, of the difficulty of raising funds to carry on campaigns.

Now, the last part, I agree that the Democratic Party is not the party of business. There are an awful lot of businessmen who have supported the Democratic Party. I think its base is very broad traditionally. It includes wide spectrums of the American public and does not confine itself to merely one section.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, I believe you've been in office about 17 months and still haven't signed that order against racial segregation in federally financed housing. Could

you tell us when you do plan to sign that?

THE PRESIDENT. I will announce it when we think it would be a useful and appropriate time.

Q. You will sign it before the end of your term?

THE PRESIDENT. I have said already I will meet any commitments of that kind that I've made. I will point out that we have carried on a great many activities in the field of civil rights, Executive actions, including actions by the Department of Justice and others, and I will take action as it appears that they will accomplish the result which we want to accomplish, which is providing equal opportunities.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, you indicated that one of your prime interests is the lessening of tensions with the Soviet Union. I believe Mr. Khrushchev and Radio Moscow indicated in the last few days that they think Mr. McNamara's Ann Arbor speech enunciating a counterforce doctrine was an aggressive policy. Do you see any conflict between the two?

THE PRESIDENT. I think Mr. McNamara's speech was an attempt to explain why the United States opposed the idea of expanding national deterrents. He was devoting himself to that. That was his purpose, to try to explain and put theory behind the practice of American policy which is to discourage the expansion of national deterrents as inimical to the cause of peace. So that I regarded it in that sense as constructive and, if read from that point of view, I would hope that others would regard it so.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, the name of Robert Weaver has frequently been mentioned as a possible successor to Secretary Ribicoff, who has announced he will resign in a week or so as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Can you tell us what your plans are to fill that post?

THE PRESIDENT. No, not until the Secretary resigns.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, two related questions on the economy. Could you spell out a little bit the formula that you will use to

make the decision, whether you will ask a tax cut this year or not? And secondly, did Mr. Heller's observations in Europe as to the remarkable status of their prosperity draw you in any way further toward being convinced that deficit spending is a good idea in terms of our own problem?

THE PRESIDENT. No, well, I think I explained in a previous address at New Haven about my view that the budget should be—of course, at times when there is a strong inflationary pressure in the economy, we should pursue a different budgetary policy than we do at a time when the economy is sluggish, because if the economy remains sluggish you have a deficit anyway. Witness the '58 deficit of \$12 billion because of a drop in earning power and a drop therefore in tax revenues. In addition, as the International Bank at Basel pointed out, there will be times when you'll want to run a deficit budget policy and a higher interest rate policy in order to protect your gold. So that these fine judgments have to be made.

Now as to the first part of your question, we will look at the indicators, the basic indicators which have had some sort of historical significance in previous years as indicating a prognosis for the economy. In addition, we are going to come out next week with the tax depreciation schedule, which is now at the printers. We are hopeful we will get action on our tax credit bill. We are hopeful we will get action on the public works bill, and some of the other programs which we have talked about, tax power—set-aside tax power. All these could affect our judgment as to whether we should go to Congress this year. But the basic question will be to try to make an analysis as to the health of the economy over the next months, and whether '63 is the appropriate time, or now.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, Premier Khrushchev said yesterday that in his view there had been some progress in settling the Berlin problem, and in a speech later on in the day he said the time for decision seemed to be at hand. Do you agree?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think we should

continue to examine whether we can reach an accord on a matter in which we have powerful interests, and on which we do not see alike. So it is a very difficult negotiation. Mr. Dobrynin and the Secretary spoke just before the Secretary's visit. I am sure they will be meeting shortly again.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, in line with your communiqué in Mexico, I wonder if you think there will be a solution soon to the Chamizal Zone in El Paso? And if you think this will mean a dividing up of the property between the two countries? Or what are your personal views about it?

THE PRESIDENT. As you know, there have been long negotiations about the Chamizal. This territory was awarded to Mexico in the arbitration award of 1911, but the United States did not accept it. Since then, as a result of the United States failure to accept the arbitration, Mexico has been unwilling to take any other matter into arbitration, which has, of course, therefore—lessened the harmony between the two countries. We are anxious to see if this matter could be disposed of. The difficulty is that since 1911 there have been schools, a lot of people have moved in there, and you have a different situation in the area involved than you did in 1911 because of the interests which have built up there. That's what's made it so difficult to solve. But what we indicated was our strong desire to reach an accord on this matter, which we're going to attempt to do, taking into account the problem which is now there in El Paso and the interests of the people involved, and the interests of the Mexican Government. But it is a matter that we cannot afford to continue to treat with some indifference, because the United States failed after agreeing to arbitration, then backed down and did not accept the award.

[22.] Q. Sir, this is somewhat related to an earlier question. The other day General Eisenhower described the Republican Party as the party of business. Now do you consider this fair or accurate as to the Republican Party or the business community?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that—as I say, I dislike disagreeing with President Eisenhower, and so I won't in this case. [Laughter]

[23.] Q. Mr. President, last week I believe you indicated that you'd like to have a somewhat better Congress, and you hinted that you would campaign this fall for that purpose. Does that mean, perchance, that you might campaign only for those Democrats who have supported the major part of your programs, or will you campaign for all Democrats who want you?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I suppose you have answered the question. Those who want me to campaign for them are people who have generally supported the major part of the programs. So I don't think we are going to have a problem.

[24.] Q. Mr. President, concerning the medicare bill, would you elaborate on why you don't favor inclusion of doctors' fees? Is it a matter of legislative strategy or of philosophy?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that the doctors are very strong against being included. They feel that this would involve the Government in the doctor-patient relationship. Therefore we have concentrated our efforts in attempting to assist people to pay their bills, hospital bills, and, quite obviously, if they find that eased, they will be in a better position to work out their relationship with their doctors. It is because we have not included doctors that I have found it very difficult to understand why the American Medical Association has found this legislation so unsatisfactory. It does not involve them directly. It involves the payment of hospital bills. And in view of the fact that the Federal Government participates in the construction of hospitals through the Hill-Burton Act, from which doctors benefit in their practice, I found the AMA's extreme hostility to this bill somewhat incomprehensible.

[25.] Q. There have been a great many dope stories on the matter of a NATO or European nuclear force and America's atti-

tude towards it, so much so that some of us, at least, are a little hazy as to what the real situation is. Can you give us an up-to-the-minute statement on America's attitude towards the building of such a force, and how far we would go to help them build it, including also whether we favor a truly independent European nuclear force, that is, one not subject to United States veto?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the United States Government feels that the present arrangement under NATO gives full and sufficient guarantees for the integrity of Europe. It places special responsibilities upon the United States, but I think the United States in the last 17 years has indicated its determination to meet its commitments, and to implement its responsibilities. But of course, as time passes, Europeans become increasingly concerned, particularly as the Soviet Union has developed not only atomic power but also missiles, which puts Europe directly under the gun, as well as the United States.

Therefore, stronger pressures have arisen in Europe for a European nuclear force not as dependent upon the United States as the present one. What we have suggested is that this is a matter that Europe should consider carefully, that we would, of course, be responsive to any alternate arrangement they wish to make. We would examine it. We recognize their problem. But we think it's a matter in which Europe should come forward with some suggestions, and not for the United States to attempt to impose its views, particularly as we regard the present arrangement as a secure one for Europe. But if Europe does not agree with that, and she may not—particularly as she develops this additional union—then we'd be prepared to discuss an alternate arrangement. But so far no such proposal has come forward.

[26.] Q. Mr. President, Governor Brown is coming here to see you this afternoon. I wonder if you have any advice for him in the contest with Mr. Nixon and what your overall view might be of the campaign in California, with eight new seats, and all?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I saw Mrs. Brown here. I don't know whether this has helped give her any advice. I would not advise Governor Brown. I think this is a matter for the people of California. He seems to be doing very well. He was running far behind in the beginning, in polls. And now he is leading in the polls by substantially more than I led at the end of the election. So I will be glad to—I want to see Governor Brown on matters which involve the interest of California. But on how he should conduct the campaign and all the rest, he's a much better judge of that than I am. I think he carried California by a million votes the last time he ran, or very close to it. So

I think he knows more about California and how to run than I do.

Q. Mr. President, if you will support Democratic candidates who ask for your help, does that include the primaries as well as the election? And what is your view of the man you are going to finally end up supporting in Massachusetts?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I am not planning to get involved in any more primaries any place.

Reporter. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's thirty-eighth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Thursday afternoon, July 5, 1962.

280 Letter to David Rockefeller on the Balance of Payments Question. *July 6, 1962*

Dear David:

Many thanks for your very thoughtful and constructive letter. The problems posed by our balance of payments deficits over the last several years are neither easily understood nor quickly solved; and I welcome the efforts undertaken by you and other business leaders to weigh the steps this Administration has already taken, and to help devise new steps that might be taken, to improve our international accounts and stem the outflow of gold.

I have said many times that we must meet this problem with positive solutions, not negative action—and therefore this country will not—I repeat not—increase the price of gold, thereby devaluating the dollar, impose exchange controls, rely on restrictive import barriers or reduce our efforts to strengthen economic recovery. Nor can we afford to weaken our efforts for international peace and security which necessarily require some foreign outlays.

I appreciate your approval of the steps we have initiated thus far and the progress which has been made. Developments in the first 5 months indicate that our balance of payments deficit will be smaller this year

than last—and last year was, as you know, a considerable improvement over the 3 previous years. During these last 17 months, moreover, speculative fever has virtually ceased as confidence in the dollar has been maintained. Our supply of gold is clearly sufficient—our exports far exceed our imports—and we are not, as a nation, in debt to the world but a creditor, with the annual increase in the value of our assets abroad consistently exceeding our annual payments deficit. Our drawing rights in the International Monetary Fund serve as a backdrop to our own monetary reserves—and under legislation recently enacted by the Congress, this nation will, once enabling appropriations have been enacted, participate in additional IMF lending arrangements which would be available to cushion any shock. And the two-way processes of balance of payments adjustment with other countries are being greatly furthered by the close relationships being developed among the treasuries and central banks of the free world.

In short, our basic position is strong—but there is still much to be done. Last year our expenditures abroad for the security and development of the free world (after sub-

tracting foreign military purchases in this country, and grants and loans tied directly to U.S. procurement) amounted to \$3.9 billion; net long-term private investment abroad amounted to \$2.1 billion; American travelers abroad spent roughly \$1 billion more than foreign visitors to this country; and the surplus of our exports over imports, added to the receipts earned by this country on foreign debts and private investment, fell more than half a billion dollars short of covering these foreign payments, even including special foreign debt prepayments which we will obviously not receive every year. Short-term capital movements aggravated this problem even further. The efforts to which you refer must, therefore, be intensified until an equilibrium is reached.

Foreign economic and military assistance, and overseas defense expenditures, are being increasingly tied to procurement in this country, and to the expenditure of local currencies instead of dollars. Already the net spending of dollars to maintain our defense establishment abroad has been cut from an annual rate of \$2.7 billion down to \$1.7, and negotiations for more cuts are going on now. But there is another conflict of objectives here which I know you will understand. We cannot supply more of these goods directly from the United States, if these are only available at higher costs, without adding to budget expenditures here at home. To keep total Government expenditures under control I have, therefore, had to put limits on acceptable price differences between home and foreign supplies.

Our allies will be pressed to increase their share of our joint defense costs, to increase their military procurement in this country as a means of offsetting our overseas costs, and to increase their share of economic aid to the developing countries. The net outflow of dollars on development loans and assistance is being cut to \$1 billion or less and I have just initiated new administrative arrangements within the Government to bring that down further.

Our new efforts to attract foreign visitors

and foreign capital to these shores will be stepped up, as we continue measures to lessen undue dollar outlays abroad by American tourists and military families.

As you note in your letter, our principal outlays, in addition to defense and foreign aid, are for private foreign investment. While the latter should not be subject to restrictions, and Government must confine its restrictive influences to its own expenditures, such as those mentioned above on defense and foreign aid, our tax laws should surely not encourage the export of dollars by permitting "tax havens" and other undue preferences. The Senate Finance Committee is now considering what changes would be desirable.

We shall continue, as you suggest, to strike the most appropriate balance in interest rate policy. We have endeavored to keep our short-term rates high enough to avoid any unnecessary outflows. At the same time, we have tried to use our influence on the supply and demand for funds to give the fullest support for recovery, to increase the availability of capital for the purposes of investment and modernization you so rightly stress, and in general to help in the attainment of a growing, prosperous economy which would more surely keep American capital at home and attract foreign capital here.

Other means of international cooperation, as you know, include new monetary arrangements, such as our current efforts to acquire balances in other currencies, the prepayment of allied debts, and operations, when necessary, in foreign currencies in the international exchange markets. We know we cannot solve this problem alone—and other free nations know that they, too, cannot afford any weakness in the dollar, which is the very foundation of the international monetary system.

Our principal avenue, as you suggest, must be an increase in the surplus of our exports over imports. We have stepped up extensively our programs for export promotion, guarantees, and credit insurance. Essential to our hopes for wider and more accessible

markets is passage of the trade expansion act now before the Congress.

Equally essential is the prevention of another inflationary spiral. Our share of the world's manufactured exports declined in the 1953-1960 period by nearly 16 percent—at the same time that our prices on those products, relative to those of other industrialized nations, increased 14 percent.

The current recovery shows the best record of price stability of any comparable postwar period of rising production and recovery. It is for this reason that we have urged labor and management to hold labor cost increases within the confines of productivity increases.

Fully aware of the need you cite for increased investment, we have proposed a new tax credit which will increase the profitability of investments in new equipment and machinery by a far greater margin for every dollar of revenue foregone than alternative proposals. This will be supplemented by revision of the Treasury's depreciation rules which will give businessmen both far more flexibility and more realistic, up-to-date guidelines for charging off the cost of depreciable assets. The combined impact of these two moves is, in effect, a "tax cut" for American businessmen who modernize of more than \$2.5 billion, a lessening of the squeeze on profits, a greater supply of funds for investment and a greater incentive to invest them. In addition, the "thoroughgoing overhaul of the Nation's tax system" to which you refer is planned for next year, effecting a net reduction in the burden of both corporate and personal income taxes.

But the real key to increased business profits—an objective I wholeheartedly share—is increased use of capacity. Idle plant and equipment incur costs but no return—and certainly they discourage investment in additional capacity. We must, as you point out, end the slowdown in the Nation's rate of economic growth—and all of the domestic measures of this Administration, both short-run and long-range, are aimed at this objective.

Some of these measures cost money—money which is an investment in creating jobs or training skills or building the dams and highways and other facilities upon which our economy depends—money which, for the most part, is used to purchase goods and services, steel and concrete, groceries and gasoline, from the American business community. This does not, however, diminish the need for strict control of budget expenditures—and I have found it desirable to trim the budget request of the various departments and agencies by several billion dollars each year, to prevail upon them not to spend all of the funds appropriated by the Congress and to urge upon the Congress measures designed to end the postal deficit, curb our farm surpluses and eliminate unnecessary defense expenditures. The failure of the Congress to enact this year's farm bill, for example, may cost the taxpayers an additional \$1 billion a year. More than 2/3 of our budget increases have been for national security and space. Except for unavoidable debt charges and veterans' pensions, our domestic expenditures showed no increase in the budget I submitted in January—and new domestic civilian programs took less than one half of one cent of the taxpayer's dollar.

There are other points in your letter deserving of comment, which I look forward to discussing with you at an early opportunity. I am gratified that we agree so widely on basic problems and goals; and I assure you that this Administration intends to do whatever must be done to make certain that the dollar remains as "sound as a dollar."

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Mr. David Rockefeller, President, The Chase Manhattan Bank, 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza, New York 15, New York]

NOTE: On May 11 Mr. Rockefeller was a guest at a White House dinner for André Malraux, French Minister of Cultural Affairs. During a private conversation with the President on the state of the

U.S. economy, the President asked Mr. Rockefeller to write down his views in a personal letter to him. Mr. Rockefeller's letter and the President's reply were published in the July 6, 1962, issue of *Life*

magazine under the title "A Businessman's Letter to J.F.K. and His Reply."

The President's letter is printed through the courtesy of *Life* magazine.

281 Statement by the President on the Death of William Faulkner. *July 6, 1962*

IT CAN be said with assurance of few men, in any area of human activity, that their work will long endure. William Faulkner was one of those men. Since Henry James no writer has left behind such a vast and enduring monument to the strength of American literature. His death came in Oxford, Mississippi, in the heart of the setting for that turbulent world of light and shadow which was the towering creation of his mind and art. From this world he

sought to illuminate the restless searching of all men. And his insight spoke to the hearts of all who listened.

A Mississippian by birth, an American by virtue of those forces and loyalties which guided his work, a guiding citizen of our civilization by virtue of his art, William Faulkner now rests, the search done, his place secure among the great creators of this age.

282 Statement by the President Concerning a Cost Reduction Program in the Defense Department. *July 8, 1962*

THE SECRETARY of Defense has reported to me on the progress that has been made since January 1961 on a broad and intensive cost reduction program in the Defense Department. Equally important are the goals he and the Service Secretaries have set for themselves in the way of cutting Defense logistics costs over the next five years.

Secretary McNamara's report shows that actions taken so far will produce an estimated \$750 million savings in Fiscal year 1963 which began July 1st. Within five years the Secretary expects that the cost of the department's logistical operations can be cut by \$3 billion annually based on the present military force structure.

What is particularly encouraging is that the economies in defense procurement and logistics can be achieved without impairing operational effectiveness. While it is vital for us to maintain a military force structure that will insure our security and sustain our foreign policy commitments it is also vital to our economic health that we operate this force at the lowest cost possible.

The major part of the American taxpayer's dollar goes for defense. Seventy percent of every defense dollar is spent on logistics, such as purchasing, construction, operating depots and bases, maintenance, transportation and communication services.

Consequently, Secretary McNamara and his associates are concentrating their cost reduction efforts in these areas. As his report reveals they are buying only what they need at the lowest sound price. Through standardization and integration they are reducing operating costs.

A good start has been made and I congratulate Secretary McNamara and his staff. The Defense Department intends to continue this effort which is of the greatest importance. It reflects the desire of this government to provide the American people the most solid type of national defense with a minimum of waste.

NOTE: The report "Defense Department Cost Reduction Program" (8 pp., processed) was in the form of a memorandum to the President, dated July 5, 1962.

283 Statement by the President in Response to a Report
by the Council on Youth Fitness. *July 9, 1962*

APPROXIMATELY a year ago, I urged our nation's schools to strengthen activities that contribute to the physical development of our youth. Specifically, I asked them to adopt programs which were based on the concepts developed by the Council on Youth Fitness. The results of pilot projects and recent surveys covering all our schools—public, private and parochial—have just been reported to me.

These pilot projects and surveys indicate that, at best, one-fourth of our 40 million school children cannot pass even a simple screening test of physical performance. This test is not difficult. It calls for only minimum acceptable levels of strength, flexibility and agility. The Council also recommended the use of comprehensive tests which measure a broader range of physical achievement. The pilot projects and surveys indicate almost half our children cannot reach satisfactory levels in all items of tests of this type.

These statistics are frightening, but it is through this testing activity that the schools proved the value of professional leadership in organized daily programs emphasizing physical fitness.

When the screening test was administered in schools which previously had no organized program, 46 percent of the students failed. This figure compares to only 25 percent failure in schools which previously carried on organized programs of physical education. At the end of the school year the rate of failures was reduced to 11 percent in those schools having no previous programs and only 5 percent in the schools with programs. Similar contrasts were apparent in the results of the more comprehensive tests.

While these figures should be of great concern to us all, they do offer encouragement. The remarkable difference in the

rates of failure between schools which previously had programs and those which did not, and the rapid improvement in all schools, clearly indicates the value of daily vigorous activity. These surveys also revealed that testing for physical fitness increased by 24 percent, and the number of schools offering some type of physical fitness program increased by 13 percent.

This is strong evidence that the threat to the strength of young America can be overcome. Yet, the shocking fact remains that at least 60 percent of our children do not participate in a daily program of vigorous physical activity. This conclusively shows how much remains to be done, and this is the critical time of the year. School administrators and teachers are now making their plans. I urge them to implement programs that contribute to the health and well-being of all our girls and boys. I urge school boards, parents and all citizens to support their efforts.

I am aware that many of the governors and chief state school officers share my concern, and have taken positive action that already has produced significant results in their states. This is gratifying to me, as President and as a parent. I am most hopeful everyone will make this a matter of high priority. The progress of the past school year should encourage us all to assure our children the benefits of physical development as well as intellectual growth.

NOTE: The Council's "Report to the President" (7 pp., processed), dated June 21, 1962, was also released. On December 17 the White House made public a later report by the Council, dated December 10 (8 pp., processed).

For the President's remarks on the youth fitness program, July 19, 1961, see the 1961 volume, this series, Item 293.

284 Remarks to a Group of American Field Service Students. July 11, 1962

Mr. Galatti, Senator McCarthy, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to welcome you to the White House. I had understood that we had 2,000 foreign students, but I am afraid your year's stay in the United States has made you, at least on the surface, look like 2,000 Americans. Whether that is a good thing or not only time will tell, but we are glad to have you here.

I'd like to find out where most of you are from. First could we have those who come from this hemisphere, which I define as North and South America and Canada. Hold up your hands.

Now those who come from Western Europe, would they hold up their hands. Those who are from Africa. What about Asia? What about Australia and New Zealand and Hawaii?

In any case, we're delighted to have you here. I must say I am hopeful that in the coming months and years that others will come to the United States, and I am especially hopeful that we can secure more students from Africa and Asia. We're glad to have all of you here. We're glad to have all of you here from Western Europe, but we want to spread this out a little more.

As I said, speaking last week in Philadelphia, I'm strongly in favor of an Atlantic partnership, but I think that it should be a partnership that looks outward and invites the rest of the world, the free world, to participate in the great enterprise which is being formed in Western Europe.

I am glad that all of you have come here to the United States and taken a long look at us. I'm sure that when you go back to your own countries you will find yourselves like all those who have studied abroad, I think, defending, I hope, this country, and also serving in a sense as a bridge between your own countries and the United States.

We have been thrust, as André Malraux said when he was here, thrust on the world scene, this country, after a long isolationist tradition stretching really to the beginning of the Second World War. We have assumed some of the responsibilities which have gone with bearing our part in the free world with great reluctance. The American people prefer to stay at home. They prefer in their hearts, as you know, to really be disassociated from many of the great movements and struggles of the world. But events have compelled this country to assume heavy burdens and I, for one, feel that we should assume them. But I hope that when you go back to your own countries that you will attempt to interpret where we are in this country, where we've been, what we want to do, and that you will be somewhat understanding that our practices do not always reach as high as our ideals and our speeches, but that we are endeavoring as a nation to establish a more happy society here in this country and also to bear our fair share of the burden around the world of assisting others to move forward and upward. That is the objective of the United States, and it will continue to be the objective of the United States, I am confident, in the days that come.

We are particularly glad to invite those of you who come from Great Britain—will they hold up their hands? Your forebears as you know burned our White House, and it is a pleasure to welcome you here on this peaceful occasion.

I want you to meet one of the distinguished members of the United States Senate, who was meeting with me this morning, a former teacher, the Senator from Minnesota. I never realized how powerful the Senate was until I left it and came up to this end of Pennsylvania Avenue. But I'd like to have you hear a word from Senator McCarthy of Minnesota, who will speak from

the midlands of the United States, and tell you how glad we've been to see you. Come up here, Senator.

[At this point Senator McCarthy spoke briefly to the students, assuring them that the Congress was sympathetic to the President's "great international ideas and programs and projects." Following his remarks the President resumed speaking.]

For the privilege of speaking before you Senator McCarthy owes me at least 3 votes now in the next 2 months!

I want to close by quoting a distinguished German, Mr. Bismarck, who once said that one third of the students of German univer-

sities broke down from overwork, another third broke down from dissipation, and the other third ruled Germany. I don't know which third we have here today, but I'm confident that some future President of the United States will welcome you as either President or perhaps even better, the wife of a President, to the White House, and you'll be able to say to him, "I have been here before." I am glad to see you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House to a group of high school seniors from 50 countries. His opening words referred to Stephen Galatti, Director General of the American Field Service, and U.S. Senator Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota.

285 Statement by the President on the Telstar Communications Satellite. July 11, 1962

THE successful firing and subsequent operation of the Telstar communications satellite is an outstanding example of the way in which government and business can cooperate in a most important field of human endeavor. The achievement of the communications satellite while only a prelude already throws open to us the vision of an

era of international communications. There is no more important field at the present time than communications and we must grasp the advantages presented to us by the communications satellite to use this medium wisely and effectively to insure greater understanding among the peoples of the world.

286 Statement by the President on the New Tax Depreciation Schedules. July 12, 1962

THE Treasury has today completed its work on the first administrative modernization of Federal tax depreciation schedules and procedures in the twenty years since the present guidelines were issued. The new schedules, which will go into effect immediately, will automatically permit more rapid and more realistic depreciation than is presently taken on 70 to 80 percent of the machinery and equipment now used by American businessmen and farmers. The "tax cut" these changes will make possible—the net reduc-

tion in tax liabilities—will reach \$1½ billion in the first year.

Although the Executive Branch has long been authorized by statute to allow reasonable deductions for depreciation based on obsolescence as well as wear and tear, the Internal Revenue's Bulletin F has never been changed since its publication in 1942, despite the vast and apparent changes in the rate at which modern machinery in a new age of technology can become obsolescent and require replacement. As a result, American

businessmen have been handicapped in their efforts to expand and modernize their plants, to lay aside funds for reinvestment and to compete with the efficient, modern plants of other industrial nations.

The more realistic view of an asset's depreciable life, as contained in today's new guidelines, suggests schedules which average (for manufacturing industry) 32 percent less than those which have been covered in Bulletin F since 1942—and 21 percent less even than those currently in use by manufacturers covered in the Treasury depreciation survey.

In addition to these new schedules, the new rules issued today give our businessmen much greater freedom and flexibility in determining for themselves the rate at which their equipment is to be written off for tax purposes. Hereafter, that rate will not be questioned so long as it is consistent with actual practice in retiring and replacing machines. By encouraging American business to replace its machinery more rapidly, we hope to make American products more cost-competitive, to step up our rate of recovery and growth and to provide expanded job opportunities for all American workers.

Business spokesmen who have long urged this step estimate that the stimulus to new investment will be far greater—perhaps as much as four times greater—than the \$1.5 billion made available. In any event, it is clear that at least an equal amount will go into new income-producing investment and eventually return to the government in tax revenues most, if not all, of the initial costs.

This is a permanent change in the light of technological advance. Until these long-

standing and outmoded handicaps to modernization were removed, it was difficult for American business to achieve its maximum productivity—and the highest possible productivity is urgently needed today to keep our costs and prices competitive with those of other nations, and to expand our economy fast enough to provide jobs for all who want them.

This is only part of the solution. In addition to modern and realistic depreciable lives, most major industrialized nations provide a special tax incentive for investment. The investment credit contained in the pending Tax Bill is needed to put American producers on a comparable tax footing with their foreign competitors, to increase our share of both foreign and domestic markets, and thus protect our balance of international payments and gold reserves.

The reform announced today has been carried out as quickly as possible, and goes as far as it is administratively possible to go to meet the investment needs of American business. I am hopeful that the Congress will do its part by enacting the investment credit.

NOTE: An investment credit tax incentive was enacted as section 2 of the Internal Revenue Act of 1962, approved by the President on October 16, 1962 (Public Law 87-834, 76 Stat. 960).

Earlier, on January 15, the President announced a new depreciation schedule for machinery and equipment used by apparel manufacturers under which depreciable lives would average about 40 percent shorter than those prescribed by the Internal Revenue Service rules which had been in effect since 1942.

287 Remarks at the Evening Parade Following an Inspection of the Marine Barracks. July 12, 1962

General Shoup, Colonel, Mr. Vice President, officers and men:

I want to express on behalf of us all our very warm appreciation to you for your salute tonight.

I was invited a month ago by General Shoup to come here to see whether the instructions given by President Thomas Jefferson to Colonel Burrows in regard to constructing a barracks here which would be

near to the Navy Yard and also, in his phrase, "within easy marching distance of Washington," had been carried out.

I also, to my dismay, learned that one more impressive Washington title did not have as much significance as I'd thought. I had always enjoyed the title of Commander in Chief until I was informed by General Shoup tonight that the Marines who are here, and others like them in this area and many others, can be moved around at his command; that the only forces that cannot be transferred from Washington without my express permission are members of the Marine Corps Band. They are the only forces that I have. But I want it announced that we propose to hold the White House against all odds at least for some time to come; and we are determined to maintain the spirit which you have shown tonight.

All of us are proud of the Marine Corps. And we recognize that the qualities which have made this drill tonight so distinctive are the same qualities which several weeks ago permitted General Shoup and Admiral Anderson to state that they could put several thousand Marines ashore at Bangkok in 48 hours. And when I pointed to a place on the map of Thailand a good deal to the North they said that they could put them there a day later—and there some of them still stay. It proves that the new breed is as good as the old breed, and I can think of no higher compliment.

All of us, I am sure, 10 years ago, thought that the need for the man with the rifle

would be passing away from the scene in the 1960's. And it is true that there are a good many Americans tonight who are stationed underground in a hardened silo whose only duty is to watch some tables and some dials and a button. But the very size and magnitude of these new, great weapons have placed a new emphasis upon what we call, rather strangely, conventional war, and they have made it even more mandatory than ever that we keep the man with the rifle. And that is what the Marine Corps has emphasized. No matter how complicated war has now become, we need a Navy which can take ships close in to shore; we need an Air Force that can protect those ships; we need small boats that can take men on a beach; and we need men who will go ashore. The Marine Corps, the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force do that. And I hope that the people of this country and all those who look to this country for their independence know how indebted they must be to those of you who serve—the officers and men—and it's a great satisfaction for me to be able to report that President Thomas Jefferson's command has been very successfully carried out.

NOTE: The President spoke at a special evening parade on the occasion of the annual General Officers' Symposium. His opening words referred to Gen. David M. Shoup, Commandant of the Marine Corps, Col. Charles J. Bailey, Commanding Officer of the Marine Barracks, and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson. Later he referred to Adm. George W. Anderson, Jr., Chief of Naval Operations.

288 Letter Accepting Resignation of Abraham Ribicoff as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. *July 13, 1962*

Dear Abe:

It is with deep regret that I accept your resignation as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

You were my first choice for the first Cabinet post I filled precisely because of the qualities you have demonstrated in it. I needed your help in blazing new trails in

health, education and welfare—and your tireless, courageous efforts have laid the groundwork for at least a decade of significant progress in these fields. In one of the most difficult and challenging positions of government you have discharged your responsibilities with skill born of rich experience and insight born of deep compassion.

The people of this Nation owe you their thanks for the distinguished services you have rendered in their behalf.

You are entitled to look back on your record of 18 months with great satisfaction. For the first time in our nation's history, the dependent children of unemployed workers have been receiving Federal-State public assistance payments—older men have the right to retire under Social Security at the age of 62—juvenile delinquency is being effectively attacked by a major federal program—educational television is to be promoted with Federal help—and rehabilitation instead of relief is being stressed for the recipients of public welfare, under administrative actions you initiated last fall. The Social Security Act has been improved. The nation's effort to combat water pollution has been doubled. More nursing homes and community health facilities and services have been made available to our older citizens. You have provided solid leadership to our efforts to help Cuban refugees, and to provide retraining for our nation's unemployed workers. And you have taken forthright and unprecedented steps to assure the citizens of all races an equal, non-segregated opportunity to participate in the programs offered or financed by your Department.

Still more of the proposals on which we have worked together will be accomplished, I am confident, at this session of the Congress: improving our public welfare program to end chronic dependency—eradicating the major diseases of childhood through an all-out immunization campaign—and relieving the financial plight of students and colleges at the increasingly crowded levels of higher education. I am also hopeful that the Congress will find time to enact measures to improve the quality and opportunities of the teaching profession—to eliminate illiteracy among American adults—to help our medical colleges produce more doctors and dentists—to provide increased employment opportunities for our youth—and to afford

full protection to consumers of drugs and cosmetics.

But it is increasingly clear that all of this may not be done in as full a fashion as the nation's needs require—that a formula may not be found at this Congress to provide aid to education—and that we face an extremely close vote on our bill to provide health insurance for our older citizens under the Social Security system. Your persistent efforts for this bill since early 1961 have brought us close to success. The improvements you recently suggested have enlisted bipartisan support. But inasmuch as experience has taught us time and again that a handful of votes or even one vote in the legislative branch may decide whether our efforts succeed or fall back, and it is the legislative branch where action must now be taken in so many areas, I accept your request that you be free to seek the office from which you can next year cast that vote.

As much as I regret the loss of your services from my cabinet—as much as your leadership will be missed by the people of this country, old people, students, educators, consumers, the handicapped and the unemployed and the underprivileged—we need your voice and vote in the halls of Congress. And I congratulate the people of Connecticut for having the opportunity to send you there.

The experience you have gained in the Cabinet uniquely qualifies you for further service to the people of your State. You have my respect and admiration for your willingness to relinquish an appointive position for the challenges of a campaign for elective office. And I look forward to working closely with you in the future as I have in the past.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Mr. Ribicoff served as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare from January 21, 1961, through July 12, 1962. His letter of resignation was released with the President's reply.

289 Letter to the Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Concerning Use of By-Product Steam From the Hanford Nuclear Reactor. *July 14, 1962*

[Released July 14, 1962. Dated July 13, 1962]

Dear Mr. Chairman:

My message of March 1 on the nation's natural resources pointed out that a major challenge in resource conservation lies in the efficient utilization of our energy resources, including heat produced as a by-product of industrial processes.

The new production reactor now being constructed by AEC at Hanford, Washington, to manufacture plutonium will produce as a by-product, very large amounts of steam. By direction of the Congress, the reactor, at an additional cost of \$25,000,000 has been designed so that the by-product steam can be used to generate electricity. I was disappointed last year when the Congress, despite strong efforts by you and others, did not authorize federal construction of generating facilities at Hanford to convert this steam to electric power.

In my judgment, it is clearly in the public interest to utilize the heat output of the Hanford reactor, and to obtain maximum benefits from the public investment already committed for this facility if there is a feasible way to do so.

This past week your Committee has heard testimony that the Atomic Energy Commission and the Bonneville Power Administration have found acceptable a proposal by the

Washington public power supply system to utilize the Hanford steam for the production of power. This local agency would finance, build and operate the power plant and deliver its output to local publicly and privately owned utilities which, in turn, would exchange it with Bonneville for a block of firm power on a non-profit basis.

The proposal of the supply system contemplates that no federal appropriation would be required, nor would any federal agency be involved in building or operating the power plant. The proposal provides a highly satisfactory arrangement for insuring the maximum utilization of the facility, demonstrates national leadership in resource development, and will aid in achieving national defense objectives.

I feel sure you will share my gratification that a way has been found to make productive use of this heat resource and I hope that you and the Congress will give the proposed arrangements your full endorsement and support.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Honorable Chet Holifield, Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, House of Representatives, Washington 25, D.C.]

NOTE: The letter was released at Hyannis, Mass.

290 Statement by the President on the Resumption of the Geneva Disarmament Negotiations. *July 15, 1962*

THE Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee resumes its deliberations on Monday in Geneva after a month-long recess.

The United States continues to regard this conference as one of signal importance for

the future of humanity. If a beginning can be made by braking the arms race and moving toward general disarmament, mankind will have turned a corner of history. Although the difficulties and frustrations are

great, the task of achieving disarmament is not an impossible one. Each day its importance and urgency increases.

The U.S. Delegation headed by Ambassador Arthur H. Dean, returns to Geneva with instructions to pursue the objective of negotiating a sound disarmament program. The full support of the Government and people of the United States is behind this effort.

We cannot and must not underestimate the difficulties which are presented by the Soviet Union's resistance to the minimum of inspection necessary to ensure effective disarmament steps. The renewed sessions in Geneva present one more opportunity to persuade the Soviet Union that in a nuclear age, all nations have a common interest in preserving their mutual security against the growing perils of the arms race.

In the resumed negotiations the United States will continue to seek agreement which

will meet the dangers of the nuclear threat. These dangers will only increase if early action is not taken to halt the growth of stockpiles of modern armaments, the spread of nuclear weapons into the arsenals of a widening number of countries and to outer space, and the possibilities of outbreak of war by accident, miscalculation, or failure of communication.

As these vital negotiations resume, we express our hope that the USSR will respond constructively to the proposals we have made and will join with us and the other members of the Geneva conference in a creative search for ways to end the arms race and to devote our common skills and resources to the enlargement of the peaceful opportunities of mankind.

NOTE: The statement was released at Hyannis, Mass.

291 Article by the President: The Vigor We Need.

July 16, 1962

WHEN a citizen of Greece returned home after a victory in the Olympic Games he was escorted triumphally into the city through a hole which had been ripped in its wall. Thus the city-state was symbolically assured that any *polis* possessed of such a hero had no need of a wall to defend it. Although we may be sure that the wall was repaired when a hostile army threatened, the symbolic act had a meaning which is as true for the America of today as it was for the ancient Greeks, a meaning expressed by Disraeli when he said, "The health of the people is really the foundation upon which all their happiness and all their powers as a State depend."

Our own history, perhaps better than the history of any other great country, vividly demonstrates the truth of the belief that physical vigor and health are essential accompaniments to the qualities of intellect and spirit on which a nation is built. It was men who possessed vigor and strength as well as

courage and vision who first settled these shores and, over more than three centuries, subdued a continent and wrested a civilization from the wilderness. It was physical hardihood that helped Americans in two great world wars to defeat strong and tenacious foes and make this country history's mightiest defender of freedom. And today, in our own time, in the jungles of Asia and on the borders of Europe, a new group of vigorous young Americans helps maintain the peace of the world and our security as a nation.

At the same time, young Americans are attaining new standards of excellence in athletic contests. Only last month four men ran the mile in less than 4 minutes in a single race. Hardly a month passes that some new record for speed or strength, stamina or competitive skill, is not shattered. Never in history has the United States been represented by a more gifted group of athletes in national and international competition. Yet

we must not allow our pride in these few men to obscure the fact that over the past decades the level of physical fitness of much of our citizenry has been far below any reasonable national standard.

A year and a half ago in this magazine I reviewed the results of the Kraus-Weber survey, which showed that American youths lagged far behind young Europeans in basic levels of physical fitness (SI, Dec. 26, 1960). Almost 58 percent of Americans were unable to pass these tests, while only 8.7 percent of Europeans failed. Since that time the President's Council on Youth Fitness has conducted a survey which indicates that more than 10 million of our 40 million school children are unable to pass a test which measures only a minimum level of physical fitness, while almost 20 million would be unable to meet the standards set by a more comprehensive test of physical strength and skills.

These figures indicate the vast dimensions of a national problem which should be of deep concern to all of us. It is paradoxical that the very economic progress, the technological advance and scientific breakthroughs which have, in part, been the result of our national vigor have also contributed to the draining of that vigor. Technology and automation have eliminated many of those physical exertions which were once a normal part of the working day. New forms of transportation have made it unnecessary to walk to school or to the office or the corner store. New forms of entertainment have consumed much of the time which was once used for sports and games.

No one can deny the enormous benefits which these developments have brought—the reduction of drudgery and tedious tasks, the opportunity for greater leisure, the increased access to intellectual stimulation and quality entertainment. But at the same time we must not allow these advances to become the instruments of the decline of our national vitality and health. We cannot permit the loss of that physical vigor which has helped to nourish our growth and which is essential

if we are to carry forward the complex and demanding tasks which are vital to our strength and progress.

It was in response to this problem that President Eisenhower urged immediate attention to our deteriorating level of physical fitness; and that this administration established a nationwide program of cooperation with state, city, and town officials to raise our fitness level.

First, we reorganized the President's Council on Youth Fitness and placed that council under Special Presidential Consultant Charles B. (Bud) Wilkinson, football coach of the University of Oklahoma. Under Mr. Wilkinson's extraordinarily able leadership the council developed—in cooperation with 19 leading school and medical organizations—the basic concepts for a program of physical fitness now in use by more than half the country's public schools.

In addition, the council helped to initiate special pilot fitness projects, involving more than 200,000 students in five States. The results were a dramatic proof of the value of carefully designed school physical fitness programs. After only six weeks 25 percent of the students who had failed the basic fitness test passed. A similar gain was measured each succeeding 6 weeks until, by the end of the school year, an average of 80 percent of those who had failed were able to pass. There could be no more effective proof of the fact that efforts by local school authorities can vastly improve the physical fitness level of America's youth.

Secondly, the council has designed a nationwide campaign to alert Americans to physical fitness needs and provide them with the information needed to conduct fitness programs. More than 340,000 copies of the school physical fitness program have been distributed; and during the past school year the number of schools offering such a program rose by 13 percent. The Advertising Council, private film makers and professional athletic organizations have joined campaigns to increase public attention to physical fitness needs, and a conference of

governors' representatives, with 44 States represented, was held last April to enlist the help of State Governments in this nationwide effort.

Third, the council is now going forward with a wide range of physical fitness activities in the fields of recreation and health education. Special programs are being developed for college students and for adults. A series of recommendations has been made to leaders of the armed forces, and those recommendations are now being put into effect.

This is heartening progress, and has helped to chart the course for our future activity. But it must be viewed as only a small beginning in a Nation where 60 percent of the school children do not participate in regular physical fitness programs, where millions of adults neglect their needs for regular exercise, where general levels of physical vitality are being surpassed by other developed nations.

Writing on this subject a year and a half ago, I stressed the importance of physical fitness to our national strength, the subtle but undeniable relationship of physical vigor to our capacity to undertake the enormous efforts of mind and courage and will which are the price of maintaining the peace and insuring the continued flourishing of our

civilization. And this importance still exists. But fitness is vital for a still more basic reason. It is vital because it is the basis of the health and vitality of the individual citizen. And these are qualities which are essential if each American is to be free to realize fully the potential value of his own capabilities and the pursuit of his individual goals. In the final analysis, it is this liberation of the individual to pursue his own ends, subject only to the loose restraints of a free society, which is the ultimate meaning of our civilization.

The Federal Government will continue to focus national attention on this problem. But it is absolutely clear that the ultimate responsibility for the fitness of the American people rests on the cooperation and determination of school boards and town officials, on thousands of community leaders, and on millions of fathers and mothers. Only through your effort can we hope to continue to move steadily toward a stronger and more vigorous America.

NOTE: The President's article was published in the July 16, 1962, issue of *Sports Illustrated*, together with a statement on "The Whys and Hows of Fitness" by Charles B. (Bud) Wilkinson and a test for minimum physical fitness.

The article is reprinted by special permission of *Sports Illustrated*, Time Inc.

292 Statement by the President on the Defeat of the Medical Care Bill. *July 17, 1962*

[Telecast from the Fish Room at the White House]

THE Medical Care for the Aged Bill was defeated in the United States Senate. A switch of two votes in the Senate would have provided, I believe, for its passage.

I believe this is a most serious defeat for every American family, for the 17 million Americans who are over 65, whose means of support, whose livelihood is certainly lessened over what it was in their working days, who are more inclined to be ill, who will more likely be in hospitals, who are less able to pay their bills.

I think they have suffered a serious setback today. But this issue is not confined to them. All those Americans who have parents, who are liable to be ill, and who have children to educate at the same time, mothers and fathers in their 30's and 40's, I believe they have suffered a serious setback. In 1960, with Senator Anderson, I introduced the Medical Care for the Aged. A change of four votes in the Senate in 1960 would have provided for its passage. This year we came closer.

I think the American people are going to

make a decision in November as to whether they want this bill, and similar bills, to be passed, or whether they want it to be defeated. Nearly all the Republicans and a handful of Democrats joined with them to give us today's setback. The election in 1960 was very close. It has meant that nearly every vote in the House and Senate is close. Some we win by one or two votes; others we lose. We have to decide, the United States, in 1962, in November, in the Congressional elections, whether we want to stand still or whether we want to support

this kind of legislation for the benefit of the people.

You are going to have a chance to make that judgment. I hope that we will return in November a Congress that will support a program like Medical Care for the Aged, a program which has been fought by the American Medical Association and successfully defeated. This bill will be introduced in January 1963. I hope it will pass. With your support in November, this bill will pass in 1963.

293 Letter Accepting Resignation of George McGovern as Director of the Food for Peace Program. *July 18, 1962*

Dear George:

I accept with deep regret your resignation as Director of the Food for Peace Program.

Yours was an exacting assignment, requiring vigor, intelligence, understanding of farm problems and a sympathy for the under-privileged of the world.

You were the first Food for Peace Director. It was a new office with new horizons. The objectives of the program and the urgency were clear; but there were problems of organization, expansion of existing facilities encouragement of new techniques and development of new ideas. To implement the legislation which led to the creation of the office it was necessary to have a broad knowledge of government and an ability to weld together diverse efforts. You met each of the challenges and resolved each of the problems in such a way that the Food for Peace Program has become a vital force in the world.

It has channeled our agriculture abundance toward relief of hunger and misery, improvement of living conditions, improved educational opportunity and strengthening of the economies of our friends. The program you headed constituted a powerful

barrier to the spread of Communism and utilized the technology of American agriculture in a very effective manner. Under your guidance, sales of food for foreign currencies were almost doubled; six times as many countries are using the food-for-wages formula to employ workers to construct hospitals, schools, roads and wells in developing nations; and the first World Food Bank was created.

We will miss your advice and counsel. However, I am glad you have decided to seek continuance of your distinguished career of public service. Your experience, courage, dedication, training and understanding will be especially valuable in the halls of Congress. In the Senate your voice and vote can, I know, make an immense contribution to the economic progress of South Dakota and the Nation.

I am looking forward to working closely with you in the future as I have in the past.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Mr. McGovern served as Special Assistant to the President and Director, Food for Peace, from January 21, 1961, through July 18, 1962. His letter of resignation was released with the President's reply.

294 Remarks Upon Presenting the Collier Trophy to Four X-15 Pilots. July 18, 1962

IT IS a great pleasure to welcome back to the White House these distinguished airmen who won another trophy some months ago, and who I am sure will be back with us on many other occasions. We're glad to welcome not only them, but the Aeronautic Association, which sponsors this distinguished and celebrated award.

We have with us members of the Air Force, General Lemnitzer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General LeMay, the Secretaries of the Air Force and Navy, Members of the Congress, members of both the military services and the Space Administration, and Mr. Webb, and all those who are interested in our conquest of space, the new ocean, which has captured the imagination of not only the United States, but of all the world.

This large and distinguished trophy has been held by some of the most distinguished pioneers in the field of aviation and science, and some of them are with us today. All of them have won it by being willing to extend the horizon of either knowledge or of human endeavor, and particularly human endeavor, which requires not only great courage, but also the highest kind of talent and the coordination of science and personal qualities.

We are very proud of these four young men who are among the finest that we have. We have welcomed the astronauts who also occupy the same domain, and now these flyers who take a manned aircraft into space—yesterday to over 300,000 feet, and at over 4,000 miles per hour. Yesterday morning Major White did this over the desert in California, and then came east to be with us today.

So we are very proud to have them here, not only for what they have done in space, but also because they represent the kind of Americans whom we are most appreciative of, and the kind of Americans whom we want this country to be identified with. We

hope that their example will encourage others to do something that requires reaching beyond what we now know and what we now do.

So I want to present this award with great satisfaction. The names on it and the companies on it, and the individuals who have won it, I'm sure, are glad to have their names added to it, because in so doing they join the previous people who are on it.

So we offer this, and you can take it with you on your plane. I don't know what you're going to do with it, but it's beautiful!

Do you want to say something?

[At this point Maj. Robert M. White spoke briefly and accepted the award on behalf of the X-15 pilots. The President then continued speaking.]

We have the Navy represented, and NASA, and Mr. Williams, and the Air Force. We are glad to have all of them here, and we welcome you back each year.

NOTE: The President spoke on the South Lawn at the White House following an introduction by Martin M. Decker, President of the National Aeronautic Association. Mr. Decker spoke on behalf of the Association and Look magazine, which annually awards the Robert J. Collier trophy for outstanding achievement in aviation. The trophy was presented jointly to Maj. Robert M. White, USAF, Joseph A. Walker, chief engineering test pilot and a physicist with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, A. Scott Crossfield, development engineer and research test pilot of North American Aviation, Inc., and Comdr. Forrest Petersen, USN.

In his opening words the President referred to his presenting the Harmon trophy to three of the pilots (see 1961 volume, this series, Item 486).

During his remarks the President referred to Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Curtis E. LeMay, Chief of Staff, USAF, James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and Walter C. Williams, Associate Director, Manned Spacecraft Center, NASA.

295 Letter Accepting Resignation of General Norstad as
Supreme Commander of United States and Allied
Forces in Europe. *July 19, 1962*

Dear Larry:

It is only with deep regret that I accede to your request to retire from active duty. I know that I speak not only for the United States but also for the leaders of the Free World, when I say that your individual contribution to the strength of the Alliance during a particularly difficult and critical period will become a permanent entry in the annals of freedom.

There is no more important military assignment for the defense of the Free World than the one that you have been carrying for so long, and I know of no one who has been better able to bear its burdens. During that period you have become a living symbol of the United States commitment to the Alliance and of the strength of the Alliance itself.

As you know, I have relied heavily on your experience over the past eighteen months. I have felt fortunate that you were serving as Supreme Allied Commander and as Commander in Chief of the U.S. Forces Europe at the outset of my administration, and I have felt particularly fortunate that you were in command last summer when the

situation in Berlin reached crisis proportions. Your judgment, your perceptiveness and your vigorous approach to our common problems have been of tremendous value to me.

The gratitude of the nation as well as my own warm wishes will go with you into whatever field of endeavor you turn your energies. Meanwhile it is a matter of personal satisfaction to me to know that the fruits of your experience will continue to be available in the councils of the nation and of the Alliance during the years ahead.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[General Lauris Norstad, USAF, SHAPE, Paris]

NOTE: General Norstad replaced Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, and as Commander in Chief, U.S. European Command, on November 20, 1956. On July 20 and 25, 1962, the White House announced that he would be succeeded in these positions by Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer. General Lemnitzer assumed command of U.S. forces on November 1, 1962, but because of the prevailing international situation the NATO Council retained General Norstad as Supreme Allied Commander until January 2, 1963.

General Norstad's letter of resignation was released with the President's reply.

296 Remarks at a Meeting With the Consumers'
Advisory Council. *July 19, 1962*

I WANT to express my very warm appreciation to all of you for being willing to serve. You all have a good many other responsibilities which occupy your attention, and the fact that you are willing to take part in this new public service I think indicates two things: first, your strong feeling that the public interest is very much involved in the work of this council, and secondly, this council will not be ornamental but will be functional.

This is a matter of great concern to the Government and it is a matter where you really feel a vacuum.

In a sense, a good many States have been working on this. This is an entirely new area for the Federal Government, at least for the office of the Presidency as part of the Executive.

The work of protecting the consumer is distributed among us all in the Federal Government—the Congress, the President, the

regulatory interests. We all attempt to protect the public interests, and we attempt in one way or another to protect the consumer. But I feel we can focus more direct attention on the problems of the consumer and I think this is particularly true in the last months where more particular interests are increasingly well protected. I think if we can focus public attention, governmental attention, congressional attention on the problems of the consumer, really in a sense the general public interest, that this country will benefit.

We all believe in the free enterprise system and the competition in the market place, and we believe from that competition comes the advancement of the general interest from the clash of private interests and public interests to serve. But I don't think we can merely sell it, nor have we historically, the idea that competitive factors will protect completely the public interests. If we felt that, we never would have had an Antitrust Division or a Federal Trade Commission, or many of the other agencies and there would not be the present need for the action by the Congress and Executive. So we want private enterprise to function effectively, and I think it is our job to assist by making it difficult for those who seek to defraud, those who are less concerned about safety, those who seem to exploit the private enterprise system, in a sense, by being less responsible. In this I think this council is most important.

You have seen the work done by one woman, Dr. Frances Kelsey, of the Food and Drug Administration, in regard to saving thousands of babies from crippling deformities by failure to give approval to a suspicious drug. This is only one example.

There are many others of the kind of work I hope this council will involve itself in.

Therefore, I would like to have you realize it is very important and I hope that you will meet again as often as you possibly can, and will come forward with as many important decisions and proposals as you can, and bring them to my attention, and Dr. Heller's, and examine the work of the Federal Trade Commission, how we can improve it. This is not intended to be a council of window-dressing. This is a council which I hope will go through the life of this administration and other administrations, and will be a definite part of our governmental structure, so we really depend upon you to establish its success.

I would like to hear your thoughts perhaps about how this council may proceed, and how the relationship between my office and this council and also between the council and the other areas of Government may be developed.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in the Fish Room at the White House. Following his formal remarks to the Council, the President joined the members in a discussion of the Council's work and of its relationship with other programs of the Federal Government. Participating in the discussion also were Dr. Walter W. Heller, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, and Myer Feldman, Deputy Special Counsel to the President.

The appointment of the 12-member Consumers' Advisory Council, under the chairmanship of Dr. Helen G. Canoyer, Dean, New York State College of Home Economics, at Cornell University, was announced by the White House on July 18. The Council was created in response to a directive in the President's Consumer Message to Congress (Item 93).

297 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Accelerating the Development of the Pacific Islands Trust Territory. *July 20, 1962*

IT GIVES me great pleasure to sign the enrolled bill, S. 2775, which provides authorization for a substantial increase in funds for the continued administration by the United

States of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

We have a great and challenging responsibility for the development of the peoples

and resources of the Trust Territory and, by the passage of this legislation, the Congress has taken the first step toward providing the means whereby a new and vital phase of development may be instituted. This Administration has recognized the fundamental changes that are taking place in the outlook of the people in this area and we intend to meet this challenge with accelerated economic and social programs commensurate with the responsibilities of our stewardship.

The accelerated program that is contemplated will place great emphasis upon education for, in our opinion, education is the key to all further progress—political, economic and social. It is our hope that, with this authorization, funds will be made available

to meet the urgent need for the immediate initiation of programs leading to striking improvement of education at all levels in the Trust Territory, upgrading education to a level comparable to the level which has been taken for granted in the United States for decades. At the same time, we intend to move forward, as rapidly as possible and with the cooperation and the full participation of the citizens of the Trust Territory, in all other areas requiring development.

The people of the Trust Territory, I am sure, will mark this day as the beginning of a new era of progress for the Trust Territory and its inhabitants.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 2775 is Public Law 87-541 (76 Stat. 171).

298 Telegram to Union and Management Officials Concerning a Threatened Strike in the Aerospace Industry.

July 21, 1962

THE Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service has reported to me that there is a complete stalemate in the negotiations between the International Association of Machinists and the United Automobile Workers and various companies in our vital aerospace industry. The unions involved have threatened to shut down operations, both at the manufacturers plants and at a substantial number of our missile sites at noon on July 23, 1962. Major strikes in this industry would substantially delay our vital missile and space programs and would be contrary to the national interest. The Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service has advised me that the appointment of a distinguished public board to assist further mediation activities, and, if necessary, to make a report and recommendations would, under all of the circumstances involved, be helpful in resolving the disputes and in effecting settlements.

In this important defense industry all parties have a responsibility to cooperate in achieving a settlement without any inter-

ruption of work. Accordingly, I request the parties to the disputes to continue work and operations for a period of 60 days with the status quo being preserved under all of the terms and conditions of the existing agreements. I further request the unions to withdraw all strike action during this period.

I am appointing a Board of distinguished citizens to supplement continuing mediation efforts of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and, if necessary, to conduct hearings and to report its findings and recommendations to me and to the parties within the 60-day period, leaving an adequate time for negotiations before the expiration thereof.

The members of the Board are: Dr. George W. Taylor, Chairman, Mr. Ralph T. Seward, Mr. Charles C. Killingsworth.

I am requesting the parties to cooperate fully with the Board in the discharge of its important responsibilities.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical telegrams addressed to the members of the Board and to union

and management officials as follows:

Dr. George W. Taylor, Professor of Industry, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Ralph T. Seward, 3029 M Street NW., Washington, D.C.

Charles C. Killingsworth, 852 Lantern Hill Drive, East Lansing, Mich.

Ryan Aeronautical Company, Attn: William J. Herbert, Director of Industrial Relations, Lindbergh Field, San Diego, Calif.

North American Aviation, Inc., Attn: Eugene Starkweather, Director of Industrial Relations, El Segundo, Calif.

Convair Division, General Dynamics Corporation, Attn: Robert H. Biron, Director, Industrial Relations, San Diego, Calif.

Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, Attn: James Lydon, Director of Industrial Relations, Burbank, Calif.

Aerojet-General Corporation, Attn: Adm. Dan Kimball, President, Sacramento, Calif.

Walter P. Reuther, President, United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO, 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

Leonard Woodcock, Vice President, United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO, Santa Ynez Inn, Pacific Palisades, Calif.

Jesse McGlon, Vice President, National Association of Machinists, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. J. Hayes, President, International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO, 1300 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington 6, D.C.

E. R. White, Vice President, International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO, 3015 Ocean Park Boulevard, Santa Monica, Calif.

The text of the telegram was released at Hyannis, Mass.

299 Remarks of Welcome to President Arosemena of Ecuador at the Washington National Airport. *July 23, 1962*

MR. PRESIDENT, it is a great honor to welcome you and Señora Arosemena, and your son and daughter here to the United States again. It's a great source of satisfaction to us that you know our country well, having served here at the Embassy of your country in the late forties, and since that time having maintained happy relations with a good many Americans who are your friends. It is a great pleasure to welcome you here as President of your country, and it does give us an opportunity to reaffirm and restate the great interest which this Government and country has in the development of mutually beneficial and satisfactory relations between the countries of Latin America and the countries of North America, between Ecuador and the United States.

We are aided in this by your knowledge of the United States. Your wife has been quoted as having said that you could name all the Presidents of the United States in order, which not even some Presidents of the United States can do. So we are delighted to have someone who knows our country as well as this come here.

But we are also anxious, as a result of your visit, that the people of this country know your country, that they recognize how linked as we are by nature, linked as we are in a sense by the future as well as the past, that Ecuador and the United States, the people of Ecuador and the people of the United States, realize that they want for each other what we want for our own countries, and that is a better life for the people, and a life of peace. So, Mr. President, you come at a most opportune time, and you are most welcome.

This country has committed itself along with Ecuador and our sister republics to a great Alliance for Progress, which is a common effort by all of us to provide a decent life for the people of our hemisphere, an opportunity to work, to be educated, to find jobs, to find security. This is your objective as it is ours, and I want you to know, Mr. President, that this Government, and certainly I, as President, are doing everything to provide for realization of these ideals. It will take time, but time is not necessarily our friend. So I think that it is very appropriate that you should come here and we should

consider together how best we can make this hemisphere an inspiration for all those who wish to be free.

Mr. President, you are most welcome here, back to the United States, back to Washington, and we're especially glad that you are accompanied by not only the Señora, but also by two distinguished future citizens of your country.

Mr. President.

NOTE: President Arosemena responded as follows:

Mr. President:

Thank you for those warm words of welcome. As President of Ecuador, a free and sovereign nation, in you I salute the people of the United States of

America. It was for me a great pleasure to accept the kind invitation that you extended to me to visit your country, and I nourish the hope that this visit will extend cordial relations that have always existed between our nations.

To return to Washington, a city where some time ago I spent some of the best years of my life, is indeed a special pleasure to me.

Let me assure you, Mr. President, that you can always count on the cooperation of Ecuador in your struggle to achieve greater justice for all men within a framework of peace, freedom, and progress.

In connection with your joke, maybe I can name the name of all of the Presidents of the United States, but you must be sure that I cannot name all the Presidents of Ecuador, because Ecuador has had many.

Thank you again for your welcome.

300 Toast of the President at a Luncheon in Honor of President Arosemena. July 23, 1962

Mr. President, Señora, members of your Government, ladies and gentlemen:

I know that you all join me in welcoming our distinguished visitor back here to the United States, back to Washington. He comes at a most appropriate time because I know that he realizes that the attention of this Government and this country is turned very much to our relations with our sister republics to the South, turned to the South in a more intense and, I believe, more continuing and persistent way than we really ever have in our long history. And because these relations matter so much to us, we are most appreciative to the President for making the long journey at a time when he is heavily involved with the responsibilities of his own office. We appreciate his coming here to the United States.

His father was President of his country, and he is. I understand that the dynasty issue was not raised. It is a rather encouraging thing to welcome a member of a distinguished family.

Mr. President, I know that a good many Americans, and I am sure citizens of your country also, are somewhat concerned when they see the difficulties which some of our countries—our sister republics are having in

this hemisphere. This is not an easy year for presidents in the Western Hemisphere, but I think they should judge the tensions and the difficulties and the turmoil against what we are trying to do, which is the most extraordinary effort to build democratic progressive governments in this hemisphere against a background, in many cases, of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, lack of hope.

"Democracy," Winston Churchill once said, "is the worst form of government, except all of the other systems of government which have been tried." It is certainly the most difficult. And to maintain a free democratic government is difficult for us in this country—and we've been very generously blessed by nature. In countries which have not had such resources placed at their disposal as we have had, who may be dependent for their balance of payments on two or three commodities, whose prices may fluctuate and particularly in recent years fluctuate downward, this is an extraordinary task to which this hemisphere is committed.

So I hope that those who look to the South as the South looks to us, and may on occasions get discouraged, realize that we are involved in one of the great adventures in

the history of this hemisphere and, indeed, in the history of the human race. We are in a long, drawn-out effort which will certainly take many years beyond the administrations of the President and myself, but we are going to persist on that road. And because we believe that our fate is so inextricably tied to that of Ecuador and our sister republics and our future and our freedom and our security, we are most gratified to have the opportunity to counsel with our distinguished guest who knows our country but

speaks always for the freedom and the sovereignty and the dignity of the people of Ecuador.

I hope you will join me in expressing our welcome to Señor Arosemena, to the members of the Government, our wishes for the good health of the people of Ecuador and especially the health of the President.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. President Arosemena's response was not made public.

301 Statement by the President on the Signing of Agreements To End the Conflict in Laos. *July 23, 1962*

THE signature today at Geneva of the agreements which are to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Laos can be a significant milestone in our efforts to maintain and further world peace. It is a heartening indication that difficult, and at times seemingly insoluble international problems can in fact be solved by patient diplomacy.

The agreements represent a solemn commitment not only by the United States but by all the other signatories to ensure a free, independent and neutral Laos. This can be accomplished only by full and continued observance of the agreements by all the signatories.

The Kingdom of Laos, which has been

torn for so long by fratricidal strife, now stands on the threshold of a new era. It now has the opportunity to become united and independent, free to pursue its chosen course of neutrality. The success of that policy ultimately must depend not only on the efforts of the Laotians themselves but also on the moral and material support it receives from the rest of the world. For its part, the United States assures Laos of such support as that country enters this new phase in its history.

NOTE: The text of the Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and accompanying Protocol is published in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 47, pp. 259-263).

302 The President's News Conference of *July 23, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon.

[1.] I understand that part of today's press conference is being relayed by the Telstar communications satellite to viewers across the Atlantic, and this is another indication of the extraordinary world in which we live. This satellite must be high enough to carry messages from both sides of the world, which is, of course, a very essential requirement for peace; and I think this

understanding which will inevitably come from the speedier communications is bound to increase the well-being and security of all people here and those across the oceans. So we are glad to participate in this operation developed by private industry, launched by Government, in admirable cooperation.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, again there are reports that the Soviet Union is preparing to sign an early and separate peace treaty

with East Germany. These reports come at a time when the Soviet attitude on Berlin seems to harden and at a time when Mr. Rusk's talks with Gromyko have reached a standstill. Can you tell us what you know of Soviet intentions and how you view the present prospects for a Berlin settlement?

THE PRESIDENT. We have made no progress recently on a Berlin settlement. Mr. Rusk, of course, will be seeing Mr. Gromyko again before he leaves Geneva, and in fact would stay in Geneva if a useful purpose could be served. There has been a strong difference of opinion in regard to Berlin, its viability and its guarantees, and we have not been able to reach an accord on our very different and vigorously held positions. So that I cannot report progress; and it is, of course, of concern to us all because, as I said from the beginning, when the vital interests of great countries are involved, in one area on which there are very varying views, it's a source of concern and some danger to us all.

[At this point transmission to Europe via Telstar began.]

We hope that an accord can be reached. We continue to try to reach one. But we've not made progress recently forward.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, the Russians appear to insist on being the last ones to conduct nuclear tests because we were the first. Would you see any basis for hope that there could be an agreement on a test ban reached after they finished their next series of tests?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the tests that we carried out were due to the breach of the moratorium by the Soviet Union last fall. We will have to make an analysis of their tests and see whether they present a further risk to our security. In this constant pursuit, everyone desiring to be last, of course, increases the danger for the human race. We are very reluctant to test. We will not test again unless we are forced to because our security is threatened and because as a

result of new Soviet tests we find ourselves unable to meet our commitments to our own people and those who are allied with us. We will, therefore, have to wait. I'm sorry the Soviet Union is testing. They tested—they broke the agreement and tested last fall. We tested in response. Now they carry out another series of tests and the world plunges deeper into uncertainty.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, as a result of some of the congressional action on measures you've submitted to them, including the vote on the medicare plan in the Senate, some Republicans on the Hill have suggested that perhaps this Congress could not accomplish anything further, that it might be best to adjourn and go home. Would you go along with that view, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that would be a disastrous course of action. There are still most important measures, which I recognize a good many Republicans oppose, the trade bill, the youth employment and opportunities bill, aid for higher education, the U.N. bond issue—these are merely some of the bills which are still before the Congress and on which the Congress should act before it goes home. The tax reform, the farm bill—Congress has no farm bill, and we would be reduced to relying on the 1958 act if the Congress doesn't act this year. Now I recognize that the Congressmen who said that the Congress should go home oppose our action in all these areas. But I believe this Congress should stay here and take action on them, and I think it will. But I think we have in that one statement a very clear indication of what the issue is going to be this fall, those who are opposed to action on all these fronts and those who feel that there should be action. The choice, of course, will belong to the American people.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, was the decision of the Ways and Means Committee to open hearings on the tax cut, proposed tax cut, taken at your recommendation?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I had a consultation with Chairman Mills. I'm not sure that the

description of the purposes of the hearing are exactly the ones that—as I understand it they're looking at the economy and getting recommendations from various groups. I discussed it with Congressman Mills and it was his decision and that of the Committee but I thought it was useful.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, several times recently you expressed concern about the gold drain. Why does the United States, of all of the major nations in the world, permit foreign holders of its currency to exchange it for gold, and while this practice continues, even if we achieved a balance of international payments, would we be able to stop the drain of gold?

THE PRESIDENT. If the United States refused to cash in dollars for gold, then everyone would go to the gold standard and the United States, which is the reserve currency of the whole free world—we would all be dependent upon the available supply of gold, which is quite limited.

Obviously, it isn't enough to finance the great movements of trade today and it would be the most backward step that the United States has taken since the end of the Second World War. We have substantially improved our position this quarter, the second quarter over the first quarter. Our loss is down to almost a third of what it was in the first quarter. Our loss, based on the first and second quarter of this year, is about half of what it was last year, and about a third of what it was the year before. We hope that we can bring our balance of payments into balance by the end of next year.

We are not going to devalue. There is no possible use in the United States devaluing. Every other currency in a sense is tied to the dollar; if we devalued, all other currencies would devalue and so that those who speculate against the dollar are going to lose. The United States will not devalue its dollar. And the fact of the matter is the United States can balance its balance of payments any day it wants if it wishes to withdraw its support of our defense expenditures overseas and our foreign aid.

[Telstar's transmission of the conference ended at this point.]

Now, these have been undertaken, and we have put over \$50 billion into Europe alone since 1945. We are not requesting them to do anything but to meet their responsibilities for their own defense, as we are helping to meet them. We spend \$1.5 billion in the defense of Europe and the NATO commitments. Thirty percent of the infra structure of NATO is paid for by the United States. We don't object to that. We are not going to devalue. We are going to be able, we think, to bring our balance of payments into balance by the end of next year, and I feel that those who hold dollars abroad have a very good investment and—we have over \$16.5 billion here in the United States; we have over \$50 billion held by American citizens in investments overseas. This country is a very solvent country. So that I feel it requires a cooperative effort by all those involved in order to maintain this free currency, the dollar, upon which so much of Western prosperity is built.

I have confidence in it, and I think that if others examine the wealth of this country and its determination to bring its balance of payments into order, which it will do, I think that they will feel that the dollar is a good investment and as good as gold.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, a great many people are giving their opinion of the domestic economy. Could you give us your evaluation at this time?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think that—as you know, there are some indications which are very good and some indications which are disappointing. I've said from the beginning that I think we can probably get a better look at what prospective actions the Congress and the Executive should take when we get the July figures. We can make a better determination then as to whether we are in a plateau, or whether this is a period which would require more vigorous Executive action. Some of the profit reports which came out last weekend showed that

some of our major companies are making the highest profits in their history. In fact, as you know, General Motors, RCA, and others were far beyond—50 to 75 percent above last year. There are encouraging indications—auto sales, consumer purchases have held up. Investment is down. Housing has been down. They've been, as I say, a mixed bag, and I think we can get a better look at where we're moving when we get the July figures in early August.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, there's been some confusion over what Arthur Dean did or did not say at Geneva a week ago. I wonder if you can clarify for us whether he was suggesting that it might be possible to enforce a nuclear test ban without going into the Soviet Union?

THE PRESIDENT. That's not the position of the United States at this time. As you know, there has been additional information gathered as a result of our underground tests, in the ability to detect an underground test at a range, and to distinguish between an underground test and an earthquake. This material which has just come through the Defense Department is being studied by the Disarmament Agency, the State Department, and the Defense, and whatever information we have will be made available to the disarmament conference at Geneva very shortly. The national governmental considerations of this information should be concluded by the end of this week. It is information which is in a sense encouraging as to our ability to distinguish. But whether we can do—the range at which we can do it, the sharpness of the distinction, what kind of instruments would be required, what would be the role of inspectors themselves—those will have to wait until our conclusions in the next few days.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, I think you welcomed the President of Ecuador to Washington today, and you mentioned a moment ago the expense of this Government in the defense of Europe. I wondered if you feel that countries such as Ecuador and others are getting enough help from Europe in

their economic and social development programs?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, what concerns me is not only this question of whether sufficient aid has been given. As you know, actually there hasn't been aid in the sense that we understand it. There've been some long-term loans, but at reasonably high rates of interest. What has concerned us most about Latin America has been the fact that these countries are nearly all of them dependent upon very few commodities. Ecuador itself is dependent really on the export of three commodities; these prices have been dropping in the same way that coffee has been dropping. They are dependent upon the European market, and we are concerned that the Common Market will be open and not take restrictive steps against the importations from Latin America, which would increase greatly their already very, very serious problems. So that what we are most concerned about now is not the question of aid, but rather that Europe will be open to the commodities of Latin America—the bananas, the cocoa, the coffee, and the others upon which these countries depend. Otherwise, their foreign exchanges are going to drop out of sight and you're going to have more and more desperate internal situations. So we're asking Europe to make the Common Market, as I've said from the beginning, an increasingly open institution which radiates prosperity, and not a closed shop with particular ties to former colonial possessions in Africa. But this is, of course, a matter we must negotiate with the Western Europeans, and I'm sure that Monsieur Monnet and others who have been so instrumental in developing the Common Market, share this view of an expanding free world economy.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, some have criticized the administration for withholding aid from the military dictatorship which has taken over Peru, and at the same time asking Congress for permission to give aid at your discretion to Communist dictatorships such as Yugoslavia and Poland. Do

you feel free to discuss with us reasons for this distinction?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, at the present time the President of Peru is imprisoned. President Prado, who was a guest of this Government a short while ago, and who was a guest of Franklin D. Roosevelt during World War II, is in prison. We are anxious to see a return to constitutional forms in Peru, and therefore until we know what is going to happen in Peru, we are prudent in making our judgments as to what we shall do.

We think it's in our national interest, and I think the aid we're giving in the other areas is in our national interest, because we feel that this hemisphere can only be secure and free with democratic governments. We wish that were true behind the Iron Curtain, and it is to encourage a trend in that direction that we have given some assistance in the past, and advocate it now.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, the Congo appears to be receding rather than progressing towards integration.

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct.

Q. Do you have thoughts on this and what might possibly be done?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, we have been very concerned about the Congo because we have been unable to reach an accord between the Katanga and the Government of the Congo and all—and time is not running in favor of the Adoula Government. It has very little funds. The great resources of the Congo are in the Katanga. Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Adoula have been unable to get together. This is very, very serious. The Union Minière, the company which controls these vast resources in the Katanga, pays its taxes just to the Katanga, not to the central government. It leaves Mr. Adoula without resources. It has weakened his position and I think that those who are sympathetic to the Katanga's effort are liable to find complete chaos in the rest of the Congo. So that I support the United Nations effort there to encour-

age the integration of those areas on a reasonable and responsible basis. The United States stands very strongly behind that policy and I'm hopeful that under the leadership of U Thant we can make that policy effective, with the support of Mr. Adoula and Mr. Tshombe, who will come to see that together this country can be viable, and separate it will be chaotic.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, Dr. Martin Luther King said yesterday that you could do more in the area of moral persuasion by occasionally speaking out against segregation and counseling the Nation on the moral aspects of this problem. Would you comment on this, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. I made it very clear that I'm for every American citizen having his Constitutional rights, and the United States Government under this administration has taken a whole variety of very effective steps to improve the equal opportunities for all Americans, and will continue to do so.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, in the absence of any agreement on Berlin, could you discuss with us what the consequences might be were the Russians to go ahead now and sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would rather not look into that clouded crystal ball because, of course, our rights to Berlin are based upon World War II and the agreements coming out of World War II, and are not subject to unilateral abrogation. But I think I'd rather talk about what we can do to work out an equitable solution rather than to talk about what might happen under these conditions. At the present time we are still talking with the Soviet Union, still negotiating, and I think that we ought to continue on that track as long as we possibly can before we consider where we are going to go on other roads.

Q. Mr. President, are you making any progress toward a direct telephone line to Mr. Khrushchev for use in case of emergency?

THE PRESIDENT. I have not done that, no.

We have communications with the Soviet Union. I think the problem is not at the present time communications. The problem is that there is a difference of viewpoint. We understand each other, but we differ.

Q. In that same connection, sir, could you tell us anything about your talk with Ambassador Dobrynin and whether or not this was the beginning of perhaps a series of direct consultations between you and the Ambassador?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. I hope to see Ambassador Dobrynin periodically. Mr. Khrushchev is seeing our Ambassador fairly frequently. And I think that it's useful in order to indicate our viewpoint. I've said for a long time that any study of history, particularly of this century, shows the dangers of governments getting out of touch with each other and misunderstanding each other. Therefore, I want to be sure that we have the closest understanding of our position and of their position. These meetings, I think, help indicate what we believe and also they are very helpful to me in hearing an exposition of the Soviet viewpoint. So I will continue to see him.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, according to Dr. Gallup's latest poll, there's been a sharp rise in pro-Republican sentiment in the Middle West and a parallel or opposite drop in your popularity stock of about 10 points. Do you have any explanation of your own for this phenomenon, if it is one, and does it bother you with the administration facing now a mid-term election?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it said I dropped personally from 79 percent to 69 percent. I think that if I were still 79 percent after a very intense congressional session I would feel that I had not met my responsibilities. The American people are rather evenly divided on a great many issues and as I make my views clearer on these issues, of course, some people increasingly are not going to approve of me. So I dropped to 69 percent, and will probably drop some more. I don't think there is any doubt of that.

President Eisenhower, I think, in the November election of 1954 was down to 58 percent. But he survived, and I suppose I will.

Now, as to the congressional drop, I thought it was abnormal in the winter, before the Congress began. I think what the American people have to understand is that the Republican Party, by and large, with very few exceptions, has opposed every measure that we have put forward, whether it's in agriculture, whether it's in medical care, whether it's in public works, whether it's in mass transit, whether it's in urban affairs. And they have been joined by some Democrats who for a great many years have opposed a good many Democratic programs.

Now this grouping has cost us—we lost medicare, a change of 2 votes would have won it, and in the House a change of 10 votes would have passed our farm bill. And that's why this election in November is a very important one. If the American people are against these programs, then of course they'll vote Republican, and we will have a state of where the President believes one thing and the Congress another for 2 years, and we'll have inaction. There are those who believe that is what we should have. I do not. That is why I think this election is quite important. I think the choice is very clear, in other words. November 1962 presents the American people with a very clear choice between the Republican Party which is opposed to all of these measures, as it opposed the great measures of the 1930's, and the Democratic Party—the mass of the Democratic Party—the administration, two-thirds or three-fourths of the Democratic Party, which supports these measures. Fortunately, the American people will have a choice. And they will choose, as I have said, either to put anchor down or to sail. So we'll see in November.

Q. Mr. President, do you plan any reprisals against the Democrats who haven't supported you?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think that most of the Democrats who have not supported me are in areas where—are in one party areas. And what I am going to do is attempt to elect, to help elect, Democrats, though I've never overstated what a President can do in these matters. I'm going to help elect Democrats who support this program. The areas I will be campaigning in are seats where there will be a very clear choice between Republicans who oppose these actions and Democrats who support them. That's where I am going to go.

[15.] Q. In view of the increase in strikes and other major labor disputes, could you tell us, sir, why you have not yet sent up a labor message, and when you intend to do so?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't think there has been an increase in strikes.

Q. I think the figures show they are up this year over last year.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, these figures are still very limited in the amount of strikes. There was a serious one out in California in the construction trade that went on for some length of time. But we are attempting to use the powers which have been given to us, and also particularly the Mediation and Conciliation Service, and the Secretary of Labor, and myself to attempt to bring about peaceful solutions. We will continue to do that. If I thought there were any congressional power that would assist us, then I would ask for that, but I'm not aware of any strike which we've had this year, which would have been settled more amicably and more responsibly by an additional grant of power by the Congress.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, there are reports that President de Gaulle is irritated over your swift appointment of Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer to be Commander in Chief of U.S. Forces in Europe upon the retirement of General Norstad on November 1. Would you please tell us if you have received the same reports, and also give us your opinion on whether the next Supreme

Allied Commander of NATO should necessarily be an American?

THE PRESIDENT. General Norstad informed me in May when he was here that he wished to retire this fall. After that, during the Secretary of State's visit, and by other means, we discussed this matter with other governments, including the French Government, to find out whether they wished—if it was in their view satisfactory to have an American appointed. Now we were informed that they accepted the appointment of an American, and supported it. Then when General Norstad came this time to see me, it was arranged that his resignation would become effective October 1, and we then sent in the name of General Lemnitzer, who is our senior military officer, and a distinguished one.

So that I am not aware that there was haste in the matter of naming an American, or nominating an American which is after all the responsibility of the North Atlantic Council. And quite obviously if the North Atlantic Council asked us to nominate an officer, I would nominate our senior officer, General Lemnitzer, who is very adequately equipped to deal with these matters.

Now, I've seen some stories that might suggest a contrary view, but the fact of the matter is General Lemnitzer could have retired in October and there would have been a vacancy as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Therefore, when I nominated him to be the Commander of American Forces in Europe and also indicated that if we were invited by the North Atlantic Council to nominate an American, that he would be our nominee. I did it with complete freedom, because I felt that after working with General Lemnitzer for a year and a half, he was the best officer for that position at this time.

Now, I am sorry that General Norstad is leaving. He did an extraordinary work, and he was particularly—I found his judgment to be particularly reliable during this last spring, and I think every one in Europe

shares the same feeling of confidence. I think that they'll develop the same confidence in General Lemnitzer. So I'm not sure that the stories are wholly accurate.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, in your January economic report you said that if demand falls short of current expectations a more expansionary policy will be pursued. Actually, sir, as you know, demand has fallen substantially short of your target for the past 6 months. I wonder if you can tell us what the factors are that have caused you to postpone taking action to stimulate the economy.

THE PRESIDENT. I think I made that rather clear, that we are waiting until the end of July, the July figures. The expansionary policy which we've talked about is in the area of a tax cut, which is a matter, of course, which must go through the Congress. And I think the Congress, as well as the administration, would want to be convinced that this remedy, which is not an easy one and which can be very controversial, that this remedy is the most desirable at this time. And I think that as long as the figures are as mixed as they are, as long as there are such strong differences of opinion among people who are well informed about where the economy is going, I think that it's wiser to wait for the July figures to see if that will give us a clearer picture. Because we may be in a plateau which may carry through 5 or 6 months to January of next year, when we've proposed a tax cut anyway, or we may be in a different period. But there are all kinds of figures and many of them are contradictory.

As I said, the profit figures for the first half in some industries are extraordinary. The consumer purchasing power is held up. What has been particularly disappointing has been investment, and we have to consider whether a tax cut, and if so, what kind of a tax cut, would stimulate investment, if that becomes our need. This matter is so complicated, must go through so many different committees of the Congress,

and will be subject to the most careful scrutiny, that we want to be convinced that the course of action we're advocating is essential before we advocate it.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, the other day Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish economist, said in Stockholm, after a return from a visit to the United States, that he regarded it as inexcusable for so rich a country as ours to have so many slums, to have inadequate schools, and lacking a variety of social services. And he described our economy as stagnant and he traced the roots of this alleged stagnancy to the Eisenhower administration. Would you care to comment on this estimate of our situation?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it is regrettable that we have not been able to develop an economic formula which maintains the growth of our economy. If we were moving ahead at full blast today, of course you would have full employment. Also, he made the point that a stagnant economy falls heaviest on the Negroes, who, of course, are the first out of work and the last re-employed. I think he felt that the emphasis upon the traditional budget had served us ill. I have been exploring that question somewhat myself.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, on the political front, what is your goal in November, given the fact that despite the big Democratic majority currently, you're having a lot of trouble? Does that mean your goal is to increase the House Democrats, say by 20, and the Senate by some number?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, we lost 20 seats in 1960. As I've said before, the rules fight, which I regarded as a very important one in January 1961, we won by only 5 votes, with 19 Republicans. Now, we don't get any Republicans any more for any measure—with the exception of the trade bill, and even there the leadership opposed us—but fortunately I think a good many Republicans realized that this was not a party issue, but a national issue. And I hope that they feel the same way in the

Senate, because I regard it as such, and the bill has equal sponsorship from the Republican and Democratic sides. So we put that and the aid bill outside of the political dialog, fortunately.

But I would like to see us win even a few seats. I am not as ambitious as your figures would indicate, because history is so much against us. If we can hold our own, if we can win 5 seats or 10 seats, it would change the whole opinion in the House, and in the Senate, because we lose by 5 votes. There really isn't a measure before us that I don't think we couldn't pass with a change of 5. That was the farm bill and the same is true in the Senate on medicare, a change of 1 or 2 seats in the Senate. So we're not required to do any more than hold our own and gain between 5 and 10 seats. Now that, of course, is going to be an extremely difficult job and has been done, I believe, since the Civil War only twice—in this century, of course, only once.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, now that the U.S. image is being transmitted instantaneously overseas by Telstar, do you think the U.S. networks should make a greater effort to do something about the "vast wasteland"?

THE PRESIDENT. I'm going to leave Mr. Minow to argue the wasteland issue.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, the other day after the medicare vote, you said that a hand-

ful of Democrats voted against you. There were 21. This prompts two questions: wasn't it a pretty big handful, and won't this tend to inhibit you in setting this forth as an issue?

THE PRESIDENT. No. Two-thirds of the Democrats voted for it, a third of the Democrats voted against it. About six-sevenths or seven-eighths of the Republicans voted against it. So that this combination of almost total Republican opposition with a third of the Democrats defeated us by 52 to 48.

Now the issue in November, every seat that is being contested between Republicans and Democrats, really, I would say, in 80 percent or 90 percent of the cases, would be between those who oppose medicare and those who are for it. So that there isn't any doubt that there is in a party as large as the Democratic Party those who do not support a good many of the programs. The alliances may change but, of course, we lose a third or a fourth, and we have since 1938. But the fact of the matter is this administration is for medicare and two-thirds of the Democrats are for medicare and seven-eighths of the Republicans are against it. And that seems to me to be the issue.

Reporter. Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's thirty-ninth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 3 o'clock on Monday afternoon, July 23, 1962.

303 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the President of Ecuador. *July 24, 1962*

HIS EXCELLENCY, Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy, President of the Republic of Ecuador, has visited Washington as the guest of President Kennedy, with the objective of further strengthening the bonds of friendship and cooperative relations that exist between Ecuador and the United States. During this visit the two Presidents have held conversations in a spirit of cordiality, frankness and understanding, exploring a number of matters of bilateral interest as

well as hemispheric and international matters of a wider scope.

In the course of these conversations the two Presidents reaffirmed the friendship which has traditionally united and continues to unite their two countries. This friendship is founded upon their common principles of mutual respect and the concept of juridical equality of States, the effective exercise of representative democracy, and the maintenance of individual liberties and re-

spect for human dignity, which are principles essential for the advancement of nations and the furtherance of social justice.

The two Presidents expressed the importance with which they regard the close ties among the Republics of the Hemisphere and their determination to remain united against aggression and subversion either from within or from outside of the Hemisphere. They rejected the use of force for the settlement of international disputes and agreed upon the necessity to adhere to the principles of law which are applicable to the settlement of international controversies in seeking solutions to problems which may affect the countries and peoples of the Hemisphere, rejecting violence and arbitrary action.

Presidents Kennedy and Arosemena reaffirmed their faith in the Alliance for Progress as an instrument by which the American Republics and peoples can achieve the conditions necessary for their advancement within a framework of developing democratic institutions. They confirmed their adherence to the principles of the Charter of Punta del Este, expressing their determination to carry out the commitments embodied in it. They recognized the need for national planning designed to concentrate the utilization of available resources on objectives of the highest priority for social and economic development and for structural reforms in such fields as agriculture, taxation, and fiscal management, as well as the need for financial and technical assistance from international sources if the objectives of the Alliance for Progress are to be achieved with speed and efficiency.

The two Presidents restated their confidence that the Republic of Ecuador is capable of achieving a high level of economic development in an atmosphere of social equity and justice through the efforts of its own people and Government supplemented by the aid available through international cooperation. They agreed that the achievement of such development would require major changes in the social and economic

structure of Ecuador to assure not only steady economic progress, but also a more equitable distribution of the fruits of such progress among the people so that each Ecuadorean may feel that he is simultaneously an agent and a beneficiary of progress.

The Presidents concluded that in view of the present condition and potentialities of the Ecuadorean economy, the current year represents an important period which should witness an intensified effort to work for economic growth.

The two Presidents discussed the problem of the fluctuations of export earnings and agreed that such fluctuations represent a major obstacle to economic growth. They agreed that the stability of such earnings, if accompanied by adequate distribution of their benefits among the people, would represent a factor even more important than external assistance for the growth of the less developed countries. Consequently, the two Presidents were in agreement on the importance of seeking means to reduce such fluctuations. They also recognized the necessity for the more advanced countries to express their spirit of cooperation in a practical manner by following import policies contributing to an expansion in export earnings of the less developed countries, avoiding harmful discrimination and restrictions. In regard to this point, Presidents Kennedy and Arosemena discussed the problems of the exports of bananas, coffee, and cocoa as well as other Ecuadorean products and United States efforts to contribute to price stability and market expansion through such means as the coffee agreement and our activities in the Special Group on Trade in Tropical Products of the GATT.

The Presidents reviewed with satisfaction the progress achieved in the cooperation between the two countries in the execution of various programs and projects in which the Government of Ecuador is engaged. They discussed the special importance of projects for the construction of roads and other investment in transport facilities, efforts in the field of agriculture and indus-

try, in which government action will be reinforced by private investment, social development programs such as education, housing, water supply, and sanitary facilities, as well as efforts planned and under way for regional and community development. In examining such projects in the light of internal and external financing available, the two Presidents agreed to make joint efforts to reduce to a minimum delays in effecting external assistance as well as in carrying out internal steps to insure thorough preparations and successful implementation of such development projects. In this regard, the Presidents stressed the importance of cooperation between their Governments to undertake studies and to prepare projects which will permit the improved utilization of internal resources and external assistance and will form the basis for the preparation by the Government of Ecuador of its important General Development Plan to succeed the present shorter range program now being executed.

President Arosemena and President Ken-

nedy reviewed the prospects for holding the Eleventh Inter-American Conference and expressed their hope that circumstances would make possible the timely convocation of the Eleventh Inter-American Conference in the capital of the Republic of Ecuador. They noted that as the host nation Ecuador had from the beginning faithfully complied with its commitment to make physical preparations for the Conference.

The Presidents reiterated their adherence to the principles of liberty which unite the Western World in its struggle against international communism and other despotic doctrines which attempt to destroy the essential values which shape the life of their peoples.

Finally, the Presidents of Ecuador and the United States renewed the expressions of their faith in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that of the Organization of American States, proclaiming their loyal and unrestricted adherence to those principles.

304 Memorandum on Equal Opportunity for Women in the Federal Service. July 24, 1962

[Released July 24, 1962. Dated July 23, 1962]

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies:

As I recently advised the Chairman of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, the Attorney General has rendered an opinion that will make it possible to open up greater employment opportunities for women in the Federal service. He has held that the question whether positions in the Federal Government may be filled by men only, by women only, or by qualified members of either sex, is a matter which may be regulated by the President.

I have previously directed the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission to review pertinent personnel policies and practices

affecting the employment of women and to work with you to assure that selection for any career position is made solely on the basis of individual merit and fitness.

I intend that the Federal career service be maintained in every respect without discrimination and with equal opportunity for employment and advancement. The opinion of the Attorney General now enables me to direct you to take immediate steps so that hereafter appointment or promotion shall be made without regard to sex, except in unusual situations where such action has been found justified by the Civil Service Commission on the basis of objective non-discriminatory standards.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: A White House release accompanying the President's memorandum pointed out that existing policy was based on a 1934 Attorney General's opinion giving agency heads the right to limit the filling of Federal positions, regardless of duties, to

members of one sex or the other. The release further stated that the present Attorney General had reviewed this opinion and had found it not to be in accordance with law.

305 Message to Governor Muñoz Marín on the 10th Anniversary of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. July 25, 1962

[Released July 25, 1962. Dated July 24, 1962]

Dear Governor Muñoz:

I have your letter advising me of the celebration on July 25 of the tenth anniversary of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. This is indeed a great occasion. The achievements of the Puerto Rican people in this short period have been remarkable. Puerto Rico has furnished an example to the world of the benefits that can be achieved by close collaboration between a larger and a smaller community within the framework of freedom and mutual agreement. I am confident that I speak for the people of the United States as well as their government in expressing my pride and pleasure at Puerto Rico's achievements.

I am aware, however, as you point out, that the Commonwealth relationship is not perfected and that it has not yet realized its full potential, and I welcome your statement that the people of Puerto Rico are about to begin the consideration of this with the purpose of moving towards its maximum development. I am in full sympathy with this aspiration. I see no reason why the Commonwealth concept, if that is the desire of the people of Puerto Rico, should not be fully developed as a permanent institution in its association with the United States. I agree that this is a proper time to recognize the need for growth and, both as a matter of fairness to all concerned and of establishing an unequivocal record, to consult the people of Puerto Rico, as you propose to do, so that they may express any other preference, including independence, if that should be their wish.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: In his letter, dated July 10, 1962, Governor Muñoz pointed out that from the beginning the Constitutional Convention had recognized that there was room for growth within the Commonwealth relationship. He suggested the following as suitable lines along which Puerto Rico should proceed:

1. The indispensable principle of the Commonwealth is self-government for Puerto Rico in permanent association with the United States on the basis of common loyalty, common citizenship, mutual dedication to democracy, and mutual commitment to freedom.

2. The moral and juridical basis of the Commonwealth should be further clarified so as to eliminate any possible basis for the accusation, which is made by enemies and misguided friends of the United States and Puerto Rico, that the Commonwealth was not the free choice of the people of Puerto Rico acting in their sovereign capacity, but was merely a different kind of colonial arrangement to which they consented.

3. The governmental power and authority of the Commonwealth should be complete and any reservations or exceptions which are not an indispensable part of the arrangements for permanent association with the United States should be eliminated. Methods should be devised for forms of participation, appropriate to the Commonwealth concept, by the people of Puerto Rico in federal functions that affect them.

Governor Muñoz continued by stating that it was his intention to request the Commonwealth legislature to enact a law pursuant to which proposals to perfect the Commonwealth within its association with the United States would be submitted to the people of Puerto Rico.

He added that he proposed to recommend that advocates of both independence and of federated statehood for Puerto Rico should be afforded the opportunity to present these alternatives to the electorate, so that no doubt whatever might be entertained either in Puerto Rico, in the United States, or elsewhere that the basic principle of self-determination had been thoroughly carried out.

Governor Muñoz's letter was released with the President's reply.

306 Statement by the President Upon Approving the Public Welfare Amendments Bill. *July 26, 1962*

I HAVE approved a bill which makes possible the most far-reaching revision of our Public Welfare program since it was enacted in 1935.

This measure embodies a new approach—stressing services in addition to support, rehabilitation instead of relief, and training for useful work instead of prolonged dependency. This important legislation will assist our states and local public welfare agencies to redirect the incentives and services they offer to needy families and children and to aged and disabled people. Our objective is to prevent or reduce dependency and to encourage self-care and self-support—to maintain family life where it is adequate and to restore it where it is deficient.

This measure encourages the states to expand their rehabilitation of the needy, increase their services to children and extend day-care services to the children of working mothers, establish useful community work and training projects, guard against misuse of welfare funds paid for the benefit of dependent children, and strengthen and improve welfare administration.

This bill also contains incentives for the training of additional skilled welfare workers; and I am hopeful that these incentives,

along with the new constructive approach taken by this bill, will help to direct many more able men and women to the service of our severely handicapped welfare agencies.

The new law makes available additional Federal funds to the States for assistance to needy aged, blind, and disabled persons which amount to about \$4 per recipient per month. The reports of both the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives and of the Committee on Finance of the Senate make it clear that the States are expected to pass on these additional funds to the recipients under these programs. It would truly be a miscarriage of justice and a frustration of the legislative intent if these new Federal funds merely replaced existing state funds, and those for whom the increase was intended were denied the full benefit.

The problems which gave rise to this bill affect every community in the country—and this measure, I believe, marks a real turning point in this nation's efforts to cope realistically and helpfully with these pressing problems.

NOTE: The Public Welfare Amendments Act of 1962, approved July 25, 1962, is Public Law 87-543 (76 Stat. 172).

307 White House Statement on a Program of Assistance to the Lumber Industry. *July 26, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT today announced a program designed to assist the lumber industry and improve its competitive position. The announcement followed a meeting with Senators and Congressmen from the northwest. The program included both immediate and long-range actions designed to increase employment, improve efficiency, and raise earnings.

The new steps outlined by the President called for:

(1) The initiation of negotiations with Canada concerning the amount of softwood lumber imported into the United States.

(2) The submission of a request to the Congress for additional funds for Forest Development Roads and Trails Program to assure the prompt harvest of National Forest timber.

(3) The amendment of the Intercoastal Shipping laws to permit use of foreign vessels when those conditions exist which indi-

cate severe hardship to American shippers. This amendment will reduce the handicaps suffered by American producers in the inter-coastal shipment of lumber.

(4) An immediate increase in allowable cuts which will make available 150 million board feet on the lands managed by the Department of the Interior.

(5) The establishment of a preference for American products in the purchase of lumber by the Department of Defense, the General Services Administration and other Federal departments and agencies. This could be particularly significant in connection with the various aspects of the AID program.

(6) Increased attention to loan applications filed with the Small Business Administration and the Area Redevelopment Administration by lumber mills in order to enable them to upgrade their production and better compete with imported lumber products.

In addition, the President indicated that he was directing that there be a continuing review of the problems of the industry by an inter-agency committee in order that developments and problems might be anticipated and recommendations made to meet and

overcome any difficulties or handicaps the industry might face. The Secretary of Agriculture would be specifically instructed to report to him by October 15 on both firm and interim increases in national forest allowable cuts to assure a continuation of timber sales at or beyond the record levels achieved in the most recent quarter of 1962.

The President was informed that west coast lumber interests had already filed a request with the Tariff Commission for an escape clause investigation on softwood lumber and that the Tariff Commission has instituted an investigation. The President indicated he would request the Commission to complete it as expeditiously as possible.

NOTE: The Secretary of Agriculture, on October 12, reported to the President that a review by the Forest Service of allowable cutting rates in the National forests had resulted in an increase of 547 million board feet for the 42 forests in the Pacific Coast and Inland Empire States where timber demand was critical. The review was confined to areas where interim increases would be significant in helping the lumber industry meet current difficulties. The report stated that the regular program of reinventory and adjustments of allowable cuts for all National forests was continuing and that allowable cuts for other National forests had been increased by 209 million board feet since January 1, 1962.

308 Toasts of the President and Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos. *July 27, 1962*

WE WANT to express our very warm welcome, Prime Minister, and Mr. Foreign Minister and members of your party. I know that the Prime Minister may occasionally feel, having been at Geneva with a number of countries involving themselves in a sense in the affairs of his country, that he has a natural desire, which I am sure is shared by a great many of his people, for Laos to be permitted to manage its own destiny without quite so much interest and attention from so many parts of the world.

I think that either fortunately or unfortunately, Mr. Prime Minister, you, like us, have been caught up in the stage of history, and the agreement which has been signed

at Geneva, in a sense, and its effect upon world peace, goes far beyond your borders and, in fact, involves the whole relations between many powers whose interests in other parts may be in conflict.

So our concern, Prime Minister, for your future is very real, because it involves really the future of the United States. The Soviet Union and the United States and other countries came to an accord over Austria and that accord has been maintained.

Chairman Khrushchev and I, at Vienna, and other countries have committed themselves to the goal of the maintenance of a neutral and independent Laos.

If this goal cannot only be achieved as the

treaty suggests but the treaty can be successfully implemented, then, of course, the chances of a peaceful relationship between great powers with great military capacities will be substantially increased so that the destiny of Laos, as I have said, ties up with the relations between the great powers at a very critical time in history. In other words, if we can succeed in Laos, it makes the future brighter. If our common efforts and commitments in Laos fail, then the future not only of Laos but of a good deal of the rest of the world becomes darker. I think that explains the concern which all of us have with what will now be carried forward in your country.

We are greatly concerned with the success of your efforts. The peace of your country, its security, the security of the countries which are neighboring on your borders are very much tied up with the success of your own personal efforts. And that is why we are particularly gratified that you came to Washington and permitted us to have an exchange of views. Your success means not only a strong addition to the security of Southeast Asia but, as I've said, it can mean a good deal to the relations between other countries in other parts of the world. If you should fail, if the accord at Geneva should turn out to be merely paper, then, of course, relations all over the world would become more difficult, and the belief in negotiation would be subjected to a serious attack.

If I may say so, Mr. Prime Minister, you carry with you not only the well-being of your own country and people but also, I think, will have an important influence on the peace of a good part of the world.

I can assure you, Mr. Prime Minister, that this country will do everything that is within its power to implement the commitment that it made in signing the Geneva accord.

Mr. Prime Minister, you and your company are most welcome here, and I hope all will join me in drinking to His Majesty, the King.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his response Prince Souvanna Phouma stated that he would do everything in his power "to insure the respect on our part of the commitments we have taken in Geneva," adding that this was necessary "to insure the life of our people, to insure the existence of our country, and . . . to insure the success of this test on which, as you have said, rests the peace of the world. . . ."

"I can say on the basis of the contacts I have had in Moscow, Peking, and Hanoi," he continued, "that all of the signatories to the Geneva Agreement have a sincere desire to see a neutral Laos. And I can say for myself that I hope that Laos will be able to follow in the footsteps of Austria, and in a few years we will see a neutral Laos especially, and we will see it with the help of all of the friendly powers—a Laos which will be neutral and ready to do its bit for the peace of the world."

In his opening remarks, the President referred to the Laotian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Quinim Pholsena.

309 Letters to the Secretaries of the Military Departments Commending Reservists on the Eve of Their Release. July 30, 1962

[Released July 30, 1962. Dated July 12, 1962]

To the Secretary of the Army:

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Recently I sent letters to the 32nd Infantry Division, the 49th Armored Division, and the 100th Infantry Division (Training) on the eve of their return to civilian life, ex-

pressing my sincere appreciation for the outstanding work they have done since their recall to active duty. I am mindful of the fact that there are many other Army National Guardsmen and Army Reservists, in smaller units and as individuals, who have

also interrupted their civilian pursuits, and have been serving on active duty since the Berlin crisis. Because of their response as citizen-soldiers, the military strength of the United States and its allies has been markedly increased, and today, although the threat remains, we are better able to meet our commitments because of their contribution.

I am particularly proud of the many accomplishments of these men and women because their call to active duty posed many extremely difficult problems and new challenges for them—and all were met with the highest degree of resourcefulness, initiative, and professional skill. I am equally proud of the families of these Reservists who were called upon to bear a great part of this burden—and did so with great understanding and in good spirit. To these Americans we all owe a debt, not only because their homes and careers were disrupted, but because they have made a real and tangible contribution to freedom and to world peace.

As these Army Reservists and Army Na-

tional Guardsmen return to their homes, I want you to convey to them—and to their families—my deepest admiration and respect for the important work they have done. And as they return to their civilian pursuits, let them know that they carry with them the thanks of a grateful nation and of all free men throughout the world.

The international challenge has not been diminished, and our job is not done. Our main reliance now must be on the more firmly established active Army, as well as its sister services. However, the Army Reservists and the Army National Guard must still be relied upon as a strategic force. I am confident that you will see to it that all components not only maintain but improve their efficiency and readiness. My continued interest and best wishes are with you in this important endeavor.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[The Honorable Cyrus R. Vance, Secretary of the Army, Washington, D.C.]

[Released July 30, 1962. Dated July 16, 1962]

To the Secretary of the Navy:

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Upon the occasion of the return to civilian life of our recalled Naval Reservists, I would like to pay tribute to the officers and enlisted men of the Naval Air squadrons and destroyer-type ships who proved so ready, so willing, and so able.

In reaching the decision a year ago that it was imperative to build up the strength of our naval forces in a relatively short time, I was not unmindful of the many personal sacrifices a recall of our Reservists would entail. However, I considered the strengthening of naval anti-submarine forces so urgent that I could find no other satisfactory alternative.

Since the recall I have been deeply impressed by the wonderful response of our Naval Reservists, their willing acceptance of sacrifice, and their outstanding performance of duty.

Our eighteen Naval Air squadrons and the crews of the forty destroyers and destroyer escorts took their places in the active fleets and bolstered our forces in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Mediterranean, Caribbean, and in the South China Seas. They have demonstrated that the high regard we have always had for the readiness of the Naval Reserve is completely warranted. They merit a resounding "Well Done" from a grateful Nation.

Would you pass this letter to the Commanding Officers of all units involved with my personal thanks for their outstanding performance.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[The Honorable Fred Korth, Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D.C.]

[Released July 30, 1962. Dated July 17, 1962]

To the Secretary of the Air Force:

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I would like to express my appreciation for the outstanding performance of the Air Reserve Forces mobilized during the past year.

The swift and accident-free deployment to Europe of several hundred jet fighter aircraft of the Air National Guard within days after mobilization, followed almost immediately by full combat-alert posture, was a convincing demonstration of the "Ready Now" status of the Air Reserve Forces. The quick augmentation of our forces in Europe was a powerful factor in preserving the peace during this period of crisis. In addition, the substantial Reserve Forces backup to the Tactical Air Command and the Military Air

Transport Service, contributed by the mobilized units that remained in the United States, added materially to our total deterrent power.

I am mindful of the personal sacrifices made by these Reservists during this period, including significant reductions in personal income and, in thousands of cases, prolonged separations from their homes and families.

The Air Force is to be congratulated for the outstanding contribution to the cause of freedom made by its Reserve Forces during this critical time.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[The Honorable Eugene M. Zuckert, The Secretary of the Air Force, Washington, D.C.]

310 Remarks to the Brazilian Ambassador and a Group of Brazilian Students. *July 31, 1962*

AMBASSADOR, we are delighted to welcome all of you to the White House and most especially to the United States.

I have been reading about your trip and I have also been reading about some of your views of our country. I am very glad that you have a chance to travel through the United States to talk to the people who live here, to make some judgment of our institutions, where we have been and where we are going.

Rather than making a speech to you this morning, I would be glad to answer any questions that you might have for a couple of minutes about this country or about our policies.

Do any of you have any questions about the United States?

[1.] Q. Mr. President, I should like to say to you that this contact that I have had the opportunity to have with your country and your people here in this highly developed country has left a profound impression at least on my spirit.

I should also like to express the shock that I felt when we realized or saw clearly the situation of underdevelopment in which we are living in our country. In view of this, I should like to ask you, Mr. President, what would be the reaction of the U.S. Government in the event we were to socialize the means of production in our country as a way to more effectively wage the battle against underdevelopment?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that the decision of your country as to the means of providing progress is your decision, and if by socialization you mean ownership of the means of production or of the basic industries, that is a judgment which you must make.

What we are opposed to is a denial of civil liberties, a denial of opportunity for people to assemble, to have their press, to make a free choice of what kind of government they want.

For example, Great Britain in 1945 chose a Socialist Party which nationalized some of the means of production. Other countries

with whom the United States has had friendly relations have made that kind of choice themselves.

We prefer the competitive market economy here. We believe that by free competition we can satisfy the needs of our people best. Every country must make its own choice. But whatever choice Brazil makes, free choice, of course, is their decision. These phrases about socialization are used rather loosely. What we stand for is a free choice, the means of making an alternate choice if that choice should prove unwise. So it is our belief that through a system of freedom we can best achieve the satisfaction of the desires of the people.

I notice that some of you felt that this country, from a story I saw in the paper a couple of days ago, was dominated by the business community and that the Government was dominated by business. That will come as a great shock and a source of pleasure to the business community here in the United States.

We regard business, labor, the farmers, the general public interest as pre-eminent, and we believe that the competition of our enterprise system has best provided for our people.

You may decide that or you may decide on another course of action. We would accept that as long as it represented a free choice. What we are against is tyranny.

I noticed in the paper the other day a story about some of you expressing your views about the United States. And it seemed to me many of the points you are making about this country are almost 50 years old; that the view that you have of Western Europe and the United States and its economic, political, and social developments are really views that are pre-World War I.

You ought to take a good look at the extraordinary progress that has been made in the Common Market, the rate of economic growth, what we have been able to do in this country and also contrast that with the rather obvious failures stretching all the way from the Berlin wall, all the way to China,

in the fields of agriculture, organization, civil liberties, and all the rest.

I think that those of you who are students, particularly those of you who may be somewhat attracted by Marxist dogmas and philosophies, should take a look at this country, the relationship between the Government and the citizen, between the various groups in our society, the extraordinary progress of Europe in the last 10 years, and the failures behind the Iron Curtain before making a judgment of what is needed in your country or any other underdeveloped country is a revolution, a class struggle, or a denial of liberty, and all the rest. What you get is a denial of liberty, the class struggle, the rifle squads, and it seems to me you get no commensurate economic progress.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, I should like to submit a request to you at this moment. In the course of our travels in the United States, we have had the opportunity to observe this country, especially the fact that the Government of your country and its people have difficulties and problems to face.

As an example, the bill that you submitted to Congress for approval for aid to senior citizens of your country, which was rejected by Congress during this session, was indeed a bill highly worthy of the democracy that prevails in this country. So that during the course of our trip here, we have had the opportunity to see that, whereas before our concept was that the United States was a country that had no problems, we see indeed that the United States has many problems to face.

I should like to request of you, Mr. President, namely, that when you visit our country in November, I should hope that you will come into contact with people at all levels, from all walks of life, especially in the Northeastern sector of our country where the people are living in a calamitous situation and that you come into close contact with the people so that you will be able to gain first-hand knowledge of the situation which afflicts our people living there.

THE PRESIDENT. I will. We will go, if it

is agreeable to the Government, to the Northeast.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, how do you reconcile the fact that in spite of all the talk of peace that you say that your country advocates, apparently the youth of this country, at least, is being prepared for war through all types of aggressive war propaganda through all the mass media—radio, television, and newspapers?

For instance, last Sunday on television we saw 2 to 3 hours of military programs. It would seem in this country instead of orienting the conscience of the people towards peace, it seems that you are orienting them in a way that reminds us of the way of Germany, the militaristic Germany of Hitler.

THE PRESIDENT. I think that we have made it very clear that there is not going to be any winner of the next war. No one who is a rational man can possibly desire to see hostilities break out particularly between the major powers which are equipped with nuclear weapons. So your view of the United States in this regard is really inaccurate.

We certainly desire peace. I am not aware of any action which the United States has taken since the end of the second war which has not been in the direction of securing peace.

We have not been guilty of aggression against our neighbors. We occupy no territories. Any troops of the United States which may be stationed abroad are there at the request of the country in order to participate in their defense. The United States believes in national sovereignty, national independence, individual security and liberty, and that is the objective of our policy.

Now we are at Geneva taking part in a

disarmament conference. We will accept and have sought for a number of years a nuclear test ban. We have sought a program of general disarmament with inspection. We have been unable to secure the agreement of the Soviet Union, but we shall keep at it. So whatever the television may have been on Sunday—and I was not observing it—I can tell you this is a very peaceful country, and that anyone who desires war these days is insane.

We arm to protect our security, but I can assure you that the United States will not be guilty of aggression but, of course, it will meet its commitments to people and to countries.

In any case, I want to express our thanks, and welcome you here.

We have a new cabinet official who is going to be the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare whom we have to swear in. Perhaps you could just stay and watch the ceremonies if you have a minute. I hope all of you will come and see us when we come to Brazil.

Ambassador Campos: Mr. President, the students wish to express their appreciation for the welcome you gave them and for the welcome they have received in this country.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke in the Rose Garden at the White House.

The group of 70 students from the universities of São Paulo, Recife, and Bahia were visiting the United States under the sponsorship of the Associação Universitaria Inter-Americana, an organization of U.S. and Brazilian citizens working toward a better understanding of the United States. The Brazilian Ambassador, Roberto de Oliveira Campos, accompanied the students to the White House.

311 Remarks at the Swearing In of Anthony J. Celebrezze
as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

July 31, 1962

MR. SECRETARY, I want to express our great pleasure at removing the Mayor from the position of Mayor of Cleveland and making him Secretary of HEW, which represents, I think, certainly the most responsible assignment that the Mayor has faced in very busy and important work in his lifetime, and also represents a great opportunity to be of service to millions of Americans who are directly affected by the kind of department over which he will be administering.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the very words themselves indicate the nature of the responsibilities which the Secretary will face. It represents an extremely difficult administrative job. There are a number of agencies which deal with different phases of health, education, and welfare. They have been wisely joined together for organizational purposes, but there is a major administrative responsibility before the Secretary.

I think that his work as a State legislator in Ohio, as mayor again and again, re-elected

by the people by overwhelming majorities, indicates his very keen knowledge of the day-to-day problems of the people whom he will now be serving. His leadership of the Mayors' Conference, of the Municipal Conference, all of this indicates the high regard which his fellow mayors had for him, so I think we are extremely fortunate to have Mayor Celebrezze.

We appreciate his willingness to resign his position to come with us. We are grateful to the people of Cleveland for relinquishing him after having voted for him by nearly 75 percent, and I think that the administration will be enlivened by his sense of purpose and vitality and public commitment.

So, Mr. Secretary, before all the members of your family and friends from not only Cleveland, but all parts of the country, we are delighted to welcome you and to officially give you this very sober commitment as Secretary of HEW.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

312 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prince
Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos.

July 31, 1962

HIS HIGHNESS Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of the Royal Kingdom of Laos, departed Washington yesterday after a four day official visit to Washington. During the visit he conferred with the President, the Secretary of State and other United States officials on the future of Laos under the new Geneva agreements and upon the future of the United States-Lao relations.

Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma and the President welcomed the international concord which resulted in conclusion of the Geneva settlement and opened up a new

era for Laos. They expressed the mutual determination of their two governments to meet the obligations imposed on them by the agreements and thereby to contribute to the maintenance of peace in Southeast Asia.

The Prime Minister spoke of his determination to maintain and perfect the independence, unity and neutrality of his country. He also was particularly appreciative of United States efforts in helping to achieve the peaceful settlement. In discussing the future of Laos, the Prime Minister stressed that the prosperity and well being of the

people of Laos depended upon full observance of the Geneva Agreements by all signatories and upon the unity of purpose of the Lao people.

The President confirmed the determination of the United States to work actively in supporting the independence and neutrality of Laos. He confirmed the willingness of

the United States to offer in accordance with the spirit of the Declaration of Neutrality made by the Royal Government of Laos on July 9, 1962, its moral and material support to the Lao people toward achieving their aspirations with dignity and freedom through adherence to the stated course of strict neutrality.

313 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting Report of the U.S. Study Commission—Texas. *August 1, 1962*

Dear Mr. ———:

Pursuant to section 209(c) of the Act approved August 28, 1958, as amended by the Act approved September 8, 1959, I am transmitting the final report of the United States Study Commission—Texas. This section of the act provides that I send the report to Congress with my views, comments, and recommendations within ninety days after its receipt by me from the Commission. The Commission presents a plan for the development of land and water resources in the Neches, Trinity, Brazos, Colorado, Guadalupe, San Antonio, Nueces, and San Jacinto River Basins and intervening areas, Texas. The comments of the Governor of the State of Texas, and of the heads of the Federal agencies who have an interest in the plan, are included as a part of the report.

This report is the product of a cooperative river basin planning effort conducted under the study commission form of organization. It offers a flexible plan to meet the water development needs for a large and growing segment of our economy over the next 50 years.

The Commission has recommended that the portion of its plan considered necessary to satisfy municipal and industrial water supply needs by 1975 be conditionally authorized for Federal participation. Several of the projects in this group have been or will soon be sent to the Congress for full authorization. I urge that these be author-

ized as recommended. Other projects in the first phase plan are already being built or will be built by the people of Texas, without Federal assistance. These projects, of course, do not require Federal approval.

Detailed project plans, providing the physical and economic evaluation data normally required for authorization purposes, have not been developed for the remaining projects in the first phase plan in which there is thought to be a Federal interest. Conditional authorization of these projects by the Congress at this time would be a departure from the normal practice although the recommendation of the Commission is patterned after examples included in the River and Harbor Act of 1960 and the Flood Control Acts of 1958 and 1960. Nevertheless it may be preferable that authorization by the Congress of each project await the completion of evaluation studies and detailed investigations. The Congress will doubtless wish to consider the merits of the Commission's recommendation.

The need to plan and to coordinate action programs does not end with the submission of this report and the termination of the Study Commission. As some of these projects are completed, as the economy develops, and as population in the basins increases, plans must be reviewed and adjusted to meet requirements that cannot be foreseen at this time. Arrangements for keeping the plan current can be adequately provided for by

enactment of the Water Resources Planning Act, which was introduced in the last session of the Congress and for which I reaffirmed my support in the Conservation Message this past February.

I commend the report of the Commission to the Congress as a guide for future Federal participation with the State of Texas in the development of the water and related land resources of the study area.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Report of the U.S. Study Commission-Texas was submitted to the President on March 31, 1962, in three volumes: Part I, "The Commission Plan" (199 pp.); Part II, "Resources and Problems" (365 pp.); and Part III, "The Eight Basins" (217 pp.). The first chapter of Part I was also separately printed under the title "Summary and Recommendations" (18 pp.) dated April 1962.

314 Remarks Upon Signing the Foreign Assistance Act.

August 1, 1962

I AM TODAY signing S. 2996, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1962.

In enacting this legislation, Members of the Congress of both parties have again demonstrated their understanding that it is our national obligation and in our national interest and security to work for a world in which there is a chance for national sovereignty and national independence. This matter of foreign assistance has been outside of the party dialogue since 1947 when the program began, and while it is a matter which has caused a good many Members of the Congress and the executive branch a good deal of difficulty in the political sense, Members of both sides have risen to their greater responsibility which is the security of the country.

I cannot emphasize, sitting in this position where I sit, how important this bill is. It provides military assistance to countries which are on the rim of the Communist world and under direct attack. It provides economic assistance to those governments which are under attack from widespread misery and social discontent which are exploited by our adversaries, and this permits us to speak with a much stronger and more effective voice.

The amount of money that is involved in the nonmilitary areas are a fraction of what

we spend on our national defense every year, and yet this is very much related to our national security and is as important dollar for dollar as any expenditure for national defense itself.

So that the very clear identification with our national security has been recognized by President Truman, President Eisenhower, and I can emphasize how strongly I recognize it.

In Latin America, where they have staggering problems, in Africa and Asia, where many events are encouraging to us, it would be a great mistake and a great loss if we failed to carry on this program this year. I recognize that many of our fellow-citizens disapprove of it, but I really believe that's because they do not recognize how closely tied in it is to our national interest. They support these large expenditures for defense in many cases and oppose this, and yet I put the two side by side; and in many areas this is most important because it assists those countries which are directly under the gun.

So I want to express our appreciation to Members of both parties who are here. As I say, this is a matter which has been kept out of political dialogue and will continue to be as far as all of us are concerned, I'm sure, because it is in the interest of our country. I express my thanks to all those who par-

participated in the passage of this bill, both Republicans and Democrats, Members of the House and the Senate.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. in his office at the White House.

As enacted, S. 2996 is Public Law 87-565 (76 Stat. 255).

315 Statement by the President on the Philippines War Damage Bill. *August 1, 1962*

THE ACTION of the House of Representatives today in passing the Philippines War Damage Bill is a reaffirmation of the United States intention to honor a long-standing moral commitment to the Philippine people. It corrects the record of last May when, partly through a misunderstanding of the issues involved, an earlier version of this bill was defeated. I congratulate the House of Representatives for taking this action designed to clarify our relations with our Philippine

friends and allies. I hope the Senate will soon act favorably on this important legislation.

NOTE: The act, "War Damage Compensation—Philippines," authorizing payment of the balance of awards for war damage compensation made by the Philippine War Damage Commission under the terms of the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of April 30, 1946, was approved by the President on August 30, 1962 (Public Law 87-616, 76 Stat. 411).

See also Item 191.

316 The President's News Conference of *August 1, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon. I have several announcements.

[1.] Recent events in this country and abroad concerning the effects of a new sedative called thalidomide emphasize again the urgency of providing additional protection to American consumers from harmful or worthless drug products. The United States has the best and the most effective food and drug law of any country in the world, and the alert work of our Food and Drug Administration, and particularly Dr. Frances Kelsey, prevented this particular drug from being distributed commercially in this country. Nevertheless, the drug was given to many patients on an investigational basis. We are reviewing what steps can be taken administratively to make this stage in the future less dangerous. We have recommended a 25 percent increase in the Food and Drug Administration staff, the largest single increase in the agency's history, and the full amount was voted today by the conferees of the Congress.

And it is clear that to prevent even more serious disasters from occurring in this country in the future, additional legislative safeguards are necessary. The bill reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee on July 19, while embodying many of the recommendations contained in the message of March of this year,¹ does not go far enough, as Senator Kefauver and others have pointed out in their supplementary review on the committee report. I hope the Members of Congress will adopt those more careful provisions contained in the administration bill introduced by Congressman Oren Harris, of Arkansas, in the House. The administration bill, for example, unlike the Senate judiciary bill, will allow for immediate removal from the market of a new drug where there is an immediate hazard to public health which cannot be done now, and contains with it many other very essential safeguards which I hope the Congress will act on this year.

¹Item 93.

[2.] Secondly, we are completing a careful review of the technical problems associated with an effective test ban treaty. This review was stimulated by important new technical assessments. These assessments give promise that we can work towards an internationally supervised system of detection and verification for underground testing which will be simpler and more economical than the system which was contained in the treaty which we tabled in Geneva in April 1961. I must emphasize that these new assessments do not affect the requirement that any system must include provision for on-site inspection of unidentified underground events. It may be that we shall not need as many as we've needed in the past, but we find no justification for the Soviet claim that a test ban treaty can be effective without on-site inspection. We have been conducting a most careful and intensive review of our whole position with the object of bringing it squarely in line with the technical realities. I must express the hope that the Soviet Government, too, will reexamine its position on this matter of inspection.

In the past it has accepted the principle, and if it would return to this earlier position we, for our part, will be able to engage in an attempt to reach agreement on the number of on-site inspections which is essential. Ambassador Arthur Dean has been participating in these deliberations and will be returning to Geneva promptly. He will be prepared for intensive technical and political discussions of these problems.

[3.] And finally, I want to express my very strong hope that the House of Representatives will give approval to the U.N. bond proposal. The U.N. is engaged at this very time in two very important negotiations, one involving the Congo, the other involving the future of West Irian. And it is daily proving its effectiveness in maintaining the peace and stability of much of the world.

This would be a most unfortunate time if we withdrew our support from it. And I'm therefore hopeful that the House will

follow the Senate's example and give us the power to participate in this U.N. bond program which I believe to be essential for its survival, just as I believe that the survival of the United Nations is essential for the peace of the world.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with your opening statement in this period of anguish over the use of this drug, with women asking for abortions, there's apparently been some difficulty in running down all of the remaining stocks of thalidomide still in this country. Is there anything short of what you told us or is there anything additional that the Government can do without legislation to run down these remaining supplies of this drug and take it into custody?

THE PRESIDENT. No. The Food and Drug Administration has had nearly 200 people working on this and every doctor, every hospital, every nurse has been notified. Every woman in this country, I think, must be aware that it is most important that they check their medicine cabinet, and that they do not take this drug, that they turn it in. Every citizen, of course, should be aware of the hazards. And I'm sure they are.

Now, what we have to concern ourselves about is the, first, appreciation to Dr. Kelsey who spared us this terrible human tragedy which has been visited on families in Germany, and to provide both administrative and legislative safeguards to lessen the chance of such action coming in this country again. Also, I think, to see if we can assist our other countries in providing effective safeguards for their own citizens, because the interrelationship between them and us is very intimate.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, has the new information we've turned up—from our underground tests—affected our position on the need for international controls stations on Soviet territory, and have we any indication that the Russians are now disposed to negotiate or modify their position?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think that our position, which Mr. Dean will elaborate, has

been that the national control posts should be internationally monitored or supervised. That's the first point.

The second point: we have no information in regard to the Soviet position. What we've been attempting to do is to bring our own position in line with new scientific data which became available to us in late June. We are completing that with a final meeting before Mr. Dean goes back this afternoon. But the general position will be developed by Mr. Dean, but at least I've outlined it.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, the British announced earlier today the decision to terminate the agreement on the Thor missile bases. Two questions: Were you given advance notice of this decision? And secondly, what will be the effect, militarily and psychologically?

THE PRESIDENT. We were given advance notice. Mr. Watkinson, Mr. Thorneycroft's predecessor, had discussions with Mr. McNamara, and Mr. Thorneycroft informed us of the statement he was going to make in Parliament today.

Secondly, it should have no adverse effect, psychologically. Our ability to meet our commitments to the defense of Western Europe in the conventional and in the nuclear field remains unchanged by this announcement, and the United States commitment remains unchanged.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, in the last 10 days there have been a series of developments beginning with the agreement on Laos, and yesterday ending with the announcement of an agreement on Indonesian-Dutch settlement on New Guinea. There was also the Malaya and Britain announcement that a Malaysia Federation will be formed. Will you comment on these developments and the effect it has on that area and what danger spots you perceive?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the agreement, of course, on West Irian has to be approved by the two governments involved, although we are very much indebted to Ambassador Bunker and to those who participated on behalf of the two countries in the negotia-

tions here, and, of course, to the Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant.

We are also hopeful that the full significance of the Geneva accord on Laos will be recognized by all the countries that were signatories, and that there will be withdrawal of foreign troops, that Laos will not be used as a springboard, and that the ICC will be effective and be given full powers. This will be determined, of course, for the future.

As to the general situation there, we are still concerned about the implementation of the accord, and also about the situation in Viet-Nam. We have made two—we have a chance for two significant—three significant steps now as you described them. If we could get an agreement satisfactorily between Mr. Adoula and Mr. Tshombe in the Congo, this would be an important summer, though we still have very significant problems that still involve our relations with other countries coming up. But at least there is progress in those areas.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, it was, I believe, on July 11th that you asked the Attorney General to prepare a report for you on events in Albany, Ga. If you have received this report, will you tell us what it says, and if the Federal Government can or contemplates action to preserve Negro rights in Albany?

THE PRESIDENT. We have been—I have been in constant touch with the Attorney General and have received more or less daily reports, and he's been in daily touch with the authorities in Albany in an attempt to provide a solution. There is—what is involved here is partly local laws and partly those laws which involve the National Government, particularly as they might involve public facilities, and some of these matters are in the court.

Let me say that I find it wholly inexplicable why the City Council of Albany will not sit down with the citizens of Albany, who may be Negroes, and attempt to secure them, in a peaceful way, their rights. The United States Government is involved in sitting down at Geneva with the Soviet Union. I

can't understand why the government of Albany, City Council of Albany, cannot do the same for American citizens.

We are going to attempt, as we have in the past, to try to provide a satisfactory solution and protection of the constitutional rights of the people of Albany, and will continue to do so. And the situation today is completely unsatisfactory from that point of view.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, have you reached a decision yet as to the extent and timing of additional nuclear testing required by this Government?

THE PRESIDENT. No, as you know, we are repairing the pad at Johnston Island, and we will make a judgment in regard to those three tests when the pad is completed. That will of course conclude—if we go ahead with those tests—that will conclude this series of tests.

Q. Excuse me, sir. Did you say three tests?

THE PRESIDENT. I believe there were three that are still to be done.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, the Gallup poll published today shows that some 72 percent of those polled are opposed to a tax cut if it means the Government will go further into debt. Can you tell us what factor this will be in your decisions about the tax cut?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as I have said before, we are going to wait until we get the July figures, which will be available in this first 10 days, after the first 10 days of August. In addition, we'll make a judgment as to whether those figures indicate we're in a plateau or whether we are in more serious economic difficulty. And the figures, of course, today on unemployment, which are the lowest they've been for the last 18 months, are somewhat encouraging, but we can make a more final judgment in early August. Then we will discuss that matter with the appropriate members of the responsible committees.

Now, that question was asked in a particular way. You might get a different answer if you'd asked the question differ-

ently. If you said, "Do you believe in a tax cut as a means of preventing a recession at some future date, and unemployment which will bring potentially a larger deficit and a further increase in the debt?" I think you might have gotten a different percentage, and particularly if the 1958 experience had been recalled, where there was no tax cut and there was the largest peacetime deficit in history because of a drop in income levels. All this must be taken into consideration as well as the views of the members of the House and Senate, the schedule of the House and Senate. For example, the Senate Finance Committee will not even conclude its hearings on the trade bill until the first of September, and then have to go into executive session. We recommended a tax bill last year which has just been reported out yesterday from the Senate Finance Committee, 18 months after we recommended it. So that it does require very careful judgments, not only of the economic factors, but also of the legislative situation.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, it's been a long time since we've had a definitive report on your health from the best possible source. How is your aching back?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it depends on the weather, political and otherwise. It is very good, though, today.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, there are reports or indications that Ambassador Gavin is resigning, at least in part because of the financial burden of maintaining his post in Paris. Does this indicate that your Palm Beach agreement with Congressman Rooney is not working, or do you feel that Ambassadors now have adequate representation allowance?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think Representative Rooney has done everything he said he would do, but I think the situation still squeezes, because Ambassador Gavin has some family, some children to educate. And while he has received sufficient funds to keep his nose above the water, he has not been given funds which would permit him to meet his family responsibilities in a proper

way. So that we are going to have to—I hope to have another talk with Congressman Rooney and see if we can be somewhat more generous. The fact of the matter is we are far more stringent with our Ambassador to Paris than I believe the French Ambassador to the United States is treated. And the same is true with London and some of our other major posts. So I think that while Congressman Rooney has met the requests we made, I think we might have to change the request.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, Senator Goldwater says that if the economy continues to move sideways, then the economy will become an issue in this year's political campaign. Are you willing to match the record of your administration in the economic field with that of the last administration?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don't think the record of the last administration, particularly from '57 on, was satisfactory. I'm not satisfied with our record. And I don't think that any American ought to be. Now if we wanted to compare the economic statistics, the day that I assumed office and today, you'd find that the gross national product was up 10 percent, that the incomes are up about 10 percent, that—in a whole variety of areas the improvement is between 10 and 15 percent. Even profits have gone from an annual average of about \$40 billion to \$50 billion, and the Standard and Poor level of stock prices is about 5 points above what it was at the time that I took office. But that still is not sufficient.

We have to provide a greater rate of growth because of our increase in population, and even though our gross national product may have gone from around \$500 billion to \$550 or \$555 billion on an annual basis this year, it still—there is still a gap between what we are doing and what we could do, based on our manpower and on our plant capacity.

So that Senator Goldwater—I would be glad to compare statistics, but where I think we disagree is that there are some things we think we should do about it. I think if we

could get the standby tax bill, which would meet the problem which I responded to in an earlier question, that we could then apply that tax reduction if the economy, for example, began to drag in the fall or the winter of 1963.

The problem is now that if we go by this session without a tax reduction then recommend one in January—if you go through the usual procedures the bill will not come to the floor of the Senate possibly until late summer, and by then we would have gone through nearly a year more. So I support that bill. It's my understanding that the Senator in question does not.

In addition, I support the public works bill, the youth employment, youth opportunities bill, manpower retraining, additional funds, and so on. So I think that we have suggested some areas where action would help us meet the problem that I am very conscious of, which is that as a country since 1957 we have not been fulfilling our capacity. But if we want to just compare statistics we will be glad to compare them to the recession which was in effect when I took office.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, you said some time ago that Ambassador Galbraith was taking up with the Indian Government the question of the purchase of Soviet jets. Has he had any success in dissuading Mr. Nehru from making such a purchase?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, he has talked to Mr. Nehru some time ago, some weeks ago. I don't believe he has had a recent conversation with him. Since that time, a mission has gone to London to look at Lightnings. I understand a mission has gone to Moscow to look at Migs. The Indian Government itself will make its final judgment as a sovereign power. Mr. Galbraith only attempted to suggest some of the factors which were of interest to us as a friend of India.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, in your initial statement on nuclear testing, you said that it was perhaps possible to rely on fewer control posts. Does this mean that we formally plan an offer reducing the number that we've

suggested or will you wait to talk about numbers only after the Soviets first accept the principle of on-site inspection?

THE PRESIDENT. We first have to have an acceptance of the principle. Then as the scientific information is made available, a conclusion could be reached as to what would be the appropriate number of on-site inspections. In addition, because of the new scientific information, we believe that we can provide a more immediate worldwide system of control posts, at substantially less cost than the former proposals that we made, less in number but more effective in determining seismic explosion, or movement. So that we believe that this system, the new data, can provide a more effective control than we've ever had before, but it does not provide a substitute for on-site inspection because there will still be a good number of events which may occur in the Soviet Union for example, and we will not be able to detect without inspection whether these are earthquake or seismic events.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, Senate opponents of the administration's communications satellite bill contend that some provisions of this bill would infringe on your authority in the foreign affairs field. How do you feel about that?

THE PRESIDENT. I don't agree with that. This bill was carefully drafted. We've had a number of conferences about the matter. We believe that it is the most effective way of providing for the development of a communications satellite. The responsibilities of the Federal Government are very well reserved, both in the membership of the Board, the powers of the Federal Communications Commission, the power of the State Department, the general Executive powers of the Presidency, so I must say that I think the bill is the best way to do it. The Senate itself must reach a judgment as to whether they agree.

[17.] Q. For clarification, sir, if I understood you correctly, you said originally that research would now permit a reduction in the number of on-site inspections and would

also permit an internationally monitored system of control posts. Does this mean, sir, that we could now forego the international control posts?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think the language I used was carefully chosen and is precise. Mr. Dean can develop our thoughts in more detail, but the phrase I used is the one that describes our position on that matter—internationally monitored supervised national control posts.

Q. In place of our previous proposal, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that Mr. Dean can describe our proposal, but I've described it in general phraseology as I have our general position, which will be filled in by Mr. Dean at Geneva.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, there has been some criticism by some disarmament specialists, among them Dr. Louis Sohn of Harvard, who is consultant to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, that far too much time and effort have been spent in trying to negotiate a nuclear test ban and too little attention has been given to the more basic problem of limiting and controlling production of delivery vehicles. Would you give us your view?

THE PRESIDENT. We are now involved, as you know, at Geneva, on this question of general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Union has stated that it will not permit inspection of what may be left over. We can inspect what they destroy but not what they retain. As Mr. Lovett said this morning, in a particular image that we can count the bodies but not the births. So that's our particular problem, and until we are able to get an inspection of what is in production we cannot get an agreement on general and complete disarmament. But it is to secure that agreement that we're now at Geneva.

Q. Mr. President, we're getting ready to negotiate on this disarmament at Geneva and why, can you tell us, was this proposal of the United States made there not presented first to the American people fully and to the Congress rather than just to a few individuals, not even to the leaders of both

House and Senate or both parties before it was made at Geneva? Won't it be much harder to vote down a treaty that results from this negotiation later on? And wouldn't it have been better for the American people to have debated this first before the proposal was made internationally?

THE PRESIDENT. There're a number of facts in your question which I am not sure I agree with. In the first place, there has been testimony before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, making available to the Joint Committee the information which was secured scientifically in late June. In addition, that information, all that we had, was published in early July.

Now, we are not proposing to reach any agreement that will not be submitted to the United States Senate in accordance with our traditional procedures. I am describing our position. All the technical information which we have will be made available, so that I think that we are acting in accordance with our traditional position.

The point is that the information in regard to our improved ability to detect seismic events, this only became scientifically available to the United States really in late June. So we are attempting to get this information out as widely as possible. We will discuss it fully at Geneva. We'll make it available to the Joint Committee. Mr. Foster, our disarmament administrator, has discussed it with various members of the Congress. We've met about it in the National Security Council. We are proceeding in an orderly way and I can assure you that we are as concerned about the security of the United States—the people who are involved in this discussion—as anyone could possibly be. We're also anxious to get a treaty if we can get it. And we feel that we have struck a very appropriate balance between these two facts.

Q. Sir, wasn't it true that Mr. Foster didn't go before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy until after the proposals had been made public in Geneva?

THE PRESIDENT. Not the proposals, because

the proposals—the first discussion of any proposals we may make were made by me this afternoon. What was made public was the new scientific information as to our ability to detect an earthquake or a nuclear event below ground, what the difference of materials might be, alluvial, granite, and all the rest. That is the only information which has been made public, because we are attempting, therefore, to bring our policy position up to date with our new scientific information. But we are not talking about—we have made available fully the scientific information through Mr. Dean and we are discussing what effect this might have on our policy. And the Members of Congress and the country will be kept fully informed about it. I quite share with you that they are entitled and must know because obviously any treaty that we would sign would require the support of two-thirds of the Senate, and therefore they are going to be kept step by step in touch with us.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us any recent steps that have been taken to reduce the flow of gold abroad?

THE PRESIDENT. Any recent steps? A good many recent steps have been taken involving negotiations between the Under Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Roosa, and the foreign banks. In addition, as you know, I made a comment about the efforts which Secretary McNamara was making to lessen our balance of payments for our military from \$3 billion to \$1.6 billion and we hope, in a year, to a billion a year, our loss there. We are tying our aid more and more, and we will bring it this year, the loss in dollars in aid, from \$1.3 billion to \$800 million, and we are—in the tax bill we are providing additional provisions in the tax bill which will make it less attractive to take dollars abroad. And this is a matter under very constant concern and, as I said before, we hope by the end of next year to bring our balance of payments into balance.

I think we discussed last week why drastic remedies of the type of devaluation would be self-defeating, and would not be employed

by this Government. I think that if we proceed on the basis that we are, that by the end of next year, if our exports maintain their present rise and our wage-price structure remains the same as it is now, relative to Europe, that we can bring this into balance.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, after the resignation of General Norstad was announced, there have been many speculations in Europe that there may occur a complete change in American strategy going as far as to a nuclear engagement. Could you comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT. I can't understand possibly how anyone could come to that conclusion. General Norstad requested that he be permitted to resign. He'd held the position for a great many years. The Chairman of our Joint Chiefs, General Lemnitzer—there may be those who for their own reasons wish to put this story out, but there is no evidence for it. General Lemnitzer will carry on the policies of the United States Government the same way as General Norstad has done. So those rumors are wholly unfounded, wholly untrue, and the slightest check by those who transmit them through Europe would demonstrate that they are unfounded. I can assure you we are continuing our defense of Europe. And I've said before, we cannot maintain the defense of Europe without also maintaining our nuclear strength on which this administration has spent a good deal of additional funds. So I can assure you that the stories are untrue, though I have some idea of where they come from and why.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us if you consider the developments in Peru encouraging toward the point of our recognizing the new government there? And also, is there any comment you'd like to make on the discussion of your policy toward Peru?

THE PRESIDENT. We are encouraged by the release of President Prado. We are encouraged by the fact that civil liberties have been restored. We've been encouraged by the

assurances of the junta that free elections would be carried out in a period of time, and we are anxious that some clear assurances be given that there will be—that they will abide by the results of these elections.

We had relations with President Prado's government. When that government was overthrown and the President imprisoned, it was quite natural that we would reexamine our relations. That reexamination is going on and we have been encouraged by those signs which I've named and we hope that there will be other evidences that there will be a return to constitutional free government, which is the object of the Alliance for Progress.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, with regard to the fallout which has been discovered in milk in Utah, has your administration planned any precautionary steps and, specifically, will there be more air bursts in Nevada?

THE PRESIDENT. Any radioactive materials that come from the tests in Nevada have been dissipated, or if they have not completely been dissipated, will be very immediately.

Now, secondly, I am not aware of any further test—in fact, there are not any further tests in Nevada.

[23.] Q. Mr. President, although there are not going to be any celebrations on this first anniversary of the *Alianza para el Progreso*, do you feel satisfied or pleased with the rate of progress so far obtained by the *Alianza*, by the Alliance for Progress?

THE PRESIDENT. Measured by all that has to be done, I think we have to do much better, but that is the point of Ambassador Moscoso's determination to mark the day rather than celebrate it.

[24.] Q. Mr. President, is it correct to infer from your earlier remarks on drugs that you would like to see reversed the present situation whereby pharmaceutical houses are able to distribute drugs on an experimental basis through doctors without Federal approval?

THE PRESIDENT. I would like to see—I think that we can administratively improve

the control of the Food and Drug Administration, of the distribution of drugs during this period. So, in answer to your question, while the worst—I would say that generally I am in favor of a greater degree of Federal supervision.

Now I want to say, on the other hand, that of course we've had remarkable medical progress from these drugs. There is—the fact is that this drug was tested on animals, and at least for a year, my information is there were no signs of deformity. Very recently, in a test there was. But we cannot always get a clear indication from animals. These tests may show up as being wholly safe, and after very careful work these may

be distributed with due warnings, and there may be hazards in them. But I think we have to improve, which we can administratively, this phase of our procedures.

But I do want to say that all of our advances, I suppose, require some risk. In this case, however, fortunately, due to the very fine work of a doctor, we were spared a good deal of disaster which, as I've said, the Germans have experienced. But in answer to your question, I think we ought to be tougher on this phase of it.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's fortieth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, August 1, 1962.

317 Remarks to a Group of Alaskan Indian and Eskimo Electronics Trainees. *August 2, 1962*

Senator Gruening, Mr. Udall, and Commissioner Nash:

I want to express a very warm welcome to all of you here today.

I think that the program is as effective and can be as useful to our country and to the citizens of Alaska as Senator Gruening has suggested. He is second to no man in suggesting flexibility in the Budget Bureau when it comes to the interests of Alaska.

I want to tell you how impressed I've been to read about your effort in coming and studying for 18 months. It's an extremely complicated and sophisticated subject to which you've devoted your attention. I understand that all of the students who came from Alaska finished the course. And I'm sure that you found life in New York as difficult and as dangerous as people from the other States have found their life when going to the remotest regions of Alaska.

But, I think it is very appropriate that those of you who are accustomed to life in these far-off parts of our country should go back there with this valuable training. The salaries which you will get will make it very possible for you to support yourselves and your families. The amount of money

which the United States Government advances for this course will be repaid many times over.

We will have continuity of service which we would not have under ordinary conditions. You'll be able to spend a good many years working on this very valuable part of our national defense. I think that the program should be expanded. I think it can pay us dividends, it can pay Alaska dividends and, most of all, the people who are directly involved.

So we're glad to have you here. We hope that you are the forerunners of an army of increasingly talented and useful citizens. I hope that Alaska will emphasize not only for those who may be Eskimo or Indian but also for all the citizens the advantages of highly technical training. A good deal of the future for Alaska lies in that kind of advanced educational opportunity for its citizens.

So we're glad to have you here today. We welcome Senator Gruening who has been a pioneer in this field, and I also commend the Interior Department for its work, and Commissioner Nash. We're very glad to have you at the White House.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. His opening words referred to U.S. Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska, Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior, and Philileo Nash, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The group was made up of 10 young men who had completed a Government-sponsored RCA electronics course in New York City in preparation for their work on the White Alice missile-warning system in remote parts of Alaska.

318 Statement by the President on the Food Stamp Program.

August 2, 1962

DURING the past year, the Department of Agriculture has been conducting a food stamp program in eight pilot areas. There have been encouraging results from this program. Low income families are receiving better diets—they have been able to obtain meat, poultry, fish, milk, eggs, fruits and vegetables. Retail food store sales in these areas increased 8 percent in dollar volume. There have been savings in distribution costs and benefits to the economy of the food stamp communities.

I have therefore asked the Department of Agriculture to continue the program in these areas for another year and to offer the program to an additional 25 areas in 18 states. Addition of the new communities will permit us to obtain a better evaluation of the

program under a wider range of operating conditions than was possible initially.

An additional 223,000 persons will be aided by the new program. The states which will benefit are: Arkansas, Oregon, Virginia, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, North Carolina, Minnesota, Missouri, Alabama, Oklahoma, Washington, Wisconsin, California, Indiana, Louisiana, Ohio, Tennessee and Kentucky.

I am grateful to the state and local officials who helped administer the program, to the wholesalers and retailers who distributed the food, to the banks who redeemed the coupons and to the press, radio and television outlets who have been so helpful in explaining it. All of these groups have been most cooperative.

319 Message to the Congress Transmitting 16th Annual Report on U.S. Participation in the United Nations. *August 2, 1962*

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of the United Nations Participation Act, I transmit herewith the sixteenth annual report covering United States participation in the United Nations in 1961.

In the course of that year the United Nations faced and surmounted several crises; dealt with a heavy parliamentary agenda; administered expanding programs in the economic and social field; and took several steps of potentially great significance for the future peace and prosperity of the world.

A detailed record of these events and accomplishments is set forth in the body of this report, but in transmitting it to the Congress I should like to call attention to

three matters of compelling importance which the United Nations faced in 1961.

First was the administrative crisis at United Nations Headquarters. This arose when the Soviet Union sought to replace an impartial Secretariat with a three-headed directorate—representing the Communist bloc and the so-called capitalist and neutralist groups of nations—each with a veto. This attempt to destroy the executive capacity of the United Nations, following the untimely death of the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, was rejected decisively. In the unanimous election of U Thant to fill Mr. Hammarskjöld's unexpired term, the full integrity of the office of the Secretary-General was preserved.

Second was the operational crisis for the United Nations peace-keeping force in the Congo. By the end of the year the secession of Orientale Province had been brought to an end, fighting in Katanga was replaced by a cease-fire, and the dissidents in Katanga had agreed to negotiate for reintegration of that Province with the rest of the Congo.

Third was the financial crisis. This was brought on mainly by the refusal or inability of some members to pay their share of the cost of peace-keeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East. In the course of the year the General Assembly adopted a three-point plan to meet immediate peace-keeping costs, collect arrearages, and provide adequate funds until a more permanent method can be devised for financing future peace-keeping operations.

Despite the dangers and strains of these crises, the United Nations in 1961 took three steps which I believe will be of great future significance to the world's security and well-being.

1. The United Nations created the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee agreed upon by the United States and the Soviet Union as a forum for renewed disarmament negotiations which began this spring in Geneva. In presenting to the General Assembly the United States proposals for general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world, the United States delegation made clear that steps toward disarmament must be matched, at each stage, by steps toward improving the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations. It is this essential linkage which will make disarmament a practical proposition whenever nations can agree on the necessary goals and safeguards. Every improvement in the machinery of peace will make it easier for us, with confidence, ultimately to begin dismantling the machinery of war. Whatever obstacles and disappointments may lie ahead, the world must some day travel the road to disarmament. For in the nuclear age, armaments no longer offer fundamental security to any nation.

2. The United Nations also laid the groundwork in 1961 for a U.N. Decade of Development to help speed progress toward the economic and social goals of the newly emerging nations. The launching of a World Food Program and the decision to hold an international conference on the application of science and technology to the less developed world are only initial steps. The United States intends to propose further measures to focus the resources of the United Nations on this 10-year drive against economic want and social injustice.

3. Finally, the United Nations, in 1961, turned in earnest to the critical search for international cooperation in the exploration of outer space. Within the framework of the newly created U.N. Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, discussions were under way at the end of the year looking toward international cooperation in outer space, including cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union in the development of communications and weather programs.

These were major constructive moves of the United Nations in 1961: to work toward the replacement of the machinery of war with the institutions of peace; to help guide the newly developing nations toward modernization; and to seek international cooperation in the exploration of outer space for the benefit of all. The United States played a major role in initiating these progressive steps in the United Nations. They served the foreign policy interest of this country. And they were wholly compatible with the mutually reinforcing policies which we have pursued through the institutions of the North Atlantic Community, through regional organizations, and through diplomatic channels.

Meanwhile, the United Nations continued to play vigorously two indispensable continuing roles. It kept the peace in the Middle East and the Congo. And it continued to be absorbed in the often difficult transfer of dependent areas to nationhood.

Finally, it cannot be said too often that the

Charter of the United Nations expresses well the basic precepts and standards of conduct that guide our own society. These precepts and standards are not destroyed because this nation or that, consistently or occasionally, violates them. The indestructible principles of the Charter exert a gravitational pull which adds strength to every aspect of our world-wide diplomacy. The United Nations, under that Charter, provides a frame-

work within which we can pursue the highest goal of American foreign policy: a world community of independent nations living together in free association and at peace with each other.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The report, "U.S. Participation in the UN," is Department of State Publication 7413, International Organization and Conference Series 33 (Government Printing Office, 1962, 414 pp.).

320 Letter to the Chairmen of the Senate and House Appropriations Committees on Civil Defense. *August 3, 1962*

[Released August 3, 1962. Dated August 2, 1962]

Dear _____:

Legislation and appropriations are pending before the Congress on Civil Defense programs which would greatly increase the capacity of this country to survive and recover after a nuclear blow. Your Committee has jurisdiction over these appropriations. I wish again to state my view that, in these times, the Federal Government has an inescapable responsibility to take practical and sensible measures to minimize loss of life in the event of nuclear attack, to continue the essential functions of the Government, and to provide a base for our survival and recovery as a nation. These matters are an integral part of a balanced defense program for the security of our nation.

You know from your own experience how the sense of urgency with which we view these matters fluctuates. When a crisis is near, we pay attention to them; when it seems distant, they recede from the forefront of our concern. It is important that we overcome our natural tendency to put off making preparations for a contingency which is both awful and unlikely.

Last year I sent to the Congress a program embodying my views of what is a sensible and practical program, which focused on protecting as many of our people as possible against lethal fallout radiation. The Secretary of Defense and my other senior ad-

visors on this subject had intensively reviewed what is known and what is not known about the possible effects of nuclear warfare. The conclusion was clear that, for the foreseeable future, under a wide range of attack assumptions, large numbers of lives could be saved by adequate fallout shelter space. Postponement of practical measures to shield our people from fallout radiation can not be justified by the inevitable imponderables and the continuing need for a greater research effort. The Department of Defense is continuously examining present and future weapons systems and studying the effects of a wide range of hypothetical nuclear attacks. Nothing in the studies that have been made since last year's decisions justifies change of the program which we have proposed.

The Defense Department survey, which was the first step in our new program, reveals that we already have enough shelter space for 60 million people which needs only to be marked and provisioned. Funds made available for fiscal year 1962 have financed completion of the survey and procurement of over half of the necessary provisions. Thus we are beyond debating whether to create public shelter systems; we have now done it as a result of the action taken by Congress at my request last summer. When we complete this task, the chances of survival of

tens of millions of Americans will be improved at a cost of \$3 to \$4 for each person. We may well take satisfaction in this achievement.

Communities planning to create an effective shelter program founded on space identified in the national survey must be able to act in reliance on the Federal Government to carry out announced plans to deliver shelter supplies, improve the warning system, equip a radiological monitoring net, protect emergency broadcasting stations, and provide training materials and instructor training to meet the need for specialized skills in each shelter. The Defense Department is dependent upon the pending \$235 million appropriation request to carry out the Federal Government's share in this undertaking.

Municipal governments and building owners around the country are now faced with the difficult task of working out the details of making effective use of the surveyed shelter space. This is not an easy thing to do. It is gratifying to all of us to see so many hard-pressed mayors, county commissioners, building owners, school superintendents, businessmen and other community leaders stepping up to this job. This will be our country's first experience with the practical problems of sheltering large numbers of people. I anticipate far better understanding of what can be done to meet the problems presented by the risks of nuclear attack after federal, state and local government programs are translated into something visible and immediately useful in the months ahead.

I particularly wish to call attention to the importance of continuing last year's program for adding low-cost fallout shelter space to suitable buildings owned or leased by the Federal Government. Successful completion of the first phase of the new civil defense program depends on public-spirited decisions by building owners to allow their property to be used for the protection of people working or living nearby. Failure of federal, state and local governments to provide shelter space in public buildings makes it difficult to communicate to our citizens the priority

which this type of protection must command. Many Americans in public and private life have been and will soon be actively participating in the new civil defense program in reliance on Federal leadership and support.

The second phase of the new civil defense program will provide financial help to schools, hospitals and similar non-profit institutions electing to include fallout shelter space needed in their buildings. It requires legislation which is pending before the two Armed Services Committees and, therefore, is not effectively before the Appropriation Subcommittees.

A decision to put public money into shelters in privately owned buildings is a difficult one which deserves deliberate and careful scrutiny by the appropriate committees of Congress. I had hoped that hearings for this purpose would have taken place earlier in this session when there was time and an opportunity to give the matter the necessary attention. At this late juncture, I can appreciate the preference of the Chairman of the Armed Services Committees to defer these important hearings until early in the next Congress when they can be given the time and attention of those concerned. However, local planning to meet requirements for new shelter space, which is closely related to plans to use existing shelter, is likely to be delayed pending clarification of the proposed federal financing for shelter space in schools, hospitals and other community institutions. Accordingly, I am requesting that these hearings be held early enough to enable a supplemental request for enough FY 1963 funds to keep pace with those communities and eligible institutions with plans for creating new fallout shelter spaces.

I am sending similar letters to the Chairmen of other Congressional committees with responsibilities in this matter.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Carl Hayden, Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and to the Hon-

orable Clarence Cannon, Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee. Similar letters were sent to the Honorable Richard B. Russell, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, the Honorable Carl Vinson, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, the Honorable Warren G.

Magnuson, Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee for Independent Offices, and the Honorable Albert Thomas, Chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee for Independent Offices.

321 Letter to the Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, on the Need for Safer Drugs. *August 5, 1962*

[Released August 5, 1962. Dated August 3, 1962]

Dear Senator:

Pursuant to our discussion, I am enclosing drafts of amendments essential to strengthen S. 1552 in order to assure the necessary protection to the American consumer in obtaining safer and better drugs.

Each of the amendments is explained in the accompanying draft material.

Our efforts to protect the American people against unsafe and worthless drug products is a source of great concern to us all. The enclosed amendments together with the improvements in existing law which your committee has already approved, will help assure the American people that any drug on the market today is safe and effective for its intended use; that it has the strength and

quality represented; that the promotion material tells the full story about the drug—its possible bad effects as well as the good—and the whole truth about its therapeutic usefulness; and that it was produced in carefully inspected drug establishments under adequate manufacturing controls. I urge the adoption of this vitally important legislation.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[The Honorable James O. Eastland, United States Senate, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: On October 10, 1962, the President approved S. 1552, the Drug Amendments of 1962 (Public Law 87-781, 76 Stat. 780).

The letter was released at Hyannis, Mass., together with a brief summary of the proposed amendments.

322 Remarks at the White House Concert by the National High School Symphony Orchestra. *August 6, 1962*

Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to welcome you all to the White House and particularly welcome this distinguished symphony orchestra.

These young ladies and gentlemen, I think approximating nearly a hundred, are the survivors of a very difficult and intensive competition, stretching nearly between 1500 and 1600 of their contemporaries who also took part in this study of music, and the best were chosen to come here to Washington.

This is a most distinguished school, turning out some of our best musicians. I'm particularly proud to welcome them all to the White House. They're going to play

some songs written by Americans and also by others from around the world. It shows the very strong international nature of the arts, particularly of music. I know that there is some feeling by Americans that the arts are developed in solitude, that they are developed by inspiration and by sudden fits of genius. But the fact of the matter is that success comes in music or in the arts like success comes in every other form of human endeavor—by hard work, by discipline, over a long period of time. Every musician here, every musician in the United States, every musician in the world plays after months and years of the most painstaking work, the kind

of discipline which most people cannot endure. So I hope when you see them that you will realize that they are not playing merely because they happen to have natural talent, but they are playing because their natural talent was developed by their own sense of discipline.

In addition, we're glad to have them here because I think they symbolize a great artistic movement which is so strong in the United States. There are over 33 million Americans who are interested in music, interested in other forms of art. That is a tremendous statistic. That does not say that 33 million Americans play well. I was once, when I was younger, one of those statistics which were thrown around so casually in those days. That does not mean that 33 million can play so that you want to hear them, but they play because they want to hear themselves, and perhaps that's the best form of art expression. Thirty-three million in 1200 orchestras across the United States, and some of those orchestras are the best in the world. This tremendous emphasis, which is not induced by the United States Government or by the State governments, but by individual desire, is a form of national endeavor which I think is too little known around the world.

I want to, today, in paying tribute to these musicians, bring to our public mind all the others across this country who themselves are playing and living music.

So you're very welcome here. Last year more Americans went to symphonies than went to baseball games. This may be viewed as an alarming statistic, but I think that both baseball and the country will endure and the country will be better off, perhaps, for it.

So, boys and girls, I want to tell you we are glad to have you here. I have other responsibilities, but I will certainly keep my door open. You are very welcome here and I hope that all those who hear you and all those other millions who may know that you are here, will be encouraged themselves, and people around the world will look to this country as a leader in artistic endeavor as well as in other endeavors.

We are glad to have you, Doctor, and we congratulate you for all you've done.

NOTE: The President spoke on the South Lawn at the White House. The concert, planned and sponsored by Mrs. Kennedy, was given by the National High School Symphony Orchestra of the National Music Camp of Interlochen, Mich. The program was directed by the camp's founder, Dr. Joseph E. Maddy.

323 Remarks Upon Presenting the President's Awards for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service. *August 7, 1962*

To: *J. Stanley Baughman, President, Federal National Mortgage Association, Housing and Home Finance Agency.*

JOHN W. MACY, JR. (Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, and Executive Secretary, Distinguished Civilian Service Awards Board): Mr. President, Mr. Baughman has with extraordinary effectiveness established and economically managed the world's largest mortgage banking facility, merging harmoniously the interests of the general public, private investors, and the Government. His achievements have had a widespread and profoundly favorable effect on private financ-

ing of homes and upon millions of home owners who have benefited from the programs he has directed.

THE PRESIDENT. The home is the basis of our society, and it has been through the happy cooperation of the National Government, private enterprise and, of course, the citizens of our country who desire to own their own homes that we've had this extraordinary gain in private ownership, particularly since the end of World War II, which I think ornaments our society. So I want to congratulate you who, as the Commissioner said, runs this largest facility in the country,

and you have done it in a way which reflects credit on the Government and on the country and on our system. Congratulations.

It's time we honored bankers around here!

To: *Robert R. Gilruth, Director, Manned Spacecraft Center, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Houston, Tex.*

THE PRESIDENT. Colonel Glenn and Commander Shepard, as objects of his experiments, won't you come up here?

MR. MACY: Mr. President, Mr. Gilruth, as Director of Project Mercury, has successfully carried out one of the most complex tasks ever presented to men in this country—the achievement of manned flight in orbit around the earth. His inspiring leadership, his vast and authoritative knowledge and his ability to encourage his associates to their highest capabilities have been of incalculable benefit to the Government and to the people of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT. This gives me the greatest pleasure, and I know it gives Colonel Glenn and Commander Shepard pleasure to see Mr. Gilruth honored appropriately by the Government and by the country. His management of this very sophisticated and sensitive program involves a great national commitment and also the lives of some of our best citizens. All this has been under his management, and the fact that it's been done with such distinction, I know, heartens him and encourages all of us. And also it has been of the greatest possible benefit to our country and around the world, so we congratulate you, Mr. Gilruth.

To: *Dr. Donald E. Gregg, Chief of the Department of Cardiorespiratory Diseases, Walter Reed Army Institute of Research.*

MR. MACY: Dr. Gregg, through the development of new instruments and new research methods of measuring blood flow, blood pressure, and coronary output has made major contributions to medical knowledge of heart disease and thereby to the welfare of humanity. His innovations and research have opened new fields in the study of blood

circulation and cardiovascular diseases and have earned him recognition as one of the world's foremost physiologists.

THE PRESIDENT. It's a great pleasure, Doctor, to present this to you in your work which indicates the harmony which exists between medical research and the National Government in the best sense. And also because so many of our families are affected one way or another by this dread disease, we take particular pleasure in commending you and congratulating the country.

To: *Dr. Frances O. Kelsey, Medical Officer, Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.*

MR. MACY: Dr. Kelsey, her exceptional judgment in evaluating a new drug for safety for human use, has prevented a major tragedy of birth deformities in the United States. Through high ability and steadfast confidence in her professional decision, she made an outstanding contribution to the protection of the health of the American people.

THE PRESIDENT. I know that we are all most indebted to Dr. Kelsey. The relationship and the hopes that all of us have for our children, I think, indicate to Dr. Kelsey, I am sure, how important her work is and those who labor with her to protect our families. So, Doctor, I know you know how much the country appreciates what you have done.

To: *Waldo K. Lyon, Head of the Submarine and Arctic Research Branch, Navy Electronics Laboratory, San Diego, Calif. [Presented to Mrs. Lyon in her husband's absence.]*

MR. MACY: Mr. Lyon has been singularly responsible for the pioneering development of the knowledge, techniques, and instruments that made it possible for a submarine to navigate under the icecap in the Arctic. In the face of formidable obstacles, he persevered in believing that trans-Arctic submarine navigation could become a reality and directed his efforts toward this objective. His achievement represents a highly impor-

tant contribution to the Nation's security.

THE PRESIDENT. It's a great pleasure to present this. Those of us who have difficulty navigating at sea on the surface are astonished that through the dedicated efforts of your husband and others in the service they're able to navigate with precision under ice. And he's now again away on a mission for the Navy which is confidential. At least he is not suffering from the heat!

To: *Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr., Career Ambassador.*

MR. MACY: Ambassador Thompson, as Career Ambassador in posts of the highest importance, most recently as Ambassador in Moscow, has brilliantly furthered our country's foreign policy objectives during a period of international tension. His outstanding representation of the United States interests in foreign affairs, including the resolution of the Trieste problem and successful negotiation of the Austrian State Treaty, has been marked by exceptional leadership, judgment, and diplomatic skill.

THE PRESIDENT. It's a great pleasure for me to present this award to Ambassador Thompson. I think the recitation of the very crucial negotiations in which he's been engaged which have emerged successful—the one on Trieste, the Austrian Peace Treaty where he was involved in more than, I think, 500 meetings, the negotiations which have recently taken place in Laos, negotiations which have recently taken place in regard to problems between the Dutch and the Indonesians—all this—the conversations which we've been having with the Soviet Union—all this indicates that those who believe that there is no useful place for diplomacy or negotiation are wrong. There is. It is these very arduous and persevering meetings in which Ambassador Thompson has been one of our most successful which has helped maintain the peace for a good many years and will, I hope, in the future.

Ambassador Thompson has had an extraordinary record. As the citation says, he has spoken with the utmost clarity and pre-

cision in the interests of the United States, and yet he has been an extremely highly regarded figure in the Soviet Union. He has shown, as I said in my inaugural address, that servility is not a sign of weakness. And I want to say what a great source of strength and satisfaction it is that Ambassador Thompson will continue as an intimate adviser to the Secretary of State and myself in the coming days.

So, Ambassador, we honor you and all those with whom you work.

I want to just express my appreciation to all those who took part in this ceremony—the gentlemen who were on it and also the leaders of their departments, and also the Members of the Congress who have been particularly interested in the development of an effective Civil Service in the best sense of the word for the United States Government.

When one of our employees in the National Government does not meet the high standards which we set for ourselves, it becomes, of course, the greatest news. I hope that it will be equal news, the story of the accomplishments of these ladies and gentlemen. We have so many devoted civil servants, so many public servants working for this Government helping and benefiting the lives not only of the people of this country but all around the world, that we have really just in a sense symbolically honored them by honoring these ladies and gentlemen. There are hundreds and thousands behind them. So I hope that this ceremony today will call the attention of the people of our country to a very extraordinary group of men and women who are working in their behalf.

So we congratulate you all, we thank you, and we hope that your work will serve as a horizon-marking effort by all those who work for the people of the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke on the South Lawn at the White House. James E. Webb, Chairman of the Awards Board, spoke briefly at the beginning of the ceremony and introduced Mr. Macy, who presented the officials. Mr. Baughman was accompanied

by Robert C. Weaver, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency; Dr. Gregg, by Cyrus R. Vance, Secretary of the Army; and Dr. Kelsey, by Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Mrs. Lyon, who accepted the

award in her husband's absence, was accompanied by Fred Korth, Secretary of the Navy. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, accompanied Ambassador Thompson.

324 Remarks to Students From Latin America and the Caribbean Attending the Institute for Free Trade Union Development. August 8, 1962

DO ALL of you speak English? Who does not speak English? *Hablo Español un poquito.*

In any case, Mr. Meany, I want to express our very warm welcome to all of you. I don't think there is any effort which could be made at this time which can be more fruitful than this common effort by the American labor movement working with the labor movements of other countries to strengthen the societies of these emerging nations which you represent.

All of the countries from which you come are in different stages of development, and it is not necessarily true that everything that you see here or every experience which our labor movement has had can be transferred to your own country and your own experience. But I think that two or three points can be transferred. You cannot maintain a free society today, in my opinion, unless you have a free trade union movement, and the trade union movement is effective not only because it is a means of securing a fair share of national productivity for the men and women who labor but it is also the means of supporting a broad program of social progress.

The great pieces of legislation passed in Franklin Roosevelt's administration of the 1930's were passed with the strong support of the American labor movement. The American labor movement emerged into its present preeminence in those years, and those were also the years in which the United States moved in the most vital way in the

whole field of social legislation, social security, unemployment compensation, minimum wage, and all the rest.

So that when you go back to your country, I hope that you will carry with you techniques for the organization of trade unions, for the betterment of the lives of the members of your unions and also for emphasis upon social progress by the Congress, by the political parties of your country. The trade union movement does not fulfill its responsibilities unless it carries out this emphasis on a broad base.

For example, the American labor movement has made as one of its central objectives two programs which do not benefit its members directly. One is the minimum wage. Every member of the AFL-CIO is paid above our minimum wage but, nevertheless, they have fought for an adequate minimum wage. They've also fought in the last session of the Congress for medical care for our older citizens. These programs do not directly affect the active members of the unions, but they affect our whole society. Because the labor movement in this country has looked beyond its immediate responsibilities to its members and to its responsibilities to society as a whole, I think it's fulfilled a great role in our country. I hope that you will fill the same role.

We've put the greatest hope in you, those of us who believe in freedom. A strong trade union movement is essential for the maintenance of freedom, and we believe that freedom is the best way of solving not only,

of course, living our political lives but also our economic lives. So it all depends on you.

I'm delighted that you came here. I congratulate the AFL-CIO for its work, for your devoted work, sir, and for all this effort. I hope that you're the first of an increasing number of labor leaders who will come to this country and go back to their countries, and labor leaders from the United States who will go to your countries, so that we will have a great union of free trade unions in this hemisphere expanding throughout so much of the underdeveloped world. We are glad to see you here.

[At this point George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, introduced Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, who spoke briefly. Mr. Meany then introduced Eric Lloyd

Harris of Jamaica who, on behalf of the group, read a note to the President expressing appreciation of the opportunity to visit the White House. The President then resumed speaking.]

Thank you very much.

Gentlemen, we are delighted to have had you here and you are most welcome.

NOTE: The President spoke on the South Lawn at the White House.

In introducing the group of 43 students, Mr. Meany explained that they were members of the first class of the Institute for Free Trade Union Development. The institute, he added, created and supported by American labor and American business, would enable similar groups to study here for 3 months before returning to their home countries under a 9-month grant, in order to spread what they had learned here.

325 Remarks to a Group of Peace Corps Trainees.

August 9, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

We are very glad to welcome you here to the White House.

This occasion gives me a particular sense of satisfaction to welcome 600 Americans from all parts of the country who have committed themselves to a great adventure, I think, for our country and more than our country, for really all people.

I think that by the end of this year we'll have more than 5,000 Peace Corpsmen, men and women of all ages, serving abroad in all parts of the world, in countries about which most Americans knew little 10 years ago, countries which we did not even know existed 20 years ago.

This is an extraordinary action by this country, and I know that you are proud to take part in it. And I must say that it gives me the greatest satisfaction that it's taking place at this time.

I've been through the list of the various areas to which you are going—Georgetown University, 307 secondary school teachers

for Ethiopia. Perhaps those of you going to Ethiopia could hold up your hands. We have 2 medical doctors for Ethiopia included in that group. Now there are 11 teachers, nurses, auto mechanics, going to Afghanistan. Oh, they're not here today; they've gone to Afghanistan.

From George Washington University, 76 secondary and college teachers and agricultural extension workers for Nepal. Would they raise their hands? Very good.

University of Maryland, 48 secondary school teachers and agricultural workers for Turkey, and 36 teachers, at all levels, for British Honduras—you've got them sort of down at that end [*indicating*]. Nineteen secondary school teachers for Ecuador, 12 secondary school teachers for Venezuela.

And at Howard University, 29 rural development workers for Cyprus—is that better than going to British Honduras? I don't think it is—22 English teachers for Togo, 20 medical doctors, nurses, and technicians for Togo, 9 fishermen for Togo, 7

English teachers for Niger, 6 English teachers for Senegal, 9 medical doctors, nurses, technicians for Sierra Leone—613.

Well, I must say I wish that all Americans could hear that litany of countries that you're going to, your willingness to do it. And I hope that when you come back that we can persuade you to come and serve in the United States Government in other areas, particularly in the Foreign Service, in all of the areas, because I think the United States is so heavily involved in so many parts of the world. We are so in need of dedicated men and women of talent and experience, that I can think of no more significant recruiting ground than the Peace Corps for our future

Foreign Service Officers, for those who represent our information services and aid agencies abroad. So I hope that you will regard this as the first installment in a long life of service in the most exciting career in the most exciting time, and that is serving this country in the sixties and the seventies. So we are very proud to have you here.

The White House belongs to all the people, but I think it particularly belongs to you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. The trainees were introduced by Warren W. Wiggins, Associate Director for Program Development and Operations of the Peace Corps.

326 Remarks in Brunswick, Maine, at the Navy Summer Festival.

August 10, 1962

Senator Muskie, my friend and former colleague; Mrs. Smith, whom I had the great pleasure of serving with in the Senate; Governor Reed; Congressman Tupper; Congressman McIntire; Mr. Dolloff; Mr. Hathaway; our distinguished leader in the AID agency, Frank Coffin; Mr. Dubord; ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my very warm appreciation to you for coming out in the rain. I was informed before I came here that there is no place more beautiful than Maine when the sun shines. And I know that it is going to be one of those great weekends that we will all long remember, and it's off to a most promising start.

But I do want to say that whether it shines or whether it rains, that I am delighted to be in this State and on the ocean. In coming to Maine, I follow in the footsteps of a most distinguished predecessor, Franklin Roosevelt. My earliest recollection, really, of President Roosevelt was a picture I saw after his nomination in 1932 when he came with his sons and sailed along the coast of Maine, and a very magic picture of him sitting at the wheel of a sailboat. So I feel that I'm

following in distinguished tracks when I come to Maine and am here today.

I am also glad to come because on Monday the people of this State and country are going to join with the people of Canada in christening a bridge in honor of President Roosevelt, which is one more very strong link in the intimate ties that bind this State and country, not only with our distinguished former President, but also with our close friends to the north. And I hope it will be possible for Canada and the United States to follow this step and make a park out of the President's home, because it will remind both Canada and the United States of a very strong and vigorous believer in the life in this section of the United States.

I'm glad to come to Maine also, not only because Maine was once part of Massachusetts, but also as a New Englander I feel a strong sense of satisfaction in coming back here. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut lack some of the great natural resources which have brought prosperity to other sections of the country. But the great asset which they have, which our States do

have, is the ability and independence and commitment of the people themselves. And I believe that these States which helped found our country still occupy a position of leadership.

It's particularly appropriate to come to this community on the occasion when the community and the Navy are joined together, and when we have standing on our right as well as our left, some of the men who make it possible for all of us to enjoy ourselves today and tomorrow and Sunday. I want to express our thanks to them. They may be on this base today, but the presence, their training, their skill, and their colleagues in ships scattered all over the oceans, hundreds of miles from land in many cases, keep the freedom of countries thousands of miles away.

It is the United States Navy and their companions in the Air Force and in the

Army that today stand as the great defenders of freedom all around the globe.

So I think it's most appropriate that the people of this community participate in this effort for the Navy Relief Fund and also for your own people in your own home city.

I am glad to be in Maine. Whether it rains or shines I am privileged to be with you.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:15 p.m. at the U.S. Naval Air Station in Brunswick, Maine. In his opening words he referred to U.S. Senators Edmund S. Muskie and Margaret Chase Smith, Governor John H. Reed, U.S. Representatives Stanley R. Tupper and Clifford G. McIntire, all of Maine; Maynard C. Dolloff, Democratic candidate for Governor of Maine; William D. Hathaway, Democratic candidate for U.S. Congress, Second District, Maine; Frank M. Coffin, Deputy Administrator for Program, Agency for International Development; and Richard J. Dubord, Democratic National Committeeman for Maine.

327 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Work Hours Standards Act. *August 13, 1962*

I TAKE great pleasure in signing into law the Work Hours Standards Act of 1962.

This Act will replace—with a single, comprehensive law—the confusing and often ambiguous series of Eight Hour Laws dating back to 1892, that formerly governed hours of work for laborers and mechanics employed by the Federal Government or in work performed for the Government.

For many years, attempts have been made in the Congress to correct the obvious inequities and omissions that resulted from this tangle of laws. The former Eight Hour Laws permitted work up to 56 hours a week—seven days of eight hours each—with no overtime compensation whatsoever, and they did not apply to the vast Federally-assisted construction activity.

The new Act coordinates the conflicting provisions of the former statutes and establishes a 40-hour workweek standard—long prevalent in private industry. The coverage of the former statutes has been extended by the new Act to include Federally-assisted construction activity.

Workers, employers and government officials will benefit greatly from this equitable and modern law providing a straight-time 8-hour day and 40-hour week to Federal contract and Federally-assisted work. It represents progress long overdue. I am gratified that the Congress has acted, and that this action will result in greater efficiency in work for the government, and in greater security for the workers involved.

NOTE: The Work Hours Act of 1962 is Public Law 87-581 (76 Stat. 357).

328 Radio and Television Report to the American People on the State of the National Economy. *August 13, 1962*

[Delivered from the President's Office at 7 p.m.]

Good evening, my fellow citizens:

The Constitution of the United States states that on occasions the President shall report to the Congress on the state of the Nation.

I think it is also important that the President of the United States report to the American people because he is, with the Vice President, the only American official elected by all of the people in all of the fifty States.

Tonight I am going to talk to you about the American economy. I know that many of you have your eyes fixed in space and are interested and concerned about the extraordinary accomplishment of the Soviet Union in that area. I have said from the beginning that this country started late in the 1950's. We are behind and we will be behind for a period in the future, but we are making a major effort now, and this country will be heard from in space as well as in other areas in the coming months and years, but tonight I want to talk about our economy.

I know that statistics and details of the economy may sometimes seem dry, but the economy and economic statistics are really a story of all of us as a country, and these statistics tell whether we are going forward or standing still or going backward. They tell whether an unemployed man can get a job or whether a man who has a job can get an increase in salary or own a home or whether he can retire in security or send his children to college. These are the people and the things behind the statistics.

I have been in office now for a year and a half, 81 weeks. When I came into office in January 1961 this country was in a recession. We have made a recovery from that recession, but what we are concerned about now is where we have been, where we are now, and what we must do in the future.

First, where we have been: Tonight, looking back over the last year and a half, we

can take some heart from these statistics and these gains which have been made.¹ The gross national product, which is the story of all the things that we produce, has gone up 10 percent—over \$50 billion in additional goods and services.

The second chart, industrial production, which is the output of our factories, has gone up 16 percent in that period of time. The unemployment rate—and the unemployment rate is still too high—has gone down 23 percent in the last year and a half; and about a million people who were unemployed now have jobs.

The disposable personal income, which is the amount of income we have after taxes, has gone up \$30 billion, 8 percent.

Wages and salaries have gone up 10 percent, \$27 billion, and corporate profit after taxes since January 1961 have gone up 26 percent or a total of \$10 billion.

So this is the story of our economic recovery. The pace thus far this summer, while not as good as all of us would have liked, has still brought further gains. Economic indicators which have been reported to me for July, which are just coming in now, do not warrant the conclusion that we are entering a new recession.

Pessimistic predictions to the contrary, the actual facts for the month of July, far from justifying a crisis atmosphere, show another new record high in industrial production, a new reduction in unemployment, and a significant rebound in department store, automobile, and other retail sales.

Employment and income have also continued to rise.

Looking ahead, moreover, there is every reason for confidence by the American people in the American system. American

¹ A large chart, made up of several small ones and first referred to at this point, was used throughout the address to illustrate the President's comments.

families are still spending a steadily increasing share of their personal income, which is steadily rising, to buy new cars and new homes and to enjoy a higher standard of living while continuing to put more money in the bank.

Our businessmen are investing more than they did last year, though not as much as we would like. While the sharp decline in the inflated stock market prices touched many homes directly and adversely, I think the stock market today rests on a sounder basis between the price of stocks and their earning potential than it did at the end of last year.

Our research laboratories are turning out new techniques and leading to new industries, and soon that crop of war babies, the boys and girls who were born during the war, the Second War and at the end of the war, will be going to schools and colleges and founding their own homes and buying their own cars, and helping to build our own prosperity.

Inflation, which is the archenemy of consumers and housewives, has not wiped out these gains. We have had in the past 18 months the best record on price stability that we have had since the end of World War II. And the additional \$30 billion which we have here in this country in the last 18 months has not been robbed in any sense by an increase in the cost of living.

Inflation, therefore, remains no longer a serious threat. I think we can be proud also of balancing our international payments—at least the progress that we have made—but we still have some distance to go.

This [*indicating on chart*] is the amount of dollars in gold that we lose which affects our ability to maintain our security, commitments, and our troops overseas.

You will see that in the last 3 years—1958, 1959, and 1960—the United States lost in dollars and gold nearly \$12 billion. In 1961 that figure was cut sharply. The first half of 1962 we have had to cut still further, and we hope by the end of 1963 to bring our balance of payments into balance. Con-

fidence in the dollar will be restored when we do this, and I think it will be obvious in the next 12 to 18 months, as I believe it is today, that the dollar is as good as gold.

All these things, of course, have been done by you and the support has been given by the American Government, but the major effort, of course, has been made in the local communities and in the States across the country. We have attempted to assist that recovery through new tax depreciation schedules so that business will invest more, which will make more jobs, to maintain industrial peace and collective bargaining, and we have had overall an extraordinary record in labor peace in the last 18 months and to encourage the increased participation in urban renewal and all the rest of the programs which bring prosperity to our country.

Finally, I think that you and I may have confidence in the longrun strength of our economy because it is solidly built on the largest output, on the highest wages and profits and the most bountiful standard of living that any people have ever known.

Since the dark days when Franklin Roosevelt entered his office, we have constructed strong safeguards against depressions, against bank failures, against substandard wages and watered stocks, and widespread farm foreclosures. We know now much more than we did in the past about relieving the hardships of unemployment and about cushioning our economy against the business cycle. Every consumer and businessman in America listening to me tonight knows that he can safely spend and invest tomorrow with real confidence in the long-range future of the United States of America.

Nevertheless, of course, we cannot be complacent. I am satisfied with a good deal of the progress that has been made, but I don't think it is sufficient, and I am sure you don't either. I think we must strive to expand our economic expansion for the fact of the matter was that the economy in January of last year was sick, and it was sick not only because of the 1960-61 recession, but also because of the recession of 1958.

The fact of the matter is that there has been a slowdown in our growth and, therefore, in our employment, and therefore in our use of our present facilities, really since the beginning of 1957. We have had a 5-year period where we have been more or less standing still economically, at least in comparison to the countries of Western Europe and Japan. We have therefore been obliged to recover not only from the recession of 1960-61, but also from the recession of 1958.

And now we must be concerned with the forward movement of our economy. The level of our economy, as I pointed out today, is high but, considering all the resources which this country has, it should be higher. It should be at least \$30 billion a year higher if we did not have unemployment and if we were using all the productive facilities that we had, \$30 billion more we could produce.

Since January of 1961 that gap has been narrowed, but it could be and must be closed altogether. We will not find full employment in this country, we will not find our factories producing at full blast, and we will not find businessmen investing in new factories until we make better use of the work force and the plants that we now have; until we have cleared away the effects not only of two recessions but 5 years of slowdown.

Employment, income, profits, construction, and investment must all move up more quickly than they have been doing this summer. And the greater wages and profits which full capacity could bring to all of our American citizens must soon replace the most extravagant waste, which is to have men searching for jobs which they cannot find and factories which have a percentage of their machines unused.

Therefore, I am asking your help, the help of the Congress and the American people, in pushing to enactment before adjournment those measures which I think would speed up our economy, which are designed to give us more jobs and more growth. There is still time to close this gap, and

close it we must.

Specifically, I think before the Congress goes home in September, we should enact these measures: We need enactment of the investment tax credit which will stimulate business outlays for modern machinery, the kind of taxes which they have used successfully in Western Europe to stimulate their economy.

As we produce more, businessmen buy new machines. This makes for new jobs. Combined with our new depreciation allowances this should put us in a better competitive position.

Secondly, we need enactment of the bill to step up Federal help to State and local public works, increasing this year the building of those products in parts of our country which most urgently need them, where there are many of our fellow countrymen out of work, and where there is a good deal still to be done. That bill has passed the Senate. I hope it passes the House.

Third—and I think this is most important—we need enactment of our bill to provide for youth employment opportunities. You know today that we have in this country one million boys and girls who are out of school and out of work. In the next 8 years of this decade, according to some predictions, we are going to have 8 million boys and girls who are going to leave school before they finish, and they are going to be around looking for work. They are going to be unskilled and they may have trouble finding jobs. The youth employment opportunities bill would give them a chance to work in our forests, in our parks, and I think it is better than having them standing on a street corner without hope. That bill awaits final action by both Houses of the Congress.

Fourth, we need to renew our temporary Federal backstop to unemployment compensation. There are 100,000 men who want to work and can't find a job, who every month exhaust their unemployment compensation benefits. Then they have to look for public assistance in order to support their families and themselves. I think that this

bill should be carried out before this Congress goes home.

Fifth, we need to enlarge our export markets through the trade expansion bill so that we can sell abroad, so that we can get into the great Common Market which is being built up, so that we won't have our money going abroad to invest in plants overseas but invest here in this country.

Then we need a bill to assist our schools and universities, a bill particularly for higher education. There are going to be twice as many of your sons and daughters trying to get into college in 1970 as in 1960—7½ to 8 million. Our schools and colleges can't take all of them unless they begin a tremendous building program, and I think the national Government should play its fair part. Educated young men and women are our most precious asset. It is the key to economic and social advance, and I think that this is a most important piece of legislation.

The real key is the Congress, and this Congress has done more in the last 18 months to combat the recession and strengthen the economy than any Congress since the end of the Second World War. It has provided benefits for nearly 3 million unemployed men and women who were paid under last year's temporary unemployment compensation bill.

Seven hundred hard-hit communities are receiving area redevelopment assistance, communities where 10, 15, even 20 percent of the people were out of work. Four hundred thousand unemployed men and women are now receiving retraining so that they can find new work in new industries, in new jobs. More than 350,000 of our fellow Americans, men, women, and children, can get a more decent diet with the help of our new food stamp program. And 200,000 children of our unemployed workers now get welfare assistance. In the old days they got assistance only if the husband deserted the wife, and we had the experience of some of our unemployed workers who would desert their families in order to make their children eligible. That is no longer necessary.

Aid has been stepped up to nearly 3 million aged, blind, disabled, and dependent people on welfare and Federal help has been made available to reduce their dependency. One hundred thousand men are retiring every year under Social Security at 62 instead of 65, therefore providing jobs for younger men. More than 26,000—and this program, I think, can be most important in the coming years—aged couples and individuals are getting help for housing, especially designed for the elderly. Railroad and bus and excise taxes have been repealed and other measures have been taken which help our urban renewal programs, our housing programs, and our small business.

Now all these are not merely statistics and recitations of legislations. In Eau Claire, Wis., a veteran of 14 years on the assembly line of the Presto plant found his job discontinued and no new jobs around. He was 63 years old and men were not being hired. Under our bill now, he is able to retire and they are drawing under Social Security, he and his wife, over \$140 a month.

In nearby Hagerstown, Md., we have had cases of individuals who were unemployed for many months. One of them I know of, in an airplane company, is being retrained as a machine tool operator, and we hope that he is going to be back earning and supporting his family again.

In Davy, W. Va., a young couple with only \$100 a month have to feed eight growing boys. They regard the food stamp program as the salvation of their family budget.

In Carbon County, Pa., 52-year-old George DeMart could no longer—and this is true of many Pennsylvanians and Southern Illinoisians, Kentuckians, West Virginians, and Ohioans—could no longer find a job in the coal mines to support his family. Last November his unemployment insurance ran out. Our Federal supplemental benefits, however, paid him benefits for 3 additional months. Our retraining program then taught him new skills of a welder. A trailer company newly located in Pennsylvania,

with the help of the Area Redevelopment Office, has him gainfully employed tonight on a night shift.

All these strands of administrative and legislative action have one common purpose, and that is a purpose of job and growth, strengthening the economy of our Nation, making the most of our machines and men, refusing to be satisfied with the status quo.

It is because in other years similar actions were taken under President Roosevelt and others that it was possible for us to move ahead in the period since the war. We also have to move ahead, and I know that there are those who oppose all these moves as they opposed moves in other days much as they opposed social security, much as they opposed minimum wage, much as they opposed a ban on child labor and, more recently in the Senate, medical care for the elderly.

This country would still be in the dark ages economically if we permitted these opponents of progress and defenders of special privileges and interests to veto every forward move. But the President of the United States, I believe, and the Congress and all of us must be committed to action in our time. Other Congresses and other Presidents were committed to other action in their time. And I do not believe that we should let the pressures from any special group or area stand in the way of fulfilling our promises in the 1960's.

I want to make it clear that we are not talking about Federal spending getting out of control. On the contrary, we are attempting to provide a dollar of service for the dollars that we spend to close down those installations and activities that are not essential.

Secretary of Defense McNamara has estimated that he can save \$3 billion a year in the Department of Defense by new economy moves and other departments are going to make similar efforts, and all requests for funds are going to be very sharply judged in this office.

I am urging the Congress, moreover, to end the postal deficit of \$600 million a year—

that bill has passed the House; it is now in the Senate—to save \$1 billion a year on farm surpluses, of which we already have today \$9 billion stored away while maintaining the farmers' income, and to close those tax loopholes enjoyed by a comparative few that will otherwise cost the taxpayers of the United States a billion dollars annually.

The true test is, are we spending the least amount that is consistent with our necessary national goals? I take some pride in the fact that we kept last year's deficit well below that incurred in the recession of 1958, and reduced the actual burden of the national debt in relation to the Nation's output.

This chart shows that because our wealth has increased, the percentage of our debt to our wealth has substantially gone down since the end of the Second World War and is being steadily reduced.

In 1945 our national debt was about 120 percent of our wealth. Now this country's economy has gone forward so fast that it is 60 percent and it will be steadily reduced in comparison to our gross national product.

The administration increases in expenditures have been primarily in the field of national security, defense and space and human welfare. No increases are planned beyond those we have submitted to the Congress, but those are important, and I want to make it clear that we will have no hesitancy in doing whatever must be done to meet our obligations to the Nation.

The single most important fiscal weapon available to strengthen the national economy is the Federal tax policy. The right kind of tax cut at the right time is the most effective measure that this Government could take to spur our economy forward. For the facts of the matter are that our present tax system is a drag on economic recovery and economic growth, biting heavily into the purchasing power of every taxpayer and every consumer.

During the last 15 months, for example, of the current expansion in our economy, Federal purchases have added \$7 billion to the economy, but Federal taxes have siphoned out \$12 billion. It is estimated that at full

employment our Federal tax system, if all of our people were working and all of our factories were working full time, that our present budget tax system would bring in a \$7- or \$8-billion surplus, far too heavy for the purposes of curbing inflation and far too heavy to encourage investment and enterprise and risk-taking which make jobs and which make growth.

Our tax rates, in short, are so high as to weaken the very essence of the progress of a free society, the incentive for additional return for additional effort.

For these reasons, this administration intends to cut taxes in order to build the fundamental strength of our economy, to remove a serious barrier to long-term growth, to increase incentives by routing out inequities and complexities and to prevent the even greater budget deficit that a lagging economy would otherwise surely produce. The worst deficit comes from a recession, and if we can take the proper action in the proper time, this can be the most important step we could take to prevent another recession. That is the right kind of a tax cut both for your family budget and the national budget resulting from a permanent basic reform and reduction in our rate structure, a creative tax cut creating more jobs and income and eventually more revenue. And the right time for that kind of bill, it now appears in the absence of an economic crisis today—and if the job is to be done in a responsible way—is January 1963.

Such a bill will be presented to the Congress for action next year. It will include an across the board, top to bottom cut in both corporate and personal income taxes. It will include long-needed tax reform that logic and equity demand. And it will date that cut in taxes to take effect as of the start of next year, January 1963.

The billions of dollars this bill will place in the hands of the consumer and our businessmen will have both immediate and permanent benefits to our economy. Every dollar released from taxation that is spent or invested will help create a new job and a

new salary. And these new jobs and new salaries can create other jobs and other salaries and more customers and more growth for an expanding American economy.

Instead of being permanently saddled with excess plant capacity and the budgetary deficit that is created by this means, our goal must be fuller capacity and full employment and the budgetary surpluses that that kind of employment and capacity can produce.

By removing tax roadblocks to new jobs and new growth, the enactment of this measure next year will eventually more than make up in new revenue all that it will initially cost. By lightening tax burdens as the Common Market countries have done so successfully—and they have full employment and an economic growth rate twice ours—it will improve the competitive position of American business, encourage investment at home instead of abroad, and improve our balance of payments and will help make us all—individuals and as a nation—help us make the most of our economic resources.

The leaders of both houses and the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Congressman Mills, have assured me of their cooperation in steering such a bill through the legislative mills with sufficient speed to make the January 1 date effective and make it possible and meaningful. And I am certain that such a measure will be supported by the clear-cut economic evidence by Americans in all walks of life and by a majority of both Houses of the Congress.

Let me emphasize, however, that I have not been talking about a different kind of tax cut, a quick, temporary tax cut, to prevent a new recession. Under the right circumstances that is also a sound and effective weapon, but like many weapons it should be fired only at a period of maximum advantage.

Timing is of the essence, and in the absence of a clear and present danger to the American economy today I believe the American people are willing to bear the burdens of freedom and progress, to face the facts of

fiscal responsibility and to share my view that proposing an emergency tax cut tonight, a cut which could not now be either justified or enacted, would needlessly undermine confidence both at home and abroad.

But let me make this clear: if more time should prove that this kind of a tax cut is necessary later this year, I will not hesitate to request it and to call Congress back into session if that should be necessary.

My fellow Americans, this administration is pledged to safeguard our Nation's economy. It is a vital matter to all of us. Upon it depends our individual well-being and the well-being of all the countries that so greatly depend upon us. I believe that it is necessary for those of us who occupy positions of responsibility in the National Government, in the Congress, and in the States and all of us to work together to build an economy

which can sustain all of the great responsibilities which have been placed upon it; where men can work, where businessmen can invest with hope in the future; where housewives can purchase with due regard to the security of their dollars. I have confidence in that kind of an America, and I think—working together—we can bring it about.

We have made progress in the last 18 months, but much remains to be done. I believe it is important that this country sail and not lie still in the harbors. Great opportunities lie before us and great responsibilities have been placed upon us. I believe we can meet them. We have in the past, we are going to today, and I know we will in the future.

Thank you very much, and good night.

329 Remarks to a Representative Beneficiary of the Federal Vocational Rehabilitation Program. *August 14, 1962*

Mr. Secretary:

I'm very glad to welcome here to the White House Mr. and Mrs. Friskie from Boswell, Pa.

We are saluting today the fact that, for the first time in the history of this country, we have reached the target of 100,000 disabled people who are annually rehabilitated. Our goal is 200,000, and we are making a determined national effort.

This program goes back to the administration of Woodrow Wilson. It has received bipartisan support. It was made permanent during the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt. We have given additional funds and additional effort to it in the last year, and we believe it is the kind of program which can produce the most useful results for our country.

We have here a citizen of the State of Pennsylvania which has led this year in rehabilitating numbers of people. We have a distinguished representative of the 100,000

people, a young man who was injured in an automobile accident most seriously, which affected his means of livelihood. He was retrained as a history teacher, I believe, and now teaches at a school in his home area, and I know it's a source of satisfaction to him that he pays now more to the Federal Government in taxes than the program cost in retraining him. So in the most human sense, this program is most worthwhile.

It's also worthwhile from the national viewpoint. And I hope under the determined leadership of our distinguished leader of this program, Dr. Switzer, and under the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Celebrezze, with the strong support of the country and the Congress, that we can reach our goal of rehabilitating 200,000 of our fellow Americans and making it possible for them to begin a new life.

So we're glad to have you here, sir, as a representative of a good many other citizens. We are very proud of what you have done,

and we are happy to have your wife and son here with you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in his office at the White House at a ceremony welcoming Edward A. Friskie, "Mr. Rehabilitation of 1962." His opening words "Mr. Secretary" referred to Secretary

of Health, Education, and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze. Later in his remarks he referred to Mary E. Switzer, Director of Vocational Rehabilitation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Among those attending the ceremony were Mrs. Friskie and son Michael.

330 Remarks Aboard the Coast Guard Training *Barque Eagle. August 15, 1962*

Mr. Secretary, Members of the Congress, Mr. Superintendent, Commandant, distinguished officers, cadets:

It's a great personal pleasure for me to have an opportunity, with the Secretary of the Treasury and the Members of Congress, to review the cadets of this ship and to have an opportunity to indicate our great interest in the Coast Guard.

As a sailor on one of the ships of the Coast Guard this weekend, I realized how important and significant this operation which you've carried out today is. I'm not sure there are many other Americans who could climb that rigging and unfurl those sails in good times and in bad times.

I think that the American people have been too long unaware of the high quality and high caliber of the cadets of the Coast Guard. When I was a Member of the Congress I had an opportunity to make an analysis of the kinds of examinations which are given to a cadet entering the Coast Guard and I must say they are most exacting, they are of the highest standard. Academically, the Coast Guard is certainly second to none of its sister academies of the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force. It attracts able young men from all sections of the country who love the sea and who recognize that the Coast Guard, with the Corps of Engineers, has a very special opportunity to serve the American people and our country not only in wartime but also in peacetime. And there is not anyone who has sailed any of our lakes or oceans who has not at one time or another been the beneficiary of the faithful service of the Coast Guard.

This is a very ancient service in our country's history. Its first father, the progenitor of so many distinguished acts, Alexander Hamilton, began the Coast Guard as a revenue collecting service, asked the Congress of the United States for appropriations for 10 vessels, the first of which was to cost a total, when fully equipped, of \$1,000 and was named the *Massachusetts*.

The first *Eagle* was one of our most distinguished warships, and in actions against privateers of France, captured over five vessels, recaptured seven American vessels, had a most distinguished record up to the time it was decommissioned in 1801. A number of *Eagles* have followed since, and we are glad today to visit the most recent. This is the oldest continuous seagoing service in the United States, stretching back to the beginning of our country, so I want all of you who are cadets to know how proud we are of you.

I hope that you and your fellow Americans realize how vital this service is. You serve our country, as I've said, in peacetime, on ice patrols and weather patrols, in protecting the standards of the merchant marine, in protecting safety at sea. And in time of war you, with the American Navy, as you did in World War II and at the time of Korea, defend our coasts by defending the outermost reaches of the approaches to our country. So we are very delighted to see you.

The mission of the Coast Guard in your manual is to graduate young men with sound bodies, stout hearts, and alert minds, with a liking for the sea and its lore, and with that high sense of honor, loyalty, and

obedience which goes with trained initiative and leadership, well grounded in seamanship, the sciences, and the amenities, and strong in the resolve to be worthy of the traditions of the commissioned officers in the United States Coast Guard, in the service of their country and humanity.

This mission has been faithfully carried out and I'm delighted that we have a chance to see today the high quality of the cadets.

The words I like best in this very important mission are "to graduate men with a liking for the sea," and I know that all of you share the great affection we have for that ever-changing ocean upon which we so much depend.

Gentlemen, I have been informed that this constitutes a visit to the Coast Guard Academy which I look forward to making and,

therefore, taking advantage of my prerogatives as Commander in Chief, I want to exempt, with the permission of the Superintendent, the Commandant, the Secretary of the Treasury, and various others, we want to exempt all of you from any penalties which you may now carry with you and to tell you that we are proud of you and wish you many years of service in the Coast Guard and in the service of our country.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. aboard the U.S. Coast Guard barque *Eagle* at the Navy Yard Annex in Washington, after watching the cadets demonstrate the manning of the yardarms and the lines. In his opening words he referred to Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury; Rear Adm. Willard J. Smith, Superintendent of the U.S. Coast Guard Academy, New London, Conn.; and Adm. Edwin J. Roland, Commandant of the U.S. Coast Guard.

331 Remarks to Representatives of American Indian Tribes.

August 15, 1962

WE WANT to express our very warm welcome to all of you. I must say the list of tribes that are represented here really are a litany of celebrated American history. We have here representatives of the Creek Tribe, the Mohawks, the Narragansetts, the Sioux, the Arapahoe, the Cherokee, Palm Springs, Winnebago, three affiliated tribes, Oneida, and we have some from Alabama, Virginia, Florida, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Oklahoma, California, and the Southwest.

I want to express our very warm welcome to you, and I also want to say how interested all of us are in the conference which was held in Chicago. I know that those of you who are vitally interested in American Indians are not concerned only with the extraordinary past but also the present and the future and the opportunities which are going to be available to the younger American Indians who will be coming along who we want to live very fruitful lives.

In your Chicago declaration, you reiterated—which of course was unnecessary—your strong love for this country of which

you are the first citizens. So I hope that this visit here which is more than ceremonial will be a reminder to all Americans of the number of Indians whose housing is inadequate, whose education is inadequate, whose employment is inadequate, whose health is inadequate, whose security and old age is inadequate—a very useful reminder that there is still a good deal of unfinished business.

One of the first supplemental appropriation bills I signed last year after becoming President was a special appropriation for building Indian schools. There are still some hundreds and thousands of Indian boys and girls who are inadequately schooled, and we do not wish to add that disadvantage to any other disadvantages which they may have in fulfilling their hope of living very useful lives as citizens of this country.

So I want to congratulate all of you for the work you are doing; for the interest you are showing in your fellow Indians, because your presence here reminds us all of a very strong obligation which any American, whether he

was born here or came here from other parts of the world, has to every American Indian. So we are glad to have you.

Your visit is the most recent of a long series of visits stretching back to the beginning of the 19th century when other Indians had visited American presidents, bringing with them really the same message which has been partially answered but not fully. We are very glad to have you.

[At this point Robert Burnette of Rosebud, S. Dak., a member of the Sioux Tribe, called on Dennis Bushyhead of Bartlesville, Okla., a member of the Cherokee Tribe, to read the Indian "Declaration of Purpose." Mr. Bur-

nette, on behalf of the 90 tribes represented, then presented the pledge to the President. He expressed thanks for the new housing programs and increase in credit for the Indian people, reminding the President, however, that the Congress had moved very slowly on some of the legislative programs dealing with the Indian people. The President then resumed speaking.]

I appreciate that message about the Congress. They know you are watching them well. We are glad to have you here.

NOTE: The President spoke to the delegates from the American Indian Chicago Conference at noon on the South Lawn of the White House.

332 Remarks Upon Signing Bill Authorizing the Fryingpan-Arkansas Project. August 16, 1962

IT IS with great pleasure and satisfaction that I have today signed H.R. 2206, a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct the Fryingpan-Arkansas Reclamation Project.

Fryingpan-Arkansas was one of the major western water resource projects recommended in my conservation message¹ as part of our vast program of water development. This multipurpose project includes hydroelectric power, municipal and industrial water supply, flood control, irrigation, recreational opportunities, and fish and wildlife preservation and enhancement. It involves the imaginative diversion of water through the Continental Divide to help irrigate the Arkansas River Basin and give drinking water and electricity to an area covering more than half the State of Colorado. It is, therefore, an excellent example of full development of our water resources to provide maximum benefits for all of our people.

This development is the culmination of many years of planning which have sought to provide the most effective and beneficial

uses of these vital water resources. There is no doubt but that this will be a sound investment in the development of both Colorado and the United States, an investment which will yield rich dividends in the years and months to come.

I want to congratulate the Members of Congress whose foresight and untiring efforts have resulted in the enactment of this legislation. They have enabled us to take another long step forward in the important task of developing and conserving the water resources of the West. This is a most important step. Water is one of our most vital resources, and I am very glad that we have taken this important and progressive measure in order to insure the beneficial use of this resource for all of our people, and I am glad to be here with the Members of Congress who have fought so hard for this program for so long.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 a.m. in his office at the White House. The ceremony was attended by Members of the Congress and representatives from a number of the executive agencies.

As enacted, H.R. 2206 is Public Law 87-590 (76 Stat. 389).

¹Item 69.

333 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Authorizing the Mann Creek Federal Reclamation Project, Idaho.

August 16, 1962

I AM pleased to approve S. 405, "To authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Mann Creek Federal Reclamation Project, Idaho."

I understand that the main objective of this project is to conserve spring run-off, which is now lost, and thereby provide a more reliable source of irrigation water. This water conservation not only will permit

diversification in crops for which there is a ready market, but also will help prevent the damage that can occur from spring floods. In doing these things the project strengthens the economic base of a community and thereby benefits the Nation as a whole as well as the State of Idaho.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 405 is Public Law 87-589 (76 Stat. 388).

334 Message to President Sukarno on the 17th Anniversary of Indonesian Independence. August 17, 1962

ON THIS anniversary of the independence of Indonesia, it is a particular pleasure to send to your people and to you warmest congratulations from the people and government of the United States. This August 17th comes at the conclusion of an historic negotiation for the peaceful future of West Irian. The United States joins in the hope that this agreement will lead forward to increasing satisfactory relations among all

who have been concerned with it. Meanwhile we join with you in a salute to your 17th anniversary.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: On August 15 an agreement for the settlement of the West New Guinea problem was signed by Indonesia and the Netherlands at the United Nations headquarters in New York City. The text of the agreement is printed as U.N. doc A/5170.

335 Remarks at the Dedication of the Oahe Dam, Pierre, South Dakota. August 17, 1962

Secretary Udall; our host, your distinguished Governor Gubbrud; until recently my associate at the White House, George McGovern; Secretary Vance; Members of the House and Senate; ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my great pleasure and to tell you what a privilege it is to leave Washington these days and come out here to South Dakota. And I can think of nothing more beneficial for those of us who work in Washington, in the Nation's Capital, than to leave on occasions and come out and see the people of the United States.

These dams, these great projects, frequently are statistics to those of us who work in

the Nation's Capital. And I can imagine nothing more beneficial to any American, to any Member of the House or Senate, to any member of the executive branch, to any citizen of this country, than to come here to South Dakota and realize here in this State, and in this country, there is being built the largest dam of its kind in the world.

It is a source of pleasure to me as President, therefore, to come here on this occasion. And I think it is very beneficial for us to realize how frequently the American people have worked together to provide this kind of great benefit. We are 180 million different people, with very different ideas on

what we should do and how this country should be run, and where we should go, and what are our responsibilities and obligations.

I think it is important that we recognize how often we worked together to accomplish great results, and this Missouri River Basin power system, these lights going on and off, bring to our attention the remarkable progress which we've made in one generation in this country in lighting the West, in bringing the benefits of science and technology to the people who live in this part of the United States. These are benefits which are made available to all American citizens. There could be no view of this country more erroneous than Members of the Congress, or of the Executive, or the citizens of different States to believe that what happens here in South Dakota is important only to the people of South Dakota and is a matter of indifference to the people of New England or California. I can imagine no better way for this country to stand still if that should ever become our viewpoint and our mentality.

What happens in this basin helps all the people of all the country. What happens in the East helps the West; what happens in the South helps the North. This country would not have achieved the highest standard of living in the world, the largest productive power, if we had been merely 180 million different people. Instead, free and independent, and yet willing to work together, we've accomplished this, and we're going to accomplish all the other great tasks that lie before us if we are to achieve our destiny.

So I'm glad to be here, and I wish those who come and visit this country from abroad would come here. They come to New York and to Washington, and they feel they've seen America. They should come here and to Montana, and to California, and to Boston, Mass., and then they would see something of the United States.

This dam will produce enough electric energy, this one dam, to light the city of

Edinburgh, Scotland. This dam alone will supply enough irrigation to serve an area larger than the nation of Luxembourg. This dam and the rest of the dams on this river, which 30 years ago would have provided only floods and darkness, now provide irrigation and light, and though those of us who are here today follow in the footsteps of those who made it possible, we share a satisfaction and also a commitment that we must, in our time, make it easy for future Presidents of the United States and future citizens in the 1970's and 1980's to visit projects like this which have been planned and carried out in our day.

Water is our most precious asset, and its potential uses are so many and so vital that they are frequently in conflict. Power versus irrigation; irrigation versus navigation; navigation versus industrial; industrial versus recreational. Here in the Missouri Basin the supply of water cannot meet all of these needs all the time. Accommodations are necessary, and in 1944, under the administration of President Roosevelt, a comprehensive Missouri Basin plan was authorized to accomplish all of these great objectives. This is the fifth of six great dams to control the mainstream of the Missouri River. I can assure those of you at the upper end of the Missouri, and our good friends at the lower end, that it will continue to be our policy to regulate the storage and the flow of water in these reservoirs in the most advantageous manner for all concerned, that the best engineers in the world can devise.

I must say that I am heartened to come out here and talk to the distinguished engineer in charge and be informed by him that this has cost \$25 million less than was estimated 8 years ago, and that stands as some kind of a record in the United States today. We're going to take him back to Washington and put him in charge of the whole operation!

We take for granted these miracles of engineering, and too often we see no connection between this dam right out here and our Nation's prosperity and our Nation's

security, and our leadership all around the world. The facts of the matter are that this dam, and many more like it, are as essential to the expansion and growth of the American economy as any measure that the Congress is now considering. And this dam and others like it are as essential to our national strength and security as any military alliance or missile complex.

When we are inclined to take these wonders for granted, let us remember that only a generation or two ago all the great rivers of America, the Missouri, the Columbia, the Mississippi, the Tennessee, ran to the sea unharnessed and unchecked. Their power potential was wasted. Their economic benefits were sparse. And their flooding caused an appalling destruction of life and of property. Then the vision of Theodore Roosevelt was fulfilled by Franklin Roosevelt, and to demonstrate how important this is as a national issue, two distinguished American Presidents from New York State saw how essential it was to the Nation and New York State to develop the resources of the West. And as a result this Nation began to develop its rivers systematically, to conserve its soil and its water, and to channel the destructive force of these great rivers into light and peace. And today, as a result of this, the face of this Nation has been changed. Forests are growing where there was once dirt and waste. Now there is prosperity where our poorest citizens once lived. If there is one outstanding story among all this which indicates the kind of progress we can make working together, it's the story of the REA, and of Sam Rayburn of Texas, and Franklin Roosevelt of New York, and George Norris of Nebraska.

Less than 30 years ago, in the lifetime of most of us here, as you know, fewer than 10 percent of all our rural homes in this country had electric power. Whenever I read about the statistics of desolation, in the underdeveloped world, Latin America, and all the rest, we should realize that less than 30 years ago only 10 percent of our rural homes had electricity. That's how quickly

the face of a nation can be changed by determination and by cooperative action by all the people.

Then, a farmer had no opportunity to participate in the mainstream of American life, to use labor-saving machinery, nor did his wife; nor did they have light, or a telephone, or a radio. Today, more than 95 percent of rural homes have electric power. The lives of these farmers and their families and their children have been enriched by living in the closest communion with the rest of our country.

The REA co-ops and power districts which have marketed this power have been a happy middle ground between private enterprise and public cooperation. They are making the most of Theodore Roosevelt's principle that marketing agencies which represent all the people should be given a preference in the development of waters which belong to all the people.

I don't think the role of the REA is finished yet. The role of the REA *isn't* finished yet. And those who say that its job is finished, and the job, really, in so many ways, of this country finished, are wrong. By the end of this century we're going to have 300 million people, and a 2 trillion dollar national income, and a great responsibility as the food basket of a world which will double its population in the next 40 years.

This is the prospect for the end of this century, and the key to this century is power—power on the farm as well as the factory, power in the country as well as the city. And the need for power on the farm and the countryside continues to grow. Electricity rates must remain low. More generating capacity must be developed. And soon the vast resources of nuclear energy will be tapped.

This is not a choice between spending and saving, for REA is a form of saving, as is this dam, hours and lives, saving farms and saving and returning to our Nation's Government every dollar loaned, with interest, in taxes on new appliances and new

equipment, and new farm income. This program and so many like it have returned to the public treasuries many times the entire cost of the program.

The question which confronts us is related to the question which confronted Roosevelt and Rayburn and Norris in the thirties, and that is the whole question of our resource development in the western United States in the 1960's. Our electric power needs will double in this decade. Our economic, military, and international commitments will require a continuing source of new energy. Surely a continent so rich in minerals, so blessed with water, and a society so replete with engineers and scientists can make and must make the best possible use of the bounty which nature and God have given us, public and private, Federal and local, cooperative and corporate. We cannot prevent other people in this country from developing their resources. We look forward to the day when energy will flow where it's needed. We cannot permit railroads to prevent coal slurry pipelines from conveying the resources of our mines. We cannot permit the mining industry to say there shall be no nuclear energy because it may affect them adversely. We cannot permit, as a country, public and private power interests to veto each other's projects, or one region to say another region shall not develop. If we do that, we shall stand still and forget the lesson that our history has told us. But if we can apply to the challenges of the sixties the same principles of efficiency, cooperation, and foresight, which made this great dam possible, the same principles which cause American technicians to be sought out the world over to assist in developing the Nile, the Volta, the Mekong and the Indus Rivers, then we can look to a happy future.

I am proud to come here today. This is a matter of the greatest importance to us as a country. This quick visit on conservation I hope will remind all of us in Washington that we have a good deal of unfinished business in this area. The Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Udall, will visit the Soviet Union in September. He may see a dam nearing completion which will be double the size of our largest, Grand Coulee. The dam at Bratsk, on the Angara River in central Siberia, already partially producing power, will shortly back up a manmade inland sea of 40 million acre-feet, with a capacity of 4.5 million kilowatts, and the Grand Coulee, our largest, is 2 million kilowatts.

I don't want to see the United States second in space or in the development of power resources. And I think it's most appropriate in this great decade that we light the entire country. I think our commitment is that expressed by a distinguished Senator from my own State of Massachusetts, whose words are hung behind the Speaker's chair in the House of Representatives. He said: "Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its power, build up all its great institutions, and see whether we, in our time and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered."

I'm proud of the engineers and of the citizens of this State who helped build this great dam.

NOTE: The President spoke from a platform erected on the banks of the Missouri River near the dam. His opening words referred to Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior; Archie Gubbrud, Governor of South Dakota; George McGovern, Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate from South Dakota and a former Special Assistant to the President; and Cyrus R. Vance, Secretary of the Army.

336 Remarks in Pueblo, Colorado, Following Approval of the Fryingpan-Arkansas Project. August 17, 1962

My friend and former colleague, Senator John Carroll; Governor McNichols; members of the Colorado congressional delegation; Senator Allott; Chairman of the House Committee, who made this bill possible, my old colleague, Congressman Wayne Aspinall; Congressman Chenoweth; Congressman Dominick; Congressman Rogers; my former colleague in the Senate, Senator Johnson; your distinguished Lieutenant Governor Knous; Speaker Tomsic; distinguished Members of the Congress from California; ladies and gentlemen:

I don't think there is any more valuable lesson for a President or Member of the House and Senate than to fly as we have flown today over some of the bleakest land in the United States and then to come to a river and see what grows next to it, and come to this city and come to this town and come to this platform and know how vitally important water is.

To many Members of the Congress, to many Americans, the words Fryingpan-Arkansas must, of necessity, be a name which is taken on faith. But when they come here to this State and see how vitally important it is, not just to this State but to the West, to the United States, then they realize how important it is that all the people of the country support this project which belongs to all the people of the country. So I'm glad to be here today.

I hope that those of us who hold positions of public responsibility in 1962 are as far-seeing about the needs of this country in 1982 and 1992 as those men and women were 30 years ago who began to make this project possible. The world may have been built in 7 days, but this project was built in 30 years, and it took labor, day in and day out, week in and week out, month in, month out, year in and year out, by Congressmen and Senators, and citizens, and the press of this State, to make this project possible, and it

will be some years before its full benefits are made available to all of you.

What are we going to do in 1962, beginning today, to determine what projects we should develop so that by the end of this century, when there are 300 million people in the United States, there will be available to them land and water and light and power and resources, and places to live, and places to rest, and places to work?

So we salute this project today, and we salute those who made it possible. And we look to the future and we look to the past, and we commit ourselves in 1962 not only to celebrate this project, but to move ahead in all the other areas stretching from California to Cape Cod, Mass., in building this country up.

This is a national responsibility. When Theodore Roosevelt became President after being Vice President, the leader of his State said, "My God, they've put that cowboy in the White House." Well, because he had been a cowboy in North Dakota, and had spent some of the most significant years of his life there, he became committed to the development of the resources of the West. And every citizen who lives in the West owes Theodore Roosevelt, that cowboy, a debt of obligation.

And Franklin Roosevelt who lived in Hyde Park, where there's plenty of water and land and a generous life, he made it possible to develop the Missouri River and all the other projects, REA and all the rest, which have helped build this country of ours.

A Senator from Nebraska, George Norris, made it possible for the Tennessee Valley, 1,000 miles from Nebraska, to make a better life for millions of our fellow citizens who live there.

What I preach is the interdependence of the United States. We are not 50 countries—we are one country of 50 States and one people. And I believe that those pro-

grams which make life better for some of our people will make life better for all of our people.

A rising tide lifts all the boats. And as Colorado moves ahead, as your steel mill produces, it is benefiting all the people, as they are benefiting you. That's the lesson of this project, because it was passed by the Congressmen and Senators from this State, aided by a majority of the Congressmen and Senators from every part of the United States. They contribute to this program just as you contribute to their advancement, and in so doing help build our country up.

Therefore, I'm glad to be here today, and I'm glad to take part in a ceremony whose significance is far beyond this particular area. We are finally on our way to diverting water through the Continental Divide into the Arkansas River Basin, and we are going to make in this project an example of what can be done in other parts of our country who also look for water and cannot find it.

This is an investment in the future of this country, an investment that will repay large dividends. It is an investment in the growth of the West, in the new cities and industries which this project helps make possible. I salute the statesmanship of the leaders on both sides of the mountain, those who help provide the water and those who use it, those in northern California who provide the water, those in the south, those in the eastern United States who help provide the funds and those of you who use them.

That's what makes this country of ours so great. And I hope that in the 1960's we will commit ourselves to this same kind of mutual effort, and not regard those projects which aid our cities as inimical to Colorado or those projects which help our farmers as taking it away from our cities. Because that concept of the moving ahead of a great country on a great errand is what I think can give this country its leadership in the future as it has in the past.

This year marks the 60th anniversary of the reclamation program initiated under

Roosevelt, and this year is the first year in which the Congress has ever authorized two projects of the magnitude of Fryingpan-Arkansas and the San Juan Chama-Navajo project of New Mexico. Surely this is one of the most unusual projects in the entire 60 years. Like Colorado's pioneer Big Thompson, it will use a transmountain tunnel to bring water from the Pacific watershed to the Atlantic. Its water impounded at over 9,000 feet will drop through an unprecedented seven power plants to produce electricity for homes and factories and farms, and there will be new water for new people and new industries.

That is why this administration, and I am sure the administrations which will follow, will continue to push for adequate investment in the development of all the resources of all of our States. And that is why I am hopeful that this Congress, before it adjourns, will have written a conservation record second to none, that it will have added three superb national seashores to our National Park System, one at Cape Cod, near where I live on the ocean, one at Point Reyes, in the Pacific, and the third at Padre Island in the Gulf coast of Texas; that it will have added to an already strong water pollution program an open space program for our cities; a significant wilderness bill; and youth employment opportunities which would authorize a youth conservation corps.

I would rather have those unemployed boys and girls who hang around on street corners today working in our parks and forests and making something of this country and their lives than staying at home and wondering what's going to become of them.

And I hope we will provide for the land conservation fund which will open up a whole new area of conservation. If we had not been able to purchase the Cape Cod Park this year, within 2 or 3 years it would have been too expensive. If we can buy these valuable projects today, they can be a great saving to our people 10 years from now. Every Member of Congress, everyone in the executive branch from the Presi-

dent on, in the field of national resources, has to plan during their period of administration or office for the next generation, because no project that we plan today will be beneficial to us. Anything we begin today is for those who come after us. And just as those who began something years ago make it possible for us to be here, I hope we'll fulfill our responsibility to the next generation that's going to follow us.

This demonstrates our confidence in the future. This is a great country, and I believe it deserves the best of its citizens. It is a rich country. Thirty years ago, as I said in South Dakota today, not 10 percent of our farms had electricity. Now they have lights and telephones, and they have

the means of communicating with all of our country. Those people who come here from abroad, what they want to see is the Tennessee Valley. Ten years from now they'll want to see this project. And I hope in space and on the ground this country will continue its march forward.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke in the high school stadium at Pueblo, Colo. In his opening words he referred to U.S. Senator John Carroll, Governor Stephen L. R. McNichols, U.S. Senator Gordon L. Allott, U.S. Representatives Wayne N. Aspinall, J. Edgar Chenoweth, Peter H. Dominick, and Byron G. Rogers, former U.S. Senator Edwin C. Johnson, Lieutenant Governor Robert L. Knous, and former Speaker Albert Tomsic, State House of Representatives, all of Colorado.

337 Remarks in Los Banos, California, at the Ground-Breaking Ceremonies for the San Luis Dam. *August 18, 1962*

Congressman Sisk, Mr. Congressman, my old friend and colleague in the Congress; Governor Brown; Senator Kuchel; Senator Engle; Congressman Bizz Johnson; Senator Richards; Mr. Brody; Mrs. O'Neill; Mr. Mayor; Secretary Udall; Under Secretary Carr; ladies and gentlemen:

It is a pleasure for me to come out here and help plow up this valley in the cause of progress. We are able to do anything on this occasion.

I do want to say that this has been a comparatively short trip, to come all the way from the Capital of our country in Washington yesterday morning, about 9 o'clock, and to fly and visit the largest earth-rolled dam in the world in Pierre, S. Dak.; to visit the beginning of the great new project, the Fryingpan-Arkansas, where they're going to take water from around 9,000 feet through a mountain and irrigate a whole valley below in eastern Colorado; and then to visit Yosemite National Park, which belongs to all of us, fortunately, and join 1,500,000 other Americans who will visit that park this year, and follow in the footsteps of a distinguished predecessor, who was the last President to

visit there, President Theodore Roosevelt.

This is a fast trip, but if it had no other benefit than to permit us to look at this valley and others like it across the country, where we can see the greenest and richest earth producing the greatest and richest crops in the country, and then a mile away see the same earth and see it brown and dusty and useless, and all because there's water in one place and there isn't in another. I know of no better trip for any President or any Member of the House or Senate, or indeed any citizen, particularly those of us who live in the East, where water is everywhere and is a burden, to realize how very precious it is here in the western United States.

And I'm also glad to come from Washington where we are constantly struggling and seeing progress being made almost imperceptibly, to come and visit three areas, South Dakota, Colorado, and here, where progress is being made. And the important lesson in all of those projects is that progress isn't being made as a result of a sudden idea, suddenly coming into fruition.

This project, the Fryingpan-Arkansas, and the project in South Dakota, represented 10,

20, and 30 years' efforts of devoted citizens. Things do not happen; they are made to happen, and this project is the result, and our action today, of 30 years of men, some of whom have now died, who thought that this dam would help this valley.

The other point that I think has been most useful about this trip is to see how Americans can work together. We are a very independent people, 180 million, and it is hard for us to agree on any course of action. We always have some different ideas of how that course of action can be made more perfect, and yet in this case, one part of your State has been willing to help another part. In the case of Colorado, western Colorado has been willing to divide its water with eastern Colorado. In the case of this project, and Colorado and South Dakota, the people from the Eastern United States have been willing to invest their tax money in this part of the country because they realize that as this State does well, so does the United States.

Nothing could be more disastrous for this country than for the citizens of one part of the State to feel that everything that they have is theirs and it should not be shared with other citizens of this State, or people from the East to say, "There's no benefit to us in spending our money to make this valley green."

That is the way to stand still. The way to move ahead is to realize that we are citizens of one country who can freely move from one State to another, and as one State does well, so do the others, and if one State stands still, so do all the rest.

Progress represents the combined will of the American people, and only when they are joined together for action, instead of standing still and thinking that everything that had to be done has been done. It's only when they join together in a forward movement that this country moves ahead and that we prepare the way for those who come after us, as Mr. O'Neill and others who made this project possible 20 years ago prepared the way for us.

So I'm glad to come here, and I think it's

a useful trip for any citizen and any President of the United States.

What this project also symbolizes is the State working with the Federal Government, the local communities working with the State. This program is unique in this area. There is no other project in the history of the United States where a State has put in such a large contribution to the development of its own resources, and where the National Government has joined with the State.

This is a unique ceremony, because this partnership is at the highest level. The amount of contribution of both is unique and special, and the benefits that will come from it are unique and special. And I think that those who took part in this and made it possible should feel the strongest sense of pride, because all those years when people in this State said it was impossible—and those who had water wanted to hug it and not make it available to all those who lived in dry areas—many State administrations in California, including some of the most distinguished, wrestled with this problem. But I believe that all Californians will remember the leadership which your distinguished Governor has given to this great cause of making water available to the people of this State. And I salute him for it and the Members of your Congressional Delegation who fought for this and the members of the legislature, the House and the Senate, here in California.

This has brought your State to be the pioneer in the United States in the field of development and conservation of our natural resources. California, in this area, is number 1, and it has helped make possible the San Luis project, which joins all of us together as full and equal partners.

In many ways the growth problems and the conservation problems of California are the same kind of problems that our country faces. To come here from the eastern United States and to realize what a booming country this really is, gives us new encouragement to consider what actions we can take in the sixties to make life easier for those who are

coming in the seventies. We surmount these growth problems only if we work together, if we engage in a great cooperative effort, and learn to think of our resources in national terms.

What this country needs is a broad, new conservation effort, worthy of the two Roosevelts, Theodore and Franklin, who lived in New York, and who helped build the West; an effort to build up our resource heritage so that it will be available to those who come after us. Measured by major new starts and by the level of investment, 1962 will be the banner year for reclamation, but satisfactory as this record is, it is important that we push forward in these areas:

1. In addition to the Cape Cod seashore, near where I live on the Atlantic Ocean, we must add two superb national seashores to our park system, one at Point Reyes, here in California, near San Francisco, and the other on the Gulf coast of Texas.

2. We should enact without delay a strong wilderness bill, to preserve our great wilderness from the encroachment of civilization.

3. No measure is needed more than the Youth Employment Act containing provisions for a Youth Conservation Corps. As I said the other night, there are one million young men and women under 20 who are out of school and out of work. Twenty-five percent of all those under 20 who are out of school are out of work, and there will be eight million more of them if we don't do something about it in this decade. One of the things we can do is make it possible for them to work in these parks and in conservation and preventing fires and pollution and all the rest, in building our country and, in doing that, building themselves.

4. We must step up our program to convert cheap fresh water from salt water. There is no scientific breakthrough, including the trip to the moon, that will mean more to the country which first is able to bring fresh water from salt water at a competitive rate. And all those people who live in

deserts around the oceans of the world will look to the nation which first makes this significant breakthrough, and I'd like to have it the United States of America.

5. The Federal and the State Governments must find ways to make outdoor recreation spots available and to do it now. We're going to have 300 million people in another 40 years in this country. A lot of them are going to live in California, and a lot of them are going to live from Illinois and east, and they're going to be working shorter hours as automation and technology comes along, and where are they going to spend their time, and what beaches are they going to visit, and what forests and parks are they going to see?

Unless we take the steps today to make those facilities available to them, we will have a mass of cities which spread blight into the countryside and children growing up without ever seeing a natural, grown tree. I think we ought to do it in the 1960's, as Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt helped do it for us.

This is our task in the simplest terms: to strengthen the United States of America. And I'm confident that here in California, which looks to the future and not to the past, that you understand that lesson well. And I hope from this great project will spread a renewed sense of commitment by all the American people so that this country in 1962 can continue to move forward.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to U.S. Representative B. F. Fisk, Governor Edmund (Pat) Brown, U.S. Senators Thomas H. Kuchel and Clair Engle, U.S. Representative Harold T. (Bizz) Johnson, and State Senator Richard Richards, all of California; and to Ralph M. Brody, General Manager and Counsel, Westlands Water District, Fresno, and chairman of the California Water Commission; Mrs. J. E. O'Neill, widow of a former president of the Westlands Water District who was one of the original planners of the project; Robert L. Puccinelli, Mayor of Los Banos; Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior; and James K. Carr, Under Secretary of the Interior.

338 Remarks at the Air Terminal in Fresno, California, After
Inspecting Western Conservation Projects. *August 18, 1962*

Governor Brown, Mr. Mayor, Congressman Bernie Sisk, Congressman Bizz Johnson, Senator Engle, Mr. Brody, ladies and gentlemen:

This is the end of our trip visiting some of the most important conservation centers in the United States, a trip which has been described as nonpolitical. I want to emphasize that it is nonpolitical because I have visited South Dakota, Colorado, and California, not a single State that I carried in 1960. So I'm out here completely to see the resources of the United States flourish and develop.

This rather brief trip has, I think, emphasized on me, and I hope on those who came with me, and I would hope on all Americans, the wonderful things that our country can do when it joins together in a community sense in order to build this country of ours. The prospects for this country, if we can recognize this, are unlimited.

[At this point a member of the reception committee placed drinking water before the President.]

Now isn't that nice, to come to California and get that sort of service. You can't get water like this back East, you know. Thank you very much.

Let me just say in conclusion that I don't think there is really anything that we cannot do if we work together to do it. It took many years of very divided opinion in this State, between the north and the south, before California as a State committed itself to progress in the field of water. What is true of California in water is true of this country in many areas.

I see, as President, and with the Vice President we are the only elected officials of the United States who are elected by citizens in 50 States—Congressmen are elected from Districts, Senators from States—the most

difficult task that we have is joining together, securing a consensus, securing a majority for action in all of the great fields of the unfinished business of this country. We too often find the East against the West; those who live in cities not really interested in the development of flood control or reclamation or irrigation; or those of you who live in the West uninterested in the great urban problems which disturb so much of our population; or those who live in the Southeast United States finding themselves in difficulty dealing with their agricultural problems compared to those in the richest valley in the world, the richest county in the world, right here at Fresno.

Now as long as we remain divided, with every group, with every interest, with every section, with every section of every State divided against itself, this country will stand still. It took years and years before western Colorado decided to make its full water available to eastern Colorado, before the northern part of this State decided to make its water available to the south. And what is true of Colorado and California is true of the rest of our States and true of our country.

So I leave this trip with a very strong impression, after seeing three extraordinary developments, of what this country can do, not only in the field of space, but in every field, the education of our children, the provision of jobs for our people, the security of our older citizens.

The great strength of this country is unlimited if this country makes up its mind that as a country it's going to move forward. Not the President, not the Senators, not the Congressmen, not the governors, not the commissioners, not the mayors, but 180 million Americans can advance this country into a bright future.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, Mayor Arthur L. Selland of Fresno, U.S. Representatives B. F. Sisk

and Harold T. (Bizz) Johnson, U.S. Senator Clair Engle, all of California, and to Ralph M. Brody, Chairman, California Water Commission.

339 Remarks to Vice President Johnson on His Departure for Southern Europe and the Near East. *August 22, 1962*

I WANT to express our very warm welcome to the White House to the Ambassadors of the countries which the Vice President is visiting, the Ambassador from Italy, the Chargé from Greece, the Ambassador from Cyprus, the new Ambassador from Lebanon, the Chargé from Turkey, and the Chargé from Iran. The other Ambassadors are all on vacation, is that right?

In any case, we want to express our warm appreciation to them and my very great thanks to the Vice President for undertaking this trip. He visits five countries which are key in the great struggle to maintain the freedom of important segments of the world. Several of the countries which he is visiting we are formally allied with—Italy, Greece, and with Turkey. We have very intimate and special relations with Iran. We are valued friends of Lebanon and Cyprus.

The Vice President takes messages to each of these governments. He is going to discuss with them the mutual relations, the bilateral relations, which the United States has with them. He is being accompanied by an experienced team from the United States Government, and I think that his trip can produce the same kind of fruitful result which his previous trip to southeast Asia produced

in affecting American policy and have the same kind of impact which his trip a year ago to West Berlin at a critical time had for our common interests. So I want to express our very great appreciation to him for undertaking this trip. I think that it will be a reminder, though I hope no reminder is necessary, to the people and the governments of the countries involved of our very strong interest in them, of our desire to maintain the most close and cordial relations with them. And this visit will give him an opportunity to speak for the United States Government in carrying on discussions with the responsible people in each of those countries on those matters which affect our common security.

So we wish him well, and extend to him all of our hopes and look forward to his happy and speedy return.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:30 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

In his opening remarks the President referred to Sergio Fenoaltea, Ambassador of Italy to the United States; Aristide N. Pilavachi, Chargé d'Affaires from Greece; Zenon Rossides, Ambassador of Cyprus to the United States; Ibrahim Husayn, Ambassador of Lebanon to the United States; Ilter Turkmen, Chargé d'Affaires from Turkey; and Mohammad Behnam, Chargé d'Affaires from Iran.

340 The President's News Conference of *August 22, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon. I have several announcements to make.

[1.] First, two of our nuclear powered submarines have completed an historic rendezvous under the polar ice pack, and then surfaced together through a small opening

in the ice at the North Pole. The submarines—the U.S.S. *Skate* from the Atlantic Fleet and the U.S.S. *Sea Dragon* from the Pacific Fleet—are now on their way back to the United States. This is the first time that two of our submarines have worked together

in this manner under the Arctic ice pack and I want to congratulate all those who were involved in this exceptional technical feat.

[2.] Secondly, this Congress in the next weeks has an opportunity to write what I think will be a very impressive record, for there are many bills of great importance now pending before the Congress. I want to take this opportunity to stress five particularly important measures which will be acted upon very shortly:

First, the farm bill, which the Senate passed today, gives us an opportunity to bring some sense and reason and control into an area which has been marked by excesses and chaos in recent years. It extends for another year our presently successful feed grain program while repealing the 1958 Benson feed grain approach, and gives us our new wheat program essentially as we originally requested it, and it contains other important steps toward a wiser use of our land resources and rural area development.

Secondly, the drug bill, which has been tightened in the Senate Judiciary Committee, much along the lines that I requested, will give us every safeguard to protect our American citizens.

And third, a constitutional amendment to outlaw the poll tax in Federal elections will be taken up by the House of Representatives on Monday, where a two-thirds vote is essential if we are to finally eliminate this outmoded and arbitrary bar to voting. American citizens should not have to pay to vote.

Fourth, the trade expansion bill, the most important measure to be considered by many a Congress, must pass the Senate with bipartisan support as it did the House and without restrictive amendments that will make it impossible for us to bargain for our factories and our farms into the Common Market.

Fifth, and finally, the U.N. bond issue, as I have said many times, poses a test of this Nation's good faith in supporting the peace-keeping efforts of the U.N. and opposing those who try to starve it to death. This

bill has had overwhelming bipartisan support in the Senate and in the House Foreign Affairs Committee. But this is one of the issues that is not Democratic or Republican, but is American. This bill will help the U.N. and it will help the United States. It will save us money in the long run and will help keep the peace, which is most important. I'm confident it will be approved by all thoughtful members of both parties in the House.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, Russia has announced the abolition of its commandant's office in Berlin. I wonder if you can give us your appraisal of the meaning and importance of this action and what you think the Western Powers should do as a result of this action.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I believe the Department of State has already issued a statement and in that statement they indicated we're going to be consulting with the British and the French who also bear a responsibility. I think our statement indicated, certainly our view, that the Soviet action cannot unilaterally affect our rights, which are quadripartite in Berlin. This will be the central theme of our response.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, I wondered, could you tell us your general feeling about countries which receive aid from the United States and still do business with the Communist bloc nations? Specifically, do you think a country receiving aid from us has a moral right to engage in business deals for military or economic purposes with the Communist bloc countries?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that nearly every country that I know of engages in economic deals with the Communist bloc. There are other countries which we have for a long period of time assisted which have also received—which we assisted economically—which have received assistance of various kinds from the Communist bloc. So that I don't think it's a moral issue. I think we have to make a judgment as to what serves our interest, whether the country is attempting to maintain its freedom, whether the

country is pursuing policies which are not inimical to the long-range interests of the United States.

We make that independent judgment on each occasion. I know that I can judge the countries that you are thinking of, and I would say that at least in one country, which I assume you are thinking of, we have felt that the assistance which we have given them has helped maintain a very significant country—if you're thinking of the question of India. While the matter of military assistance has not been settled as I understand it in India, most of their assistance in the past having come from the British, it is an extremely large country, 450 million, extremely important; it is free, it is non-Communist. It has indicated it is going to attempt to maintain its freedom, and therefore I think it's in our interest to support it because if it ever passed behind the Iron Curtain, if the present efforts to maintain democracy should fail, then I would think the cause of freedom would have been very adversely affected not only in Asia but all through the underdeveloped world.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, the Soviet Union's latest exploit, the launching of two men within 24 hours, seems to have caused a good deal of pessimism in the United States. You hear people say that we're now a poor second to Russia. How do you size up the situation, Mr. President, for the present and the future?

THE PRESIDENT. We are second to the Soviet Union in long-range boosters. I have said from the beginning—we started late, we've been behind. It's a tremendous job to build a booster of the size that the Soviet Union is talking about, and also have it much larger size, which we are presently engaged in the Saturn program. So we are behind and we're going to be behind for a while. But I believe that before the end of this decade is out, the United States will be ahead. But it's costing us a tremendous amount of money. We're presently making a tremendous effort in research and development. But we just might as well realize that when we started

late, last year as you know, we made a decision to go to the moon, with bipartisan support. And it's going to take us quite a while to catch up with a very advanced program which the Soviets are directing and there's no indication the Soviets are going to quit.

So there they started with a lead and they determined to maintain it. We've started late, and we are trying to not only—we're trying to overtake them, and I think by the end of the decade we will, but we're in for some further periods when we are going to be behind. And anybody who attempts to suggest that we're not behind misleads the American people.

We're well behind, but we're making a tremendous effort. We increased after I took office, after 4 months, we increased the budget for space by 50 percent over that of my predecessor. The fact of the matter is that this year we submitted a space budget which was greater than the combined eight space budgets of the previous 8 years. So this country is making a vast effort which is going to be much bigger next year and the years to come and represents a very heavy burden upon us all. But we might as well recognize that we're behind now and we're going to be for a while. But what we've got to do is concentrate our efforts. And I think we're doing that, but we can always do better.

Q. Mr. President, in that same area, would you agree with Senator Cannon and others who believe that the space program not only should be expanded, but should be militarized in something like a Manhattan District crash program?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, now, we are spending, for military purposes in space, three times what we were in 1960, about \$1,500 million. The two—at least at present—the two important points that should be kept in mind are, one, the ability to build a large booster which can put a larger satellite into the atmosphere. That is being done. NASA is doing that, although there has been, of course, under the Titan III contract, a booster program for the military.

In addition, the guidance, navigation, etc., that's extremely important. That we are making a major effort in. So that I recognize that there are those who oppose this program and then suddenly a month later say we ought to suddenly go ahead on a different basis.

The fact of the matter is that 40 percent of the R and D funds in this country are being spent for space. And that's a tremendous amount of money and a tremendous concentration of our scientific effort.

I'm not saying that we can't always do better, but I think the American people ought to understand the billions of dollars we're talking about, which I believe a month ago was mentioned as a great boondoggle. I think it's important, vital, and is a great interrelationship between space, military, and the peaceful use of space. But we're concentrating on the peaceful use of space which will also help us protect our security if that becomes essential.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, it's been almost a year since you nominated Thurgood Marshall for the Federal Bench. Senator Keating of New York charges that the subcommittee hearing this nomination is delaying it by ridiculous and unlawyerlike questions. Do you share the Senator's view of the holdup on this confirmation?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it has been much too much delayed. I am confident, in fact I am sure, that the Senate will not adjourn, and I've been given those assurances, that the Senate will not adjourn without action being taken by the United States Senate on the Thurgood Marshall appointment. When it does come for a vote, and it will, it is my judgment the Senate will confirm him overwhelmingly.

In regard to Senator Keating, I do think it's interesting to point out that there were seven Circuit Court vacancies during the previous administration which the Senators from New York had something to say about the appointments to those, and Thurgood

Marshall was not nominated on any of those occasions.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, could you say anything about the letter which you have written to Chancellor Adenauer, which was delivered yesterday? There is a certain difficulty here for us because so often in the exchange of these letters, the word of it first comes out in Bonn, and it necessarily reflects the German point of view, and we're somewhat at a disadvantage to present the point of view of our own Government.

THE PRESIDENT. No, I wrote Chancellor Adenauer a letter. It was a general statement of our policy and of our interest in satisfactory relations with the West German people, and also an attempt to respond to some of the rumors which had been discussed at a previous press conference in regard to possible changes in strategic policy or tactical policies by the United States in Western Europe. Those are the matters we dealt with, and I think that it would be—I don't think it's customary to release a letter from the sender to the receiver. I don't know whether the letter is going to be released, but I think it is in the hands of the receiver.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, would you say what military significance, if any, you see in the recent Soviet double orbiting, and also in view of the fact that we're spending about twice as much money for civilian space activity as for military activity, do you expect any possible change in this ratio?

THE PRESIDENT. We're considering in the Defense Department whether there are further steps that might be taken to protect our security. But I want to emphasize that the distinction which is made by some, and perhaps suggested by your question, doesn't seem to me to be wholly applicable. The important things at the present time, as I said, are the size of the booster and the size of satellite, and the navigational control. Now, those are carried on by both the Defense Department and by NASA. But of course the information is interrelated; and

also whatever skills we acquire in those three areas are interrelated and serve many purposes.

Q. Mr. President, do you see any military significance?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, of course, we're not quite clear as to what the military significance will be, because at the present time it is possible to send a missile from one country to another with a warhead, and with a great degree of accuracy. But it's very possible that there will develop military significance. And it is for that reason that the military program is being carried on—\$1.5 billion. And there is also of course the benefits we get from the civilian space program, upon which we're spending many billions of dollars, in these three areas which can tie in, if necessary, into the military field.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, it's been well over a year now since you met Chairman Khrushchev at Vienna. The Berlin affair seems to be blowing up towards a cold winter of some sort. There are rumors that he may come to the U.N. this fall. If in fact he did, do you think it would be useful about that time for you to have another talk with him?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it would be unwise to attempt to make a judgment. I don't know whether he's coming. We've received no information about it. Of course, if he did come, he would be—I would hope I would have a chance to talk with him. But I haven't heard that he is coming and we have no information to that effect. But I hope to see—whatever heads of government that come in the fall for the U.N. session I would hope to see.

[10.] Q. There have been reports, sir, that you are considering some more non-political journeys around the country, specifically this time to the urban centers such as Chicago, Cleveland, and Philadelphia, to deal with urban renewal problems. Can you comment on these reports?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we haven't made any judgment about it, though the matter has

been considered. I thought the trip, the non-political trip, of last weekend was useful. In addition, in early September we have the anniversary of the Housing Act, but we haven't made any judgment as to whether it should be appropriately celebrated by such a trip.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, at the present time there are 97 ambassadors, of which 2 are Negroes. In view of the fact that this is the same number of the previous administration and you've made significant strides in the domestic field as far as rights are concerned, how do you feel about the fact that it is only 2 percent and do you think this should be changed?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I think we should, definitely. Definitely we should, not only in the higher ambassadorial level but all through the Department as well as the AID agency. I quite agree we have to do better.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, after your conference with Mayor Wagner last week, there were reports that you had agreed to endorse Robert Morgenthau as the Democratic gubernatorial nominee in New York. This, presumably, is an election of some considerable importance to you. Could you tell us, do you have a preference for this election and who he might be?

THE PRESIDENT. No, and I wouldn't take any position on the matter until the Democratic convention meets in mid-September. I think the choice ought to be made there.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, referring to the recent disclosures by Wright Patman, do you think that the Ford or Rockefeller Foundation or any other tax-exempt foundation should be able to control the ownership of a large segment of the business community by owning manufacturing plants and retail establishments and such?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, Mr. Patman made several points. Of course, he was critical of some foundations which are being used as tax dodges or for the purposes which you suggested. Other foundations, certainly the

two that you named, of course, that's not true. I think his only point there was the rather enormous amount of money contained in both foundations and, therefore, the effect that this might have upon the economy. But I was most particularly interested in the first point, which is whether some foundations are being used as a tax dodge or as a method of avoiding taxes and all the rest. And I think that what we are now examining is whether this is a question of tighter administration by the Internal Revenue, which Mr. Caplin is looking into, or whether we need new legislation.

On the other hand, I think it fairness to point out that this is an extraordinary development, these foundations, and have done a tremendous job in wide ranges in a most efficient way. So I think we want to be fair, but we want to be sure to catch those who are penalizing the others.

[14.] Q. Sir, I wonder if you could tell us whether or not the \$100 million in U.N. bonds which you want the Congress to vote, if you can guarantee that that will not be used for military action against the Katanga—in Katanga—with a repetition of some of the atrocities that have been verified by such eye witnesses as the reporter Smith Hempstone and others.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the purpose of the loan, as you know, is to prevent the United Nations from collapsing, which it will economically unless we're able to secure this special fund, which will come partly from the United States and partly from the other countries. The long-range financing of the United Nations we put on a sounder basis, we hope, as a result of the decision of the Court, the World Court.

Now, on the question of the Katanga, I have supported the effort of the U.N. to prevent a complete chaos and dissolution in the Congo which, in my opinion, would lead to the setting up of a radical, possibly undemocratic government in the Congo. So that I feel the most important step now that can be taken by Mr. Adoula, Mr. Tshombe, joining together in a constitutional arrange-

ment which will provide for an accord in the Congo.

But I can just assure you that if the U.N. is denied funds, it will mean the collapse of peaceful efforts not only in the Congo but in many other parts of the world. The recent agreement over West Irian was carried on under the auspices of U Thant. I would think that this money is vitally important, and I cannot accept such an immediate identification as your question suggests between this fund and atrocities.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, some months ago from this platform you announced the stockpiling investigation. It's now well along. What do you think of the case that the committee has made out against Mr. Humphrey?

THE PRESIDENT. I thought that everyone should read Senator Engle's speech. I thought it was clear and indicated that this matter should be looked into further.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, was there any significance in your omission of the 1962 tax bill in your list of desirable legislation? Does it mean that—

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, no, no. I was just thinking really of the bills coming up in the next 7 days. I was not attempting to set out a program for the Congress, which I did suggest in my speech a week ago.¹ I'm just talking about the bills which will be before the Congress within the next week.

Q. Is that coming up now?

THE PRESIDENT. But the tax bill, if it comes up next week in the Senate, definitely, of course, is one of our priority items.

But I mentioned the trade bill, because it seems to be—it's in a very important stage now, being considered by the committee. What concerns me most about the trade bill is we'll get a trade bill, but we may get a bill so limited, which is so circumscribed on negotiating power that we will have the shadow of a bill and not the substance. And to attempt to protect our markets abroad, which in this last few months we've had a

¹ Item 328.

tremendous balance—export balance over imports. If we fail to get the power that we need it will be a very bad blow to us all. So that's the reason I separated that from the tax bill, which I'm hopeful will pass also.

Q. Do you think the withholding is an important part of the tax bill?

THE PRESIDENT. Very desirable. I think, as you know, they have an alternate language suggested by Senator Byrd, which will bring in some money. I don't think it's as effective as the withholding, however, and I'm sorry that the Senate has not, or at least the Senate committee did not accept withholding. Sooner or later we will. I'm confident if we don't do it in this session we're going to, because it is quite logical that those who receive money should pay their taxes in the same way that people who receive wages find their taxes withheld.

[17.] Q. Sir, are you going to take any further action to end the missile strike at Huntsville?

THE PRESIDENT. As you know, the National Labor Relations Board is involved with an injunction there, the Missile Committee—Mr. Goldberg is involved. I am very hopeful those men will go back to work. I think it is a great mistake for them personally, and also it is a great loss to the country. The strike should be ended definitely. They all should return.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, the National Committee for an Effective Congress in a recent statement said that the candidacy of Edward M. Kennedy for the Senate in Massachusetts has hurt you personally politically, and has hurt the Democratic Party nationally. Now the suggestion is that you could have headed off your brother's candidacy if you had wished. Do you have any comment on this?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the people of Massachusetts can make a more effective judgment for a more effective Congress than even this committee. And I think they will.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, 2 months ago you invited the Nation to join in a great debate on economic myths and realities in

pursuit of fresh ideas and fresh thinking. Could you tell us, first, if you're satisfied with the response and, second, if you have any plans or proposals for uplifting that debate?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think we can always—we need a good deal more light on it, this matter.

I think that the Joint Economic Committee hearings have been very useful. The discussions by not only Americans but by Europeans of our fiscal and monetary policies have been very beneficial. I think that there's a good deal more consideration being given to them now than there has been in the past. We can do a lot more about it. I intend to continue to discuss what the proper mix should be under certain economic conditions. But it's quite a long struggle to try to change the thinking which has been driven into us for so many years. The concept—I talked to a distinguished banker the other day, who was one of those who most strongly believed that the fiscal deficit of 1962 was going to bring inflation in the winter and spring of 1962. Now he agrees that of course that didn't happen. So we've got to attempt to make more successful judgments and try to determine what should be both our interest rate policy and also our debt policy in times of economic slowdown.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, what do you think of former President Hoover's suggestion that a council of free nations be formed to supplement the United Nations and to act when Communist obstruction prevents the U.N. from acting?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we've been attempting to do that, of course, through the OAS, NATO, SEATO, and SENTO, and I think that we could certainly consider means of improving those agencies. I think one of the problems which we now have is how to improve the NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Council, OECD, and all the rest, and how we can improve the functioning of the OAS.

It isn't really a question of a new organization as much as breathing new life and

a community spirit into the organizations that we have. But I thought President Hoover's speech was worthy of a good deal of thought by us.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, do you have any information or indication that Communist-bloc troops or new supplies of any kind have been landed in Cuba recently?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, new supplies definitely, in large quantities. Troops? We do not have information, but an increased number of technicians.

Q. What is the significance of this, in your opinion?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we are examining it now.

Q. Do you think it is aimed at any other Central American country?

THE PRESIDENT. No, there is no evidence of that. And we're not talking about—as far as the numbers—we're not talking about the kind of entrants in numbers which would provide support for the sort of operation you suggested. What we are talking about are supplies and technicians of a rather intensive quantity in recent weeks.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, the Acoma Indians of New Mexico recently asked the Government to send Peace Corps technicians to their reservation. They were turned down. In view of the extensive efforts being made abroad, why can't we extend this kind of service to Indian groups within our own borders that are every bit as depressed as some of the foreign groups that we're helping?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I am not familiar with that. I think—the Peace Corps was set up to be sent abroad. Mr. Shriver and others have suggested setting up a Peace Corps at home and we have now been looking into that. But I haven't heard of this proposal. Whether we should particularly do it with the Indians I think is worth looking at.

[23.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us how much time you expect to be devoting to the campaign this fall?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I can't, but I will be

devoting some of my time in October and in late September.

[24.] Q. Mr. President, speaking of non-political matters, as you were a minute ago, the recent defeat of Congressman Frazier in Tennessee and the very close call of Congressman Loser have been blamed by some of the labor groups on their opposition to your bill on medicare through the higher social security taxes. Are you pleased with these results? Do you agree with that analysis and do you think you'll use this issue a little bit more in the other races?

THE PRESIDENT. I've always said that I thought health care for the aged would be a very important issue this fall, and that the American people would make a judgment. I think that that will certainly be one of the factors they will take into consideration in deciding which members they will support. I think this bill is essential, very valuable, very important, very responsible, and I think it will be an important issue in the fall. And I think it's been proven already to be.

[25.] Q. Mr. President, I understand that airlines between the United States and Europe are already heavily booked for U.S. tourist travel to Europe as soon as the lower fares go into effect in the fall. My questions are two:

First, are you concerned about this heavy spending and what it's going to do to our gold reserves for the last quarter of the year; and, two, do you think that service families will be happy to be separated from their military husband-fathers who are again being sent to Europe, this time for a 6-month tour, starting in October, when they read of other Americans free spending in Europe while they are being kept home to save the gold drain?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is very difficult for a good many of them to understand the difference between the burdens and obligations put on those in the public service and the freedom which is available to those in private life. We lose a billion dollars a year in our balance of payments between what we spend abroad as tourists and what we

spend—what tourists spend here. But Americans move freely and I think we have to do the best we can to bring our balance of payments into balance.

We're asking the servicemen to accept this sacrifice. We've not attempted to limit Americans going abroad, and I don't think that it would be desirable. We're trying to emphasize the freedom of goods to move, people to move, and all the rest, capital to move, and we are hopeful, however, as I've said before, that by the end of 1963 we'll have brought our balance of payments into sufficient balance to permit American troops greater freedoms than they now have in this regard.

[26.] Q. Mr. President, you spoke of the increased supplies going to Cuba. What countries are they going there from?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, the bloc.

[27.] Q. Mr. President, would you comment on George Humphrey's charge that the stockpiling investigation is a stab at the back of President Eisenhower, and also do you think that the profits made by his Hanna Nickel Company are the unconscionable profits that you referred to back in January?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, they are extremely large profits with very little risk to the company—extremely large profits. Now of course, the Hanna Company, itself, was investigated, not Mr. Humphrey as a responsible official of the Hanna Company, so I don't really see how—I can quite understand the desire of some witnesses to identify themselves with President Eisenhower or to limit the investigation by charging that it's an attack on President Eisenhower, but I think the Congress ought to do its job.

There are billions and billions involved in this stockpiling and I think it's important that the American people know how much

was paid and who made the money out of it and that's what's being done in this case. And there'll be other cases coming up after the Hanna case, because there are other very large profits involved by a good many other people.

[28.] Q. Mr. President, 4 months ago you nominated former Governor Almond of Virginia to the U.S. Court of Customs and Patent Appeals. Since that time the Senate Judiciary Committee has done nothing whatever towards his confirmation. I wonder if you will comment on that situation, and also if you will say whether you plan to make a recess appointment if the Senate fails to act?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don't quite understand why the Senate is failing to act. Governor Almond is a distinguished Governor of Virginia. It was my understanding when his name was sent up there that there was no objection by the Senators involved. I regret very much that the Senate isn't acting. I hope it will before the Senate has ended. I will make a judgment on what we do if it doesn't act at that time. But I'm still hopeful that the Senate will act because I think Governor Almond would be a very good judge.

[29.] Q. As a result of your agreement with President Sukarno, Mr. President, you have sent an economic survey team to Indonesia known as the Humphrey mission. Would you comment on the content or recommendations of the Humphrey report?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think we better wait until the matter has been examined by the Government.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's forty-first news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, August 22, 1962.

341 Remarks to a Group of Fulbright Exchange Teachers From Abroad. *August 23, 1962*

Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my very warm welcome to you at the White House. I understand that this is the end of your year—is it? or the beginning?—the beginning of your year. You look so American that I just figured that—[*laughter*].

What countries do we have represented here now? How many are there from Europe?

Voices: France.

THE PRESIDENT. What about Latin America?

Voices: Venezuela and Peru.

THE PRESIDENT. And there are some from Africa and Asia?

Voices: And India.

THE PRESIDENT. We are glad to have you here from all parts of the world. This Fulbright program has been, I think, one of the most useful efforts which have been made internationally to expand understanding. And I'm particularly glad that you are coming to the United States because I hope that you learn something about us, something

about our history and culture, and where we've been and where we're going.

I know also that you will teach a good deal more than you will learn, to a good many Americans who have lived a comparatively isolated life surrounded by two oceans through much of our history, and who have since the end of the second war been compelled and propelled by events to play a significant role in many parts of the world. This is an astonishing experience for a country whose whole life, whose whole policy, whose whole development was a national one. To be placed on the world stage at a most difficult time in the world of course presents entirely new problems to us.

You will be most welcome wherever you go, and we want you to know that you will teach and, we hope, learn. We are very glad to have you here, and I'm glad you've seen something of the White House. It belongs to all of the American people, and is also where I live. I'm glad to see you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

342 Statement by the President Upon Signing Order Removing Restriction on Entry Into Guam and the Pacific Islands Trust Territory. *August 23, 1962*

IN FURTHERANCE of our national policy of promoting self-government and encouraging expanded social and economic development in the Territories under United States administration, I have signed an Executive Order¹ rescinding a 1941 Executive Order (8683) which established the Guam Naval and Airspace Reservations. As a result of this action, Navy security clearances no longer will be required as a condition of entering the Territory of Guam thus

providing the same freedom of movement that exists in other parts of the United States.

Further, I have directed that regulations relating to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands be revised to facilitate free entry of United States citizens, United States investment and United States flag vessels into that area. Revised procedures will be developed by the Secretaries of State, Defense and Interior.

Entry into Eniwetok, Bikini and Kwajalein Atolls, together with such other islands as may be designated for national defense

¹ Executive Order 11045, dated August 21, 1962 (27 F.R. 8511).

purposes from time to time, will continue to be under control of the Department of Defense. All appropriate measures will be taken to insure that the security interests of the United States in the Pacific are amply safeguarded.

I intend that these actions I have taken will foster responsible political development, stimulate new economic activity, and enable the people of the Islands to participate fully in the world of today.

343 Address by Telephone to the Convention of the American Veterans of World War II. *August 23, 1962*

COMMANDER, I am most pleased to speak to you and to my fellow members of the Amvet organization on the occasion of your national convention in New York. Because of the times in which we live, my greetings today must inevitably include further demands on your patriotic efforts as veterans, for as you well know, we now face a world of new and difficult challenges in space, on earth, all around the globe, threats to peace, and therefore the demands on all of our citizens are correspondingly great. To meet the dangers of the world in which we live we are required to maintain a strong and versatile military force, one that can cover the broad spectrum of military operations. Because of this we are placing great emphasis, particularly in recent months, on developing our special forces, which are well suited to assist those governments in maintaining their position against the threats of guerrillas and insurgents. At the same time we've increased the strength of the Marine Corps and the number of combat-ready divisions in the Army from 11 to 16, and have begun reorganizing the Army to be more responsive to the many challenges we now face. In the Navy and the Air Force we've also achieved a greater overall readiness and have increased the Minuteman and the Polaris to add to our deterrent strength.

We are, as you know, also making a concentrated and widespread effort in the field of space. These are but a few of the actions which we are taking and must take in the future to deter those who do not wish us well, to maintain the peace, and to make it

possible for freedom to survive in the world today.

I am sure that those of you who felt the impact of war can well recognize the urgent need for us to maintain this strength, which is essential not only to us, but to the rest of the world. The purpose, of course, of all this concentrated effort must be to maintain the peace. We arm, as Winston Churchill said a decade ago, to parley, to make it possible for us through diplomatic means to maintain the peace of the world, to maintain our security and those who are associated with us.

As we move through these difficult times, it's particularly gratifying to me, as it is to the other members of the Government, both in the executive and in the Congress, to know that we have your strong support in the vital tasks that are ahead of us as a country. I'm confident with your support, which you have demonstrated on many battlefields and many different parts of the world, that with your support we can meet the challenges that lie ahead. I'm equally confident with the courage and perseverance on the part of all of our citizens that the peace and our freedom can be sustained. In this endeavor we must not fail.

I wish all of you a most successful convention, and it's a pleasure to speak to you from the White House.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon from his office at the White House. His opening word "Commander" referred to Edwin P. Fifielski, Commander of American Veterans of World War II.

344 Letter to Robert Troutman, Jr., Upon Receiving Report
"Plans for Progress—One Year's Accomplishments" of
the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.
August 23, 1962

[Released August 23, 1962. Dated August 22, 1962]

Dear Bob:

I have your letter advising of your resignation from the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and recognize that the demands on your personal time have been excessive. I can fully appreciate your need to return to your law practice and want you to know of my deep appreciation for the excellent work you have done.

I have had an opportunity to examine the report which you submitted and the results described there are most impressive. As you know, I participated at ceremonies at which Plans for Progress were executed and became aware of the keen interest and enthusiasm of these company presidents in taking every proper action to insure that their companies provide fair and equal opportunity for all Americans, regardless of race, color or creed, for gainful employment.

The work you have done, with your boundless energy, has apparently borne immediate and dramatic results. It seems to me that your year's effort has demonstrated two things: first, the feasibility of this approach and secondly, the need to pursue our objective vigorously and without letup. I am certain that the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity is similarly impressed with the work that has been done and will continue efforts along this line. I

understand that the Plans for Progress are not inconsistent with vigorous enforcement of the Executive Order but are complementary, in that (1) the program contemplates including companies not subject to the Order because they do not have government contracts and (2) although the emphasis is on affirmative efforts by these companies to find qualified non-whites, there is no immunity from the Executive Order for those subject to its provisions. It is clear that we must move forward on all approaches that will contribute to achieving our goal.

We are indebted to you for the creativity and ingenuity you have shown in attacking a great national problem, for your remarkable contribution of time and energy, and for the leadership you have provided. I am pleased to extend my personal thanks to you and hope you will also convey my gratitude to those who assisted you.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Mr. Troutman became Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity on April 3, 1961. His letter of resignation, dated August 22, and the report, dated August 20 (8 pp., processed), were released with the President's reply. In the third paragraph of his letter the President referred to Executive Order 10925 of March 6, 1961, which established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

345 Letter to Secretary Goldberg in Response to His Report on
the Mexican Farm Labor Program. *August 23, 1962*

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I have read your interim report to me on the administration of Public Law 78 under which Mexican Nationals are brought into

this country to meet seasonal shortages of domestic farm labor.

I am heartened by the improvements made in implementing this law. The actions re-

cently taken to further safeguard the interests of American farm workers are also encouraging. You will, I know, continue your efforts to improve the operation of the program in this respect.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The report "Mexican Labor Program Revisions" (7 pp., processed) and Secretary Goldberg's letter of submittal, dated August 21, were released with the President's reply.

346 Remarks by Telephone to the Midwestern Democratic Conference at French Lick, Indiana. *August 24, 1962*

THE SUCCESS of any political party is important only as it helps advance the interests of our country, and I think this election is most important because I think we have a real chance to provide effective cooperation between the Congress and the Executive to move the United States forward.

And there is no section of the country that will be more important in this election than the Middle West. In the 1958 congressional election we won a number of seats, 23 of them. In 1960, in the presidential election, we lost 15 of them. And I think that it's vitally important that we win these seats back. Time and again we have seen important matters which benefit the entire United States won or lost in the House or Senate by one or two votes. So that every district is important, every House seat, every Senate seat, every Governor seat.

I'm confident that from this conference at French Lick we will go forward with renewed commitments not to our party alone but to our country. This administration has been in office for a year and a half. In that time we have effectively strengthened our policy abroad in a number of areas.

We have developed the Alliance for Progress, which I think has brought a new impetus to the American relations south of the border. And it has been possible for us to visit some of those countries and find a real feeling of friendship for this country, not one of hostility.

We have developed a disarmament agency, and are now working at Geneva to provide an end to this arms race. We have put new

emphasis on developing our military force in order that we can bring about successful negotiations. Where a year and a half ago we had 11 combat divisions, we now have 16. We have strengthened our nuclear and our conventional and our antiguerrilla forces. We have made a determined effort in the field of space, and we have placed more money in the space budget than the previous 8 years combined.

We came into office at a time of recession, and we have moved in the last 18 months steadily forward, with steady increases in all sections of the American economy. The difference, perhaps, between the two parties is best expressed in the thought that we're not satisfied, however, with what we've done. We feel we must go forward. We feel that there is an opportunity for patient diplomacy abroad, our efforts to try to work out a peaceful settlement in Laos, our efforts to work out a peaceful settlement in New Guinea, our constant efforts to work out a peaceful solution to the problems of the Congo—all these indicate that in a very dangerous and hazardous world it is necessary for us to have patience and strength and perseverance.

I am glad to have a chance to express my strong support to the efforts that you're making there tonight and at this conference. The Democratic Party traditionally has been identified with progress in this country. And I think it's important for us, and the great hope of the free world, to emphasize progress today, to have a Congress which will work with the Executive in providing a better life for our people, in the cities, on

the farms, and not merely to stand still, and not merely to oppose, and not merely to say that every new proposal must be defeated.

We have had the same struggle to provide progress for our people in the administration of Woodrow Wilson, and of Franklin Roosevelt, and Harry Truman, and we have it today. The concept of a dynamic, progressive, and forwardlooking United States is the concept which has been closely held by the Democratic Party.

I believe that in 1962 the American people, realizing that the world is changing and that we must move forward with strength, will choose once again the Demo-

cratic Party, and that we will come to the session in January 1963 with a stronger House and Senate and a stronger position in the Governors' chairs, working for a better America.

I wish you well, and I can assure you that we will be campaigning with you all through the fall. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke from his residence in Hyannis Port, Mass. Prior to his formal remarks he spoke briefly with John Bailey, Chairman, Democratic National Committee; Matthew E. Welsh, Governor of Indiana; and Vance Hartke, U.S. Senator from Indiana.

347 Letter to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt on Receiving Report by the Commission on the Status of Women. *August 26, 1962*

[Released August 26, 1962. Dated August 25, 1962]

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I was very pleased to receive your report on the work of my Commission on the Status of Women, which you head, and I commend you and the other members of the Commission for the work done so far.

You can be especially pleased with the advances you have brought about by opening increased opportunities for women in the Federal service and in the higher ranks of our Armed Forces. These are but two examples of the areas you are attacking where this type of discrimination has prevented the full use of talents and skills.

It will be forty-two years tomorrow since women gained the right to participate fully in the governing of our country through the

right to vote. It is appropriate on this date, therefore, that we take note of the progress made and the distance to be traveled to achieve full equality for all of our citizens.

Please accept my thanks for the important part you are playing in this difficult task. I know that the Commission will continue to make a beneficial contribution to our society.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Chairman, President's Commission on the Status of Women, Washington 25, D.C.]

NOTE: The "Progress Report to the President" (4 pp., processed), and Mrs. Roosevelt's letter of submittal, dated August 24, were released with the President's reply.

348 Joint Statement With Prime Minister Macmillan on Nuclear Testing. *August 27, 1962*

A GUARANTEED end to all nuclear testing in all environments is a fundamental objective of the free world. We are deeply convinced that the achievement of this objective would serve our best national interests

and the national interests of all the nations of the world.

In recent weeks the United States and the United Kingdom have renewed their efforts at the Geneva Disarmament Conference to

reach this goal. Based on the latest scientific findings of our research program, we have put forward proposals in the strong hope of obtaining prompt agreement on this crucial issue.

As a further step in the direction of this long-sought-after goal, the United States and the United Kingdom have instructed their representatives at Geneva to present today to the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee a draft treaty containing proposals for an end to all nuclear testing in all environments as well as an alternative draft treaty providing for an end to nuclear testing in the atmosphere, underwater, and in outer space. We both believe the arrangements we have outlined in these documents for insuring compliance with the terms of the agreement—whether comprehensive or limited—are sound and reasonable providing, as they do, the necessary guarantees for our own security and the security of all nations which might become parties to either agreement. We wish to make clear the strong preference of the United States and the United Kingdom for prompt action on the first of them, namely, the comprehensive treaty. However, we are also prepared to conclude an early agreement on the basis of the second

document, that covering a more limited field, if this represents the widest area of agreement possible at this time.

Unlike a ban on testing in all environments, including underground, a treaty banning tests in the atmosphere, underwater and in outer space can be effectively verified without on-site inspections. Such a treaty would result in a definite downward turn in the arms race as it is represented by testing to develop weapons technology. It would make it easier to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to countries not now possessing them. It would free mankind from the dangers and fear of radioactive fallout. Furthermore, agreement on such a treaty might be a first step toward an agreement banning testing in all environments.

The United States and the United Kingdom cannot emphasize too strongly the urgency we attach to the problem of ending all nuclear testing once and for all. For the safety and security of all of us, this deadly competition must be halted and we, again, urge the Soviet Government to join with us in meaningful action to make this necessity a reality.

NOTE: The joint statement was released at Newport, R.I.

349 Farewell Remarks to Participants in the Summer Intern Program for College Students. *August 28, 1962*

Ladies and gentlemen:

Somewhat belatedly I want to welcome you all to the White House. I assume that you're all not only older since we last met, but also wiser, and I hope that this summer's work has been useful to you in whatever you do, and that some of you will be tempted to come back to Washington and work with us.

I wonder if we could ask how many have become interested in either becoming a politician or a civil servant or a bureaucrat as a result of this summer? Perhaps you could hold up your hand.

What about the rest of you?

In any case, I'm delighted to welcome you to the White House.

This tree behind me was planted by Andrew Jackson. The balcony was built by Harry Truman, and that tree over there was planted by John Adams. So I think that just visiting this historic house and these grounds does bring you in more intimate contact with American history. You've heard a good many Americans who occupy positions of responsibility this summer. There is some feeling, I know, by a good many Americans, that the American Constitution, which Gladstone called the

most notable work ever struck off by the mind of man, gives us an automatic light to the future, guides our way, and that all we have to do is follow the very clear precepts it lays down for us.

Well, the American Constitution is an extraordinary document and it is certainly the most extraordinary written constitution in the history of the world, but it has required men to make it work, and it still does today. After all, the Constitution was written for an entirely different period in our Nation's history. It was written under entirely different conditions. It was written during a period of isolation. It was written at a time when there were 13 different units which had to be joined together and which, of course, were extremely desirous of limiting the central power of the Government.

That Constitution has served us extremely well, but all of its clauses, the general welfare and due process and all the rest, had to be interpreted by man and had to be made to work by men. And it has to be made to work today in an entirely different world from the days in which it was written, both at home and abroad.

I am always struck by the fact that the United States, which has had so many gifted political leaders, in the days before the war, beginning in 1860 and '61, that we had for a period of 30 years in the Congress the most extraordinarily gifted figures that we've had in our history—Calhoun, Clay, Douglas, Benton, and all the rest; and yet they dealt in their whole life, and many of them stayed in the Congress for a generation, with only three or four problems: tariffs, States rights, and the new States coming in, slavery, currency, and two or three others, and yet this extraordinarily gifted group of men failed, and as a result, of course, we had this long and bloody war.

Now, perhaps, our political leaders may not be so gifted and yet they deal with questions which are far more complex than the questions which came across the desks of our people a century ago.

We deal with questions of monetary and fiscal policy. We deal with questions which are esoteric—balance of payments, nuclear tests, the mix of our strategic weapons. We have obligations stretching all around the globe, and yet this country must make not only our society work, but all those societies which are dependent upon us.

This is an extraordinary obligation which presses upon those who hold positions of responsibility in the National Government today. And where these rather towering figures of a century ago failed in dealing with the relatively few and, in a way, obvious questions with which they had to deal, now the questions which come across our desks and, therefore, really, in a sense, the desk of every citizen, every active voter, dwarf in complexity and significance and importance all that went then.

So that is why I urge those of you who have touched the Government in one department or another to think of coming back. I know perhaps a generation ago, or even 10 or 15 years ago, a Government career was regarded in a sense for those who wanted the more secure and steady life. That isn't true, of course, today. Whether you serve the Government abroad—and I can assure you it isn't a place for those who prefer the gentle winds—I think whether you work for the United States abroad, as did Major Bailey, who I saw yesterday, who served us in Laos, or whether you work here in Washington or any place, this is the most challenging career that could possibly be before any American. And while the compensation may not be as great—the immediate financial compensation—nevertheless the rewards are unlimited.

So I hope that those of you who can will come back here. Those of you who cannot will choose some other way of serving the general interest. For the next 10 or 20 years the burdens will be placed completely upon our country for the preservation of freedom. We stand in the center and we are associated with allies, we are associated with those who are neutral but who are friendly to us, we are

associated with those who have a latent hostility to us, but all depends upon the keystone which is the United States. And that is a sober responsibility for a country which 20 years ago prided itself on its long isolationist and neutralist tradition.

So I hope you do come back. Woodrow Wilson once said that every man sent out from a university should be a man of his nation as well as a man of his time. Those of you who have the advantage of college educations and work here I think can represent the best kind of civil servant or politician. It is an attractive career, I assure you, and I wouldn't want anyone to sit on the sidelines today when so much goes on in the mainstream.

"Would you have counted him a friend of ancient Greece," a great American educator

asked a century ago, at the time of the Kansas-Missouri struggle, "Would you have counted him a friend of ancient Greece who quietly discussed the theory of patriotism on that hot summer day through those hopeless and immortal hours Leonidas and the 300 stood at Thermopylae for liberty? Would you count anyone a friend of freedom who stands aside today?"

So I hope that you come in and join us because the water is not too cold. I'm glad to see you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

In his remarks the President referred to Maj. Lawrence R. Bailey of Laurel, Md., who on August 27 had been awarded the Bronze Star Medal for meritorious service. Major Bailey was a captive of the Laotian Communist forces for nearly a year and a half.

350 Remarks to Members of the Executive Committee of American Heritage Foundation. *August 28, 1962*

Mr. Brophy, gentlemen:

I want to congratulate the American Heritage Foundation for its effort to once again bring to the attention of the American people the importance of participating in political activity. This participation is an essential part of being a responsible citizen, and in these very important days, when our country bears great responsibilities, I do think it vitally important that every citizen votes, that he supports the party of his choice, that he be informed of the issues, and that he be registered and turn out in November.

The American Heritage Foundation has brought together some startling statistics of the rather regrettable lack of interest, particularly in the off years when we elect the entire House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate. In 1958 the percentage of our civilians of voting age who went to the polls was only 43 percent, which means that a majority of our people did not vote.

The activities of the National Govern-

ment affect the lives of all of our citizens. And I hope that all of our citizens will participate in the selection of their national Government, their Congress, their other leaders in the State legislatures, in the Governors' chairs.

This is a very vital business, running a democracy, and it needs the help of all of our citizens, so I want to congratulate the American Heritage Foundation for its effort on a nonpartisan basis to remind us of a very fundamental obligation. I must say that I am registered, I am supporting the party of my choice, and I intend to vote in November.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in the Fish Room at the White House following introductory remarks by Thomas D'Arcy Brophy, member of the Board of Trustees, American Heritage Foundation. Mr. Brophy spoke briefly on the Foundation's 1962 program for encouraging registration and voting and presented the President with one of the information kits developed for use in the program.

351 Remarks to a Group of Junior Red Cross Representatives From Abroad. *August 29, 1962*

I AM GLAD to welcome you all to the White House. General, we appreciated your thought about having them come by and see us. I'm glad to see so many here from so many different countries. Maybe we could just get you all identified now. Who's here from Austria? Just hold up your hands. Belgium? Bolivia? Canada? Chile? Colombia? Ecuador? Finland? France? West Germany? Great Britain? Greece? Guatemala? Honduras? India? Indonesia? Iran? Italy? Japan? South Korea? Lebanon? Liberia? Luxembourg? Mexico? Monaco? Morocco? Netherlands? New Zealand? Nicaragua? Nigeria? Pakistan? Panama? Peru? The Philippines? Poland? Sweden—*Svenska*? Switzerland? Thailand? Togo? Turkey? United Arab Republic? Yugoslavia? How about the rest of you? Where is Miss Vera Dojcinovic? United States? General, you hold up your hand.

We're glad to have you here, and I must say I think it's most encouraging to have people from so many different countries, including countries where the Government leaders don't always get on, but I think the people do, and I think that it's a very good

reminder to all of us. What hopes we can have for the future and our hopes are in all of you, and also in the very important work that the Red Cross, Red Crescent, and the Red Lion and Sun all do for suffering people everywhere. There are no national boundaries to that issue, and there is only a question of whether we can extend a helping hand.

I congratulate all of you for your interest in this cause. It's most worthwhile. Whether you help someone in your own country or in some foreign country the general cause is served. So we're very glad to have you here. I'm sure your families are proud of you, and your countries, and as a great believer in the cause in which you're engaged, I'm very proud of you. So we're happy to have you here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. During his remarks he referred to Vera Dojcinovic of Belgrade, one of the representatives from Yugoslavia.

The group, composed of 112 representatives of the Red Cross, Red Crescent, and Red Lion and Sun Societies from 42 countries, was introduced by Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, Chairman of the American National Red Cross.

352 The President's News Conference of *August 29, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon. I have several announcements to make.

[1.] I regret to announce that Associate Justice Frankfurter has retired from regular active service on the Supreme Court. He has served in the Court for 23 years, and for many years before that had an illustrious career as a lawyer and teacher. During his service on the Court, the direction of the law has been channeled by many important decisions which he has rendered. He has always been a vital force in directing those

decisions. Few judges have made as significant and lasting impression upon the law. Few persons have made so important a contribution to our legal traditions and literature. Now regard for his health has compelled him to take a less active part in the Court's labors, and we shall miss him.

To the vacancy created by Justice Frankfurter's retirement, I intend to appoint Secretary Goldberg. Secretary Goldberg will bring to the Court a wealth of experience gained from the active practice of law

for over 30 years. He has had an enviable record of accomplishment at the bar and his character, temperament, and ability superbly qualify him for service on the Court. I believe that his scholarly approach to the law, combined with his deep understanding of our economic and political systems, will make him a valuable member of the Supreme Court. His place as an adviser and as head of the Department of Labor will be difficult to fill, but I am confident that he will find an equally wide opportunity for public service in his new position.

[2.] In Geneva this morning the Soviet representative proposed that agreement should be reached on a cutoff time for all nuclear weapon tests and that this date should be set as of January 1, 1963. I'm happy to say that the United States Government regards this as a reasonable target date and would like to join with all interested parties in a maximum effort to conclude effective agreements which can enter force on next New Year's Day. To accomplish this purpose the governments involved must accelerate their negotiations looking toward an agreed treaty.

For our part in the United States, such an agreed treaty must be presented to the Senate for consent to ratification. We therefore have no time to lose. The world will welcome an agreement that a way should be found to stop all nuclear testing at the end of this year. But I must point out again that in order to end testing, we must have workable international agreements, gentlemen's agreements and moratoria do not provide the type of guarantees that are necessary. They do not give assurance against an abrupt renewal of testing by unilateral action. This is the lesson of the Soviet Government's tragic decision to renew testing just a year ago. Nor can such informal arrangements give any assurance against secret underground testing. That is why we must have a definite agreement with reasonable and adequate assurance. The United States cannot be a party to any renewal of false hopes which the Soviet Government shattered last Sep-

tember. The two treaties now before the Geneva conference have been prepared with care to meet the technical necessities of an effective test ban. If the Soviet Government will accept a serious and formal agreement in either form, a real downward turn in the arms race is possible. The United States Government for its part will spare no effort to this end.

[3.] Finally, I am very happy to announce and express great pleasure that the Schola Cantorum of the University of Arkansas won first prize for a 40-voice choral group at the Arezzo International Polyphonic Group contest in Italy. This is the first time this contest has ever been won by an American group. They were sent by private citizens. The prize of 300,000 lira was presented by President Segni and Prime Minister Fanfani. We are inviting them to the White House at the Rose Garden at 12 noon, September 4, and we are very proud of them.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, how do you feel about the prospects of the National Farmers Organization holding meat and grain off the market until processors promise to pay higher prices? Do you think, for example, the farmers have the same rights as an industrial union to strike and thus deprive consumers of their product?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, there's no evidence that they are planning to deprive consumers of their products. What they would like to do is get a higher price for their products and it is a fact, of course, that farm income is low. Last year it was \$2 billion above the figure of 1960, the highest it had been in 9 years, but farmers are very—particularly those that live on small farms, work a very hard day, and are paid a relatively low wage.

This kind of an effort has been tried, in the twenties and the thirties and other occasions, and it's not been successful because there are so many farmers. They are so separated that it's not been possible to have them together present a bargaining position, and it is because of that that the Federal Government has entered into the matter. So

I could not speculate on what their success will be.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, we were told the other day that Wilkes Thrasher of Chattanooga had been in to see you and that you were inclined to support his candidacy for Congress from Tennessee. Today we had an announcement that he is on the American delegation that's going down to observe, or help Trinidad celebrate its independence. I was wondering if this constitutes your idea of support or whether you have any plans, perhaps, to do a little political or nonpolitical campaigning in the South.

THE PRESIDENT. No, this does not constitute the action which I would hope to take to support his candidacy, this visit this weekend. This is a nonpolitical trip of his. As far as coming to Tennessee, I've no plans as yet and in fact, I haven't worked out my schedule for any State. But I support his candidacy.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, the United States has been urging four-power consultations in order to reduce tensions in Berlin. In this connection there have been reports of a foreign ministers meeting in advance of the General Assembly and also there has been speculation that you may personally meet with Mr. Khrushchev at the U.N. Would you give us your views on this, please?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. On the first matter there will be a meeting of the foreign ministers before the meeting of the General Assembly. It's been agreed to in principle; the time and location has not been set.

On the second matter, I think I responded last week to the question of Mr. Khrushchev's coming. We have no information and I've nothing really to add to what I said last week on this matter.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, some time ago you spoke about the problem of dealing with preparations of nuclear tests which can be carried on in a secret society to our disadvantage, as you pointed out. Can you tell us what has happened to this problem in these current negotiations?

THE PRESIDENT. We have indicated that if

we could get an across the board agreement which would include a cessation of atmospheric tests and underground tests with adequate inspection for the underground tests, that we would feel that our security would be advanced, and we would accept that.

If there is only an atmospheric test ban which does not require inspection, of course, then other underground tests would continue. Quite obviously, the first agreement is the most desirable one. If we can't get that because of the Soviet Union's reluctance to permit us to have an effective inspection system, then we would like to get the second, because that would have an effect on the arms race and it would also have an effect, of course, on the problem of radiation. In that case, of course, underground testing would be permitted and we believe that that would give us sufficient assurance against the kind of event which happened last September.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, a recent decision of the Supreme Court said that the Postmaster General does not have the authority to keep pornographic material out of the United States mails except in a limited way, and the most dreadful stuff is coming into our homes into the hands of our children, brought by the United States mails. Now, have you or will you talk with the Attorney General and the Postmaster General as to how this can be remedied?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the statutes on the distribution of pornographic literature are well, I am sure, known. There's always been a problem, of course, of what is pornography and what is not. And the courts have made judgments in regard to several well-known books recently which some people regard as pornographic and others regard as great literature. I would not make the judgment today.

I think it is a problem, not only in the mails but on the magazines, and it's a matter of concern for parents. I don't think that the Post Office can be expected to do anything but carry out the laws, nor can the

Attorney General, and the laws, which are interpreted by the courts, are quite clear.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with Berlin, there have been reports that the Soviets are interested in holding a four-power meeting, that is, a meeting of the four occupying powers in Berlin, to discuss the Berlin situation. Have you seen any indications of this?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I'm not familiar with any proposal by the Soviet Union to discuss—perhaps you'd repeat exactly what it is—

Q. There have been indications or there have been reports that the Soviets are interested in a four-power meeting.

THE PRESIDENT. No, I have seen nothing about that. I've seen no recent proposal by the Soviet Union that there should be a four-power conference in Berlin to discuss the future of Berlin. We've had no indication that the Soviet Union has made that proposal.

[10.] Q. Sir, your brother is campaigning for the Senate on a slogan that he can do more for the State of Massachusetts. Does this imply that if he were elected, he would have more advantages as a Senator than other Members of the Senate?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think what he assumes is—as a matter of fact, I believe that the slogan is very similar to the one that I used in 1952, and we worked very hard for Massachusetts. I think he thinks that he can work very hard for Massachusetts and do more for it than the other candidates. I don't read any more into it than that. And I'm sure other candidates feel that they can do more. Only the people of Massachusetts, fortunately, can make the judgment, not the Republican press.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, the decision of the House leaders to put off consideration of your foreign aid bill until September 19 is being interpreted as a sign that it is weak and in some danger of losing. Is this your attitude?

THE PRESIDENT. I know the hazard in committee, but that has happened before. There

are two primaries next week and we have the problem of the U.N. bonds, so it's really a scheduling matter, not a question of attempting to delay its coming up. I would say I can imagine nothing more shortsighted than to cut the heart out of this program, as some people wish to do. I was looking at some figures today which showed that the Soviet Union had given in economic and military assistance to one country, Indonesia, over \$300 million in the last 12 months. They are giving, as we all know, substantial military and economic assistance to Cuba, as well as many other countries. Now, here are these countries, particularly those in Latin America, which have many economic, serious economic problems, those countries in Africa which are newly emerging, those countries along the Soviet Union border beginning with Greece, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India, Thailand, and the others, South Viet-Nam, many of them are hard pressed, South Korea, the Republic of China—they depend upon the United States to assist them in maintaining their freedom. Now we have an appropriation of \$50 billion for national defense, and a large appropriation for defense, an appropriation for the Atomic Energy Commission. It seems to me to be the height of folly to appropriate these large sums of money for military organization, and let these very vital countries pass into the Communist bloc. I find it very ironical that those who make the strongest speeches against the Communist movements are the ones who want to cut this program the hardest, which is the most valuable weapon immediately that we have on the front lines against the Communist advance. This is a position which I've held, which President Eisenhower holds, and President Truman before him. I can assure any member of the Congress, or any citizen sitting here, this is a very vital program, and I would hope that it would be approached from a bipartisan point of view as it has in the past. This is completely removed from the Democratic-Republican dialog. We would not have been successful last year without

help of Republican members in the House and Senate, and I'm sure that a good many of them are going to help again, because this is in the vital interests of the United States.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, could we make quite sure of the import of your remarks on inspection against preparation, because in a news conference last February you said that this would be necessary for even a ban on atmosphere tests. Were you saying just now that we do not believe that this kind of inspection against preparation is necessary?

THE PRESIDENT. What I am suggesting is if the test agreement covered only the atmosphere, that there would be under such an agreement possible—quite obviously—a continuation of tests underground and there would be other steps which we could take under those conditions which would keep our preparations, if there was a sudden breach of the kind we had last year, which would keep our preparations in a position to protect our interests.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, was it when you called on Mr. Justice Frankfurter about 2 weeks ago at his home that he informed you of his intention to retire—

THE PRESIDENT. No.

Q. —and could you also shed some light on when you decided to appoint Secretary Goldberg?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. I received a letter from the Justice. He did not discuss it with me nor did I with him. I received a letter from him yesterday and I wrote him last night, and I will release both of those letters right after this news conference. I decided after I received the Justice's letter that I would appoint Secretary Goldberg, last night, and discussed it with him on that occasion.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, Senator Capehart of Indiana in a speech the other day said that the Communists are sending troops into Cuba, not technicians, as you told us last week. Capehart, according to the UPI, also called for United States invasion of Cuba to

stop the flow of troops and supplies. Would you comment, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. We've no evidence of troops. And I must say that I know that this matter is of great concern to Americans and many others. The United States has obligations all around the world, including West Berlin and other areas, which are very sensitive, and, therefore, I think that in considering what appropriate action we should take, we have to consider the totality of our obligations, and also the responsibilities which we bear in so many different parts of the world.

In response to your specific question, we do not have information that troops have come into Cuba, number one. Number two, the main thrust, of course, is assistance because of the mismanagement of the Cuban economy which has brought widespread dissatisfaction, economic slowdown, agricultural failures, which have been so typical of the Communist regimes in so many parts of the world. So that I think the situation was critical enough that they needed to be bolstered up.

However, we are continuing to watch what happens in Cuba with the closest attention and will respond to—will be glad to announce any new information, if it should come, immediately.

Q. Mr. President, did you answer my question, or Capehart's suggestion that we invade Cuba? What was that answer?

THE PRESIDENT. I'm not for invading Cuba at this time. No, I don't—the words do not have some secondary meaning. I think it would be a mistake to invade Cuba, because I think it would lead to—that it should be very—an action like that, which could be very casually suggested, could lead to very serious consequences for many people.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, the Soviets, as you well know, are continuing to use armored cars to transport their military personnel into West Berlin. Some persons on the scene have expressed the view that unless we object to this, it will give the

Soviets additional rights in West Berlin which they have not had in the past and correspondingly reduce our rights in West Berlin. What could you tell us—

THE PRESIDENT. I don't hold that view at all. I don't agree with that. In my opinion, it doesn't have that effect at all.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia has proposed that the 14 nations involved in the Laos conference be reconvened in order to guarantee Cambodia's neutrality. How feasible is such a proposal?

THE PRESIDENT. We are examining his proposal, and we've had conversations with officials of that government. We of course strongly support Cambodia's independence, neutrality, and the sanctity of its borders, and we would of course be glad to take any step which would advance the maintenance of those rights to which Cambodia as a sovereign power is entitled. So we are attempting to consider what step will most usefully advance the objectives which Prince Sihanouk wrote us about.

The question of the conference, and whether this would advance it, is a matter which is being considered, but his interests as expressed in the letter are our interests, and in my opinion should be the interests of other free nations.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, I wonder if a distinction could be made with respect to the troops in Cuba. Some of us were told at the State Department the other day that there is Russian military personnel in Cuba, that these are military technicians, and are the people who are probably going to operate missiles, similar to the Nike missiles. Is this in accord—

THE PRESIDENT. I don't know who told you that at the State Department, that they're going to operate Nike missiles, because that information we do not have at this time. There certainly are technicians there. They may be military technicians. We don't have complete information about what's going on in Cuba, but in the sense that troops—the

word "troops" is generally used, they've had a military advisory commission there for a long period of time, so there may be additional military advisory personnel there or technicians. But on the question of troops, as it's generally understood, we do not have evidence that there are Russian troops there. There is an expanded advisory and technical mission.

Q. Are there no antiaircraft missiles shipped into Cuba?

THE PRESIDENT. We have no information as yet. That doesn't mean that there haven't been, but all I'm saying is that we have no such information as yet.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, William C. Foster, head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has said that even if an East-West nuclear test ban treaty with adequate safeguards were negotiated, there's no assurance that it will not be violated. In view of this, and the rising levels of fallout, would there be then much of a risk in signing a treaty to ban all tests in the atmosphere, in the air, outer space, and water, and undertaking then a voluntary moratorium on underground testing?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, there would be a great risk, because we've been through the moratorium route. I would hope we could sign the atmospheric test, which does not require inspection. The underground tests do require inspection to determine if there's been cheating. We went that road before for 3 years, and we found while we were negotiating, the Soviet Union had been preparing for many months to test, so we couldn't accept that again.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, this morning's newspapers carried reports out of Moscow to the effect that traffic from the Soviet Union to Cuba has increased so substantially that they're using ships from NATO countries to deliver some of these goods. Is this a matter you think the United States should take up with the NATO countries?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, definitely, definitely, and I should think that those who are asso-

ciated with us would consider this matter very carefully, and consider what steps they could take to discourage it.

Q. We have up to now not asked our NATO partners?

THE PRESIDENT. We've been in consultation with them about the matter.

[20.] Q. Sir, I wondered if you've had time this last week to figure out some means whereby we might insist that if we give money to the U.N. by bonds, buying bonds or through a contingency fund, that there's some way that we could make them guarantee that the money we give them would not be used in military action against Katanga, and also be used by troops that commit atrocities.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I thought we went over this road last week, but I'm glad to go over it again.

Q. You said that you had not immediately agreed with the part about atrocities, and I thought maybe this last week you might have had time to reconsider.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I have thought about it, and I would say that I'd just like—I know the interest some have in Katanga, which I have always found to be interesting, but I will say that the situation in the Congo is very critical. And it's not only the matter of the Congo, of Katanga, but also the situation in the rest of the Congo, which has no funds except those that have been supplied by the United Nations and by the United States, in very limited amounts of trade, and if we are unsuccessful or if the Congolese are unsuccessful—in bringing about a union on a satisfactory basis between the Katanga and the Congo—the remaining of the Congo—you are liable to find a very critical situation in the rest of the Congo, which would be very dangerous to the free world. So I would hope that those who have enlisted on one side or another would consider the general interest of a united Congo in a peaceful non-Communist Africa, which I believe very much at issue.

Now, in regard to the U.N. bonds, I strongly support it and I think that the cause of the United States as well as the free world would be advanced if the bonds were passed and the United Nations kept going. I don't want to see the United Nations go bankrupt and all of its peacekeeping machinery go into the ash can.

[21.] Q. Sir, would you tell us what the Monroe Doctrine means to you today in the light of world conditions and in Cuba?

THE PRESIDENT. The Monroe Doctrine means what it has meant since President Monroe and John Quincy Adams enunciated it, and that is that we would oppose a foreign power extending its power to the Western Hemisphere. And that's why we oppose what is being—what's happening in Cuba today. That's why we have cut off our trade. That's why we worked in the OAS and in other ways to isolate the Communist menace in Cuba. That's why we'll continue to give a good deal of our effort and attention to it.

[22.] Q. Mr. President, on the question of nuclear tests, can you explain how the security of the United States can be adequately protected by an agreement on our part 4 months hence to sign a test treaty, ban treaty, while the Soviet Union is in the middle of an extensive series of tests? Does this mean that you have determined that in this series they cannot catch up or overtake us?

THE PRESIDENT. We do not believe that they could make sufficient progress in this series of tests to adversely affect our security, number one; and number two, if we do not get an agreement, and I would say the chances are not—I'm not sanguine about the chances of an agreement—if we do not get an agreement, the danger to the United States will be greatly increased as more and more countries develop an atomic capacity and present us with an increasing danger as the decade goes on. So in answer to your question, I believe that the quicker we can get a test agreement the better off we will be.

Q. Mr. President, did you once say that you would make a determination at the end of any Russian series as to whether there would be a need for another American series?

THE PRESIDENT. I tried to respond that in our judgment our security would be assisted by an effective agreement if we could secure it by January 1st, or by any other date, because I consider the constant development of new and more dangerous weapons by not only the United States and the Soviet Union, but by other powers, and particularly the very strong possibility that proliferation will mark this decade if we don't get an agreement, as a matter of maximum peril to the United States, as well as the free world; and, therefore, if we can get an agreement it's in our interest and in our security.

Those who oppose an agreement should consider what our security will look like at the end of this decade if we do not have the agreement and we have the possibility of 10 or 15 countries having these weapons, and when one goes off, it may mean they all go off. So this administration will leave no stone unturned to get an agreement, if we can get it, and provide for our security on the basis which I enunciated in my original statement.

[23.] Q. Mr. President, a memorandum from the FCC has been reported sent to the White House relating to censorship of international telecasting and broadcasting. Would you care to comment upon your attitude towards such censorship?

THE PRESIDENT. I'm not familiar with it. No, I haven't seen such a memorandum.

Q. What is your attitude toward such a proposal?

THE PRESIDENT. I'd like to see the memorandum. Then I can give you a much more responsive answer.

[24.] Q. Mr. President, there appears to be growing concern among scientists as to the possibility of dangerous long-range side effects from the widespread use of DDT and other pesticides. Have you considered asking the Department of Agriculture or the

Public Health Service to take a closer look at this?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, and I know that they already are. I think particularly, of course, since Miss Carson's book,¹ but they are examining the matter.

[25.] Q. Mr. President, a day after you left California last week, the proposed debate between our Governor and Mr. Nixon blew sky high, and it's been suggested since in public speculation that you advised our Governor to avoid this kind of confrontation. As the reigning champion in this field, I wondered if you would like to tell us whether or not you did discuss this with Governor Brown and also if maybe the time has come when you would tell us what you once suggested you would have advised Mr. Nixon.

THE PRESIDENT. No, but I will say I never did discuss the format with Governor Brown. I understand that Governor Brown is suggesting the format which was used in the '60 campaign, which was used the other night in Boston and which I think is very satisfactory. But they have to work out those details. Now I think that the best—in answer to your last, I will be glad to tell you in November.

[26.] Q. Sir, would you explain how an agreement to be signed only by the currently existing nuclear powers would prevent the arising of other nuclear powers?

THE PRESIDENT. Quite obviously, if other powers went ahead with testing, of course, then the agreement would cease to have very much effectiveness.

It is our hope that the signing by the major nuclear powers today will arrest the spread and not make it essential. But it is only a hope.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's forty-second news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, August 29, 1962.

¹ Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962).

353 Letter to Justice Frankfurter Upon His Retirement
From the Supreme Court. *August 29, 1962*

[Released August 29, 1962. Dated August 28, 1962]

My dear Mr. Justice Frankfurter:

Your retirement from regular active service on the Supreme Court ends a long and illustrious chapter in your life, and I understand well how hard a choice you have made. Along with all your host of friends I have followed with admiration your gallant and determined recovery, and I have shared the general hope that you would return soon to the Court's labors. From my own visit I know of your undiminished spirit and your still contagious zest for life. That you now take the judgment of the doctors and set it sternly against your own demanding standard of judicial effectiveness is characteristic, but it comes as an immediate disappointment.

Still, if you will allow it, I will say that there is also consolation in your decision. I believe it good for you as well as for the rest of us that you should now be free, in reflective leisure, for activities that are impossible in the demanding life of a Justice of the Supreme Court. You have been part of American public life for well over half a century. What you have learned of the meaning of our country is reflected, of course, in many hundreds of opinions, in thousands of your students, and in dozens of books and articles. But you have a very great deal still to tell us, and therefore I am glad to know that the doctors are telling you, in effect, not to retire, but only to turn to a new line of work, with new promise of service to the Nation.

Meanwhile, I should like to offer to Mrs. Frankfurter and to you, for myself and for all Americans, our respectful gratitude for the character, courage, learning and judicial dedication with which you have served your country over the last twenty-three years.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Justice Frankfurter's letter of resignation, dated August 28, 1962, follows:

My dear Mr. President:

Pursuant to the provisions of 28 U.S.C. [Sec.] 371(b), 68 Stat. 12, I hereby retire at the close of this day from regular active service as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The occasion for my retirement arises from the affliction which I unexpectedly suffered last April. Since then I have undergone substantial improvement. High expectations were earlier expressed by my doctors that I would be able to resume my judicial duties with the beginning of the next Term of the Court, commencing October 1. However, they now advise me that the stepped-up therapy essential to that end involves hazards which might jeopardize the useful years they anticipate still lie ahead for me.

The Court should not enter its new Term with uncertainty as to whether I might later be able to return to unrestricted duty. To retain my seat on the basis of a diminished work schedule would not comport with my own philosophy or with the demands of the business of the Court. I am thus left with no choice but to regard my period of active service on the Court as having run its course.

I need hardly tell you, Mr. President, of the reluctance with which I leave the institution whose concerns have been the absorbing interest of my life. May I again convey to you my gratitude for your call upon me during the summer and for the solicitude you were kind enough to express.

With high respect and esteem,

Faithfully yours,

FELIX FRANKFURTER

Justice Frankfurter served as Justice of the Supreme Court from January 20, 1939, through August 28, 1962.

On Justice Frankfurter's 80th birthday, November 5, the President sent a message of congratulations, stating, "You seem to be the same age as Eamon de Valera, to whom I was writing only the other day. He was born in New York and conquered Ireland, while you seem to have reversed the process by starting in Vienna and taking charge of the constitutional traditions of the United States." The President added, "I trust that your mind is beginning to turn to the claims of history. It is fair for me to press these claims upon you, because I have thought a good deal about your own advice on the same general topic."

354 Remarks to a Group of Peace Corps Volunteers.

August 30, 1962

I TAKE great pleasure in welcoming to the White House a very extraordinary group of American men and women who are Peace Corps volunteers.

I think an impression has been created that only young men and women join the Peace Corps and serve our country abroad. It is true that only young men and women do that—but those who are young in spirit.

We have here a distinguished group of Americans with many talents who already have led full and useful lives in the service of their country and who now are going to serve their country again. Perhaps we could go right across here and have you say where you are going.

[The Peace Corps volunteers named their destinations. The President then resumed speaking.]

Here we have a man 76 years of age and he is going to Pakistan as a civil engineer after having been a civil engineer all his life.

So I must say we're delighted to have them, and I hope that their desire to serve will not only inspire others to join the Peace Corps but also will indicate to many of our Americans who are getting older, as we all are, that life really is unlimited. Here we have people in their sixties and seventies who are going to serve the cause of mankind all around the world—76 and down through the seventies and sixties. I think it shows how much talent we have in this country among those who have retired in the formal sense but who have many, many useful years ahead of them, not only in the Peace Corps but here in the United States, and I hope their talents will be used.

We're very glad to have you and your presence inspires us all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. in the Fish Room at the White House. The 12 Peace Corps volunteers making up the group were scheduled to go to areas such as Ethiopia, West Pakistan, Malaya, Brazil, India, and Peru.

355 Remarks Upon Signing the Communications Satellite Act.

August 31, 1962

I AM TODAY signing H.R. 11040, the Communications Satellite Act of 1962.

By enacting this legislation, Congress has taken a step of historic importance. It promises significant benefits to our own people and to the entire world. Its purpose is to establish a commercial communications system utilizing space satellites which will serve our needs and those of other countries and contribute to world peace and understanding. This objective is to be accomplished through the joint efforts of private individuals and concerns, and agencies of the Federal Government.

The satellite corporation authorized by the act will establish and operate the United States portion of the new communications

system. In a few days I will send to the Senate for confirmation a list of the incorporators of this enterprise.

The statute provides many safeguards to protect the public interest. No single company or group will have the power to dominate the corporation. The general public, the communications industry, and the Federal Government all will have a voice. All will contribute their resources and all may reasonably hope to benefit. In this way, the vigor of our competitive free enterprise system will be effectively used in a challenging new activity on the frontier of space.

The benefits which a satellite system should make possible within a few years will stem largely from a vastly increased capacity

to exchange information cheaply and reliably with all parts of the world by telephone, telegraph, radio, and television. The ultimate result will be to encourage and facilitate world trade, education, entertainment, and many kinds of professional, political, and personal discourse which are essential to healthy human relationships and international understanding.

Better and less expensive communications, like better and less expensive transportation,

are vital elements in the march of civilization. This legislation will, by advancing the peaceful and productive use of space, help to accelerate that march, and I extend appreciation to the Members of Congress who worked so hard to secure passage of a very effective piece of legislation.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. in his office at the White House.

As enacted, H.R. 11040 is Public Law 87-624 (76 Stat. 419).

356 Remarks at the Swearing In of New Members of the Atomic Energy Commission. *August 31, 1962*

I WANT to express great pleasure at two new distinguished members of the Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Ramey has had long experience working with the Joint Committee which has played so large a role in the development of our atomic energy program. Mr. Palfrey I've known for a great many years and he has had particular and, I think, almost unique connection with important phases of this program. So I think we're very fortunate to have two men whose combined experience really covers the spectrum

and I want to express my appreciation to them both, because they both had other responsibilities which they relinquished in order to accept these positions.

So we're glad, Mr. Chairman, to give you two strong right arms.

NOTE: The ceremony was held at 12:30 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his closing remarks the President referred to Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, who attended the swearing in of the Commission's new members, John T. Ramey and John G. Palfrey.

357 Letter to Senate and House Minority Leaders on U.S. Information Activities Relating to Berlin. *September 1, 1962*

Gentlemen:

I fully appreciate the concern expressed in your letter of August 31st about the Berlin wall. There can be no disagreement among Americans, nor among free men anywhere else about the meaning of that wall. Your own strong feelings are shared by me, by my Administration, and by governments and peoples in every continent.

Your specific suggestions are constructive, and I ask that any which have not been acted upon be examined afresh. I am attaching a memorandum on steps which have been

taken this past year to insure world-wide understanding of the issues involved. I am sure you will agree that it shows an energetic effort and a gratifying response.

If, after studying this memorandum, you have further suggestions to make, I would be glad to have them. It is important to peace and to the freedom of the brave people of West Berlin that it be understood in every capital that on this matter we, as a Nation, are united in our determination.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Everett M. Dirksen, Minority Leader of the Senate, and to the Honorable Charles A. Halleck, Minority Leader of the House of Representatives.

The memorandum transmitted by the President

and dated August 31 (2 pp.; unsigned) summarized the activities of the U.S. Information Service from the time of the erection of the wall in Berlin to date. It was released with the President's letter at Newport, R.I.

358 Statement by the President Announcing an International Conference on "Human Skills in the Decade of Development." *September 3, 1962*

IT IS appropriate that on this day dedicated to the contribution which the skills of American labor have made to our national development, I am able to announce the convening of an international conference devoted to the role of human skills in creating rapid economic progress for the developing countries.

Under the sponsorship of the Peace Corps, with the cooperation of the Departments of State and Labor, and the Agency for International Development, the United States government has invited more than forty nations to a conference on "Human Skills in the Decade of Development (The Middle Level Manpower Approach)" to be held in Puerto Rico on October 10-12. Most of these nations will be represented by delegates of Cabinet rank. Our own delegation will be headed by the Vice President and will include the Secretaries of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare.

I regard this conference as a milestone in the formulation of a strategy of economic development. In the last fifteen years many nations and international agencies have been engaged in the task of supplying and training skilled manpower for the underdeveloped world. From this experience has come a heightened awareness of the critical importance of human skills in economic development.

Many recent studies, including surveys of the development of the United States, have indicated that human skills and technology

are an even greater factor than capital investment in effecting a rapid transition to a developed economy. It is vital that we combine past international experience with new developments and knowledge in order to give urgent and intensive consideration to ways in which these critical human skills can be developed and modern technology applied to developing economies.

The particular focus of this Conference will be on Middle Level Manpower: That range of skills lying between the unskilled laborer and the highly trained scientific skills such as doctors or engineers. It includes the nurses, teachers, construction foremen and the hundreds of others whose talents can make possible the effective and productive use of a Nation's resources. And there is no doubt that the techniques developed in this field will be immediately applicable to the entire range of a Nation's manpower needs.

This will be one of the largest high level conferences on any aspect of economic development held since World War II. It will be the first such conference involving the worldwide participation of both industrialized and developing countries. Since the impetus for this meeting came from the Peace Corps those countries have been invited which are participating in Peace Corps programs or themselves have a tradition of volunteer services.

I am hopeful that from this meeting will emerge new techniques of assessing man

power needs, new methods of rapidly supplying and training skilled manpower for all the developing countries and, perhaps most important, a vastly heightened and informed

understanding of the critical role which human skills play in the great work of economic and social progress.

NOTE: The statement was released at Newport, R.I.

359 Statement by the President: Labor Day, 1962. *September 3, 1962*

ON THIS, the second Labor Day within the period of my Administration, the issues of modern life—and the resolution of them—continue to challenge the strength and conscience of all free men.

The fact that we celebrate today a free way of life makes us more than ever aware of the dangers and burdens we willingly accept to preserve it. While self-government through economic institutions created by the people has produced extraordinary well-being for a vast population, it has also resulted in extraordinary responsibility for the individual.

Thus, this holiday is a time for both thanksgiving and resolution.

We are a blessed land. More American citizens are working than at any time in our history, earning more and producing the highest volume of goods and services on record. They enjoy economic and social protections and rights undreamed of in earlier times—and flatly denied in contemporary communist societies. Our labor organizations are free and strong, with a solid tradition of achievement. The economy has made significant progress from its recession lows, with production, incomes and profits all rising and the rate of unemployment declining.

The pace of scientific progress quickens by the year in every segment of the economy, in communications and transportation, manufacturing, medicine, agriculture and defense. There is hardly a human life or an American occupation untouched by this advance which is capable over the long run of creating a general abundance unprecedented in human history.

These achievements have been the work of men. They are the result of challenges faced, problems confronted, and effort expended, sometimes at great personal cost. They have been earned first and then inherited by our own generation. We must keep that same faith with our own children.

While we are gratified that nearly 70 million Americans have jobs, earning the highest wages in history, we are equally concerned about the 4 million who do not have jobs, and especially about the 100,000 persons who exhaust their unemployment insurance benefits each month without finding work.

American doctors and medical facilities are the finest in the world and research and application of new discoveries almost daily broadens the horizon of hope—yet the cost of medical care is too often prohibitive for those who need it most, our elderly population living on limited incomes.

We have built the most advanced system of transportation on earth, and the most competent construction technology, and educated some of the finest architects and city planners—yet our cities are darkened with the blight of slums, threatened with traffic congestion, and endangered with paralyzing social problems.

Our system of public education is the heart of our democratic society. Without it, self-government is not possible. Yet we could do more to prepare for the burdens this system will increasingly carry and which are borne at present only through high levels of local taxation.

This Nation has long been a maker of products for world markets. We must assure ourselves that such will continue to be

the case by adopting trade policies that increase rather than hamper our ability to compete.

There is no nation in history that has provided such immeasurable opportunity to its citizens on the sole basis of merit and qualification. We have eradicated the class structures that weighed down the hopes of our forefathers in other times and established a distinct American personality related to man's aspirations and not his origins. Yet the reality of equality for the majority is still unrealized by too many others of our citizens. In some places, citizens still must pay to vote. In others, artificial restrictions are set up against races, colors and creeds to deny them equal access to employment and education. The distance we have traveled in eliminating prejudice is a measure of the distance we still must travel.

Thus, across the broad range of American life, we find cause to be both thankful and resolute. Much has been given to us, and much is therefore expected from us.

This Administration has sought to acknowledge our needs and look upon our obligations not by the dimming lights of the past but the rising lights of the future. We are pledged to both candor and commitment, to frank assessment and forceful action. It is in this spirit that we address ourselves to the meaning of this Labor Day of 1962—that having done well, we will strive to do better; having achieved much, we determine to achieve more; having received freedom, we propose to enlarge it; having been granted the great gift of citizenship in these United States, we will reciprocate in the only coin that free men consider equal to their worth, that of their honor and their conscience.

360 Labor Day Message to the Youth of the Nation.

September 3, 1962

I HAVE an important message to deliver on this Labor Day 1962 to the youth of the Nation.

My urgent message to you is, "Return to school."

For thousands of you, the decision you make this September about returning to school may mean the difference between possible hardship and unemployment or a fruitful life as a productive member of our society.

I have been informed by Acting Secretary of Labor Wirtz that the rate of summer employment for youth this year has been higher than any year since 1957. This is a good sign, but do not let yourself be lulled into a false sense of security. If you have not completely availed yourself of existing educational opportunities, and if you have not reached the full extent of your educational potential, do *not* make the mistake of *not* returning to school.

My Committee on Youth Employment has recently pointed out again that today a mil-

lion young people, 25 and under, are out of school and out of work. Many of these youth are out of work because they do not have the educational background or training necessary to fit them into today's work force.

We know that 5 million jobs will open up in this decade for skilled workers, and yet, at the present time, the number of youth being trained for these jobs is totally inadequate.

In light of our national need for a better-prepared work force, it is tragic indeed to be reminded of the estimate that 7½ million boys and girls will fail to complete high school during the decade of the 1960's, unless we, as a Nation, take positive steps to prevent it. This situation is tragic, not only because it represents a great loss to our society in undeveloped talent and potential, but also because the outlook for these young people is black indeed.

There is no doubt that anyone without a high school diploma has a hard time finding a job today, and will have an even harder time in the years ahead, as jobs require an

even higher degree of skill and training to perform.

Parents, teachers, counselors, clergy, and any other adults who have an opportunity to influence the direction of young people—please join me today in this urgent task of persuading our young people to equip themselves to the utmost of their potential.

To you, the young people who have not completed your education—who may have dropped out of school—and to those who are

considering doing so—go back to your school desks when your school term begins. Go back with a real desire to learn. Go back with an intent and purpose that will make you a better student. Go back and become prepared, so when your time comes to enter the labor force, you will be a more valuable asset to our Nation.

NOTE: The message was released at Newport, R.I.

361 Remarks to the Members of the Schola Cantorum of the University of Arkansas. September 4, 1962

Senator Fulbright, Ambassador, Mrs. McClellan, Members of the Congress from Arkansas, and ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express our great appreciation to all of you. I think the people of Arkansas must be extremely proud of you. And I think what is most impressive is the fact that this very unusual and difficult kind of singing, which places great stress upon your self-discipline, and also upon your cooperation with your fellows, under the direction of a very distinguished leader, that all this was made possible by your efforts, by the University of Arkansas, and by the efforts of the people of Arkansas who arranged to send you overseas.

As Senator Fulbright said, when the National Cultural Center is finally built, it'll be possible for us to organize, I think, contests of groups from all parts of the country who can come to Washington, and then the winner can be selected and sent abroad with the support of the people of the United States through the United States Government.

But I think there's something, in some ways more attractive and more informal, in the fact that you had sufficient confidence in yourselves, the people at the University and the people of Arkansas, to do it themselves and send you over there.

I think probably our greatest debt goes really to Italy, from which so much of our

inspiration for music has come. So I think this close link between Arkansas and ancient Italy, between all of you who represent our best talent, I think is a very heartwarming evidence of the great ties that bind the Western World.

We are glad to have you here. I think that the people of Arkansas must be very proud of you, as I am. I am glad to see you.

[At this point, Senator Fulbright announced that the group would sing their full program, to which the public was invited, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon in the new Senate Office Building auditorium. The President then resumed speaking.]

We want to tell you we are glad to have you here. I appreciate Senator Fulbright calling me the other day and telling me you were going to be in town. I am glad to see you.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas; Sergio Fenoaltea, Ambassador to the United States from Italy; and Mrs. John L. McClellan, wife of Senator McClellan of Arkansas.

Prior to the President's remarks, Senator Fulbright presented the 36-member choral group, which had won first place in the Guido d'Arezzo international polyphonic competition in Arezzo, Italy. They responded by singing Palestrina's "Priego alla Beata Vergine."

362 Remarks Upon Signing Bill Placing the Frederick Douglass Home in the National Capital Park System.

September 5, 1962

IT GIVES ME great satisfaction today to approve S. 2399, To Provide For the Establishment of the Frederick Douglass Home As Part of the Park System in the National Capital.

Due to the foresight of a group of trustees in 1916, the Frederick Douglass Home was preserved and, under the terms of the bill, will be donated to the United States to be administered as part of the Park System of the National Capital.

Frederick Douglass was an outstanding leader of the movement of the abolition of slavery and an articulate spokesman for racial equality. His life spanned all but 22 years of the 19th century. He played a significant and important part in the advances of human rights achieved during that period.

It is fitting that his home in Anacostia should pass into public ownership and protection as a memorial to his contributions to human welfare, and the advancement of human dignity, and as an inspiration to all. I am very glad to have here today as our guests some of the ladies who have been

particularly interested in caring for the Frederick Douglass Home and who a few weeks ago presented me with a picture of Abraham Lincoln which came from Frederick Douglass' home and which now hangs in the Lincoln Room, and which indicates the very close relationship—or symbolizes the close relationship which existed between Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass. So we are glad to have them here. They have done a wonderful job in caring for this home.

I am glad to have Senator Hart, who is the sponsor of this bill in the Senate, Congressman Diggs, the leadership, Congressman Rutherford, and others who have been particularly interested in the passage of this bill, and the former Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Chapman, who is also concerned about it, as well as other distinguished Members of the House and Senate who recognize the significance of this important piece of legislation.

NOTE: The President spoke in his office at the White House.

As enacted, S. 2399 is Public Law 87-633 (76 Stat. 435).

363 Remarks to Participants in the Experiment in International Living Program. *September 5, 1962*

I WANT to express my thanks for all these generous presents and to welcome you to the White House.

How many of you are from India here? Will you hold up your hands? Fine.

Then we have two from Iran, I think. Seven from Iran.

And from Pakistan. Do you want to hold up your hands?

Then from Europe? Who do we have from Europe? From Italy?

Well, I want to express my welcome to all of you and to express strong support for

this program of exchanges between the United States and between your countries. On not all occasions do our governments get along so well, but I think our people do. I know in the case of India that Prime Minister Nehru has welcomed a good many Americans who have visited on these programs, and on other occasions my fellow countrymen have been warmly greeted by the leaders of your country.

We're glad to have you here. I understand that you're spending 2 days in Washington comprehending and analyzing how

the United States Government works, and I look forward to the results of your study.

Winston Churchill once said that democracy is the worst form of government except for all the other systems that have been tried. It is the most difficult, and I am glad you are here analyzing our experience, and I am sure it will make it possible for you to provide greater leadership in your country. So we're glad you are here.

I'm sorry about the bugs, but it indicates

something about the tropical nature of Washington.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in the Rose Garden to a small group of young people visiting under the auspices of the Experiment in International Living, an independent, nonprofit educational organization with headquarters in Putney, Vt. At the conclusion of their 2-month stay Representative Frank Thompson of New Jersey arranged a meeting with the President.

364 Message to the Shah Following an Earthquake in Iran. *September 6, 1962*

[Released September 6, 1962. Dated September 2, 1962]

I HAVE been profoundly shocked to learn of the great natural catastrophe which has struck Iran. The hearts of the American people go out to those who have lost families or friends or seen their homes destroyed. Iran has suffered adversity many times before in its 2500 years of recorded history. But it has always triumphed. I know the people of Iran under your leadership will rise above this tragedy as well. The American Government and people are prepared to

help in this effort. I have instructed our Ambassador to render any help he and U.S. Government agencies can provide which will alleviate the suffering and loss created by this disaster.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, Shahanshah of Iran, Tehran, Iran]

NOTE: The Shah's reply, dated September 5, 1962, was released with the President's letter.

365 Statement by the President on the Differential in Cotton Costs Between Domestic and Foreign Textile Producers. *September 6, 1962*

ON May 2, 1961, I announced a seven-point program designed to meet a wide range of problems facing the textile and apparel industry and its more than 2 million employees.¹ The fourth of these seven measures directed the Department of Agriculture to explore and make recommendations to eliminate or offset the adverse differential in raw cotton costs between domestic and foreign textile producers.

Pursuant to a recommendation of the Sec-

retary of Agriculture, I requested the Tariff Commission to make an immediate investigation under Section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. The Commission has now made its report.

The Commission rejected the Department's recommendation for an import fee of 8½ cents a pound on the cotton content of textile imports to offset the difference between the cost of raw cotton to foreign mills and that which our mills are required by law to pay.

Thus, the inequity of the two-price system

¹ See 1961 volume, this series, Item 161.

of cotton costs remains as a unique burden upon the American textile industry, for which a solution must be found in the near future.

I am therefore requesting the Department of Agriculture to give immediate attention to the formulation of a domestic program that would eliminate this inequity. I am also instructing all other departments and offices of the Executive Branch to cooperate fully to this end. Such a program will undoubtedly require enabling legislation.

Accordingly, between now and the next

session of Congress, representatives of this Administration will confer with appropriate Congressional leaders and with spokesmen for all interested segments of the cotton industry, including various producer organizations and the textile mills. Based upon the results of these conferences and the recommendations of the Department of Agriculture, early in the next session of Congress I shall recommend legislation designed to remove the inequity created by the present two-price cotton system.

366 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting Bill Authorizing Mobilization of the Ready Reserve. *September 7, 1962*

Dear Mr. ———:

I transmit herewith a draft of a proposed bill to authorize the President to order units and members in the Ready Reserve to active duty for not more than twelve months, and for other purposes.

In my judgment this renewed authorization is necessary to permit prompt and effective responses, as necessary, to challenges which may be presented in any part of the free world, and I hope that the Congress will

give its prompt support to this authorization, as it did, so effectively, a year ago.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The bill was approved by the President on October 3, 1962 (Public Law 87-736, 76 Stat. 710).

367 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill To Increase Veterans' Disability Compensation. *September 7, 1962*

I HAVE TODAY approved H.R. 10743. It will provide the first increase in compensation rates to veterans for service-connected disability since 1957.

The bill provides an average 9.4 percent increase in compensation for nearly 2 million veterans who have been disabled in the service of our Nation. It will offset the increases in the cost of living which have occurred since the last modification of compensation rates went into effect. Our first

concern in a veterans' program is to provide adequate benefits for those who have been incapacitated or handicapped as a result of their service in our armed forces. I am gratified by this recognition of that policy.

I am happy to approve this legislation, which will benefit so many to whom we owe so much.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 10743 is Public Law 87-645 (76 Stat. 441).

368 Message to the Conference of African Chiefs of State Meeting at Libreville, Republic of Gabon. *September 10, 1962*

I APPRECIATE the message from your Secretary General, informing me that the first anniversary of the institution of the Afro-Malagasy Union will be celebrated on September 10th in the capital of the Republic of Gabon. It gives me great pleasure on this occasion to send my personal greetings to the conference of chiefs of state of this Union. I

have watched with interest the development of your organization and its contribution to the goal of increased African economic and political development. May I extend my best wishes for continued progress.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[His Excellency Ahmadou Ahidjo, President, UAM]

369 Statement by the President Upon Receiving Report on the Labor Dispute in the Aerospace Industry. *September 11, 1962*

THE REPORT and recommendations of the Board which I appointed on July 21, 1962, to assist in the resolution of collective bargaining disputes in the aerospace industry is made public today. This Board was appointed because, as I stated at that time, "major strikes in the industry would substantially delay our vital missile and space programs and would be contrary to the national interest."¹

I met with the Board upon its return from a series of mediation conferences with the companies and unions who are parties to this dispute. The Board informed me of its findings and its recommendations to the parties for a settlement of the major issues in dispute. On September 1, the Board filed with me the report which is now released. A few days later, the Board presented its recommendations, but not the text of the report, to the parties. Although there has been some bargaining on the issues, in each case the stalemate is unbroken.

The companies and the unions should settle promptly their dispute on the basis of this report. They have a duty to the country to settle those differences without a strike which so obviously would be contrary to the public interest. A strike if permitted to

occur, would not only shut down the plants which manufacture a large proportion of our missiles, rockets, and spacecraft; it would also close many of our missile sites. Such a strike would seriously set us back in space exploration and would imperil the national defense.

In response to my request on July 21, these parties agreed to extend their current agreements and to maintain the status quo for sixty days. That period is running out, but time remains for the settlement of these disputes by good faith bargaining on all of the issues involved. I call upon these parties to resume intensive negotiations within the framework now provided by the report and recommendations of the Board. The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service will continue to assist the parties in such negotiations. The national interest requires the settlement of these disputes before the expiration on September 21, 1962, of the sixty-day contract extension.

NOTE: The President's statement was released at Houston, Tex.

The Board's report of September 1, 1962 (63 pp., processed, with 4-page addendum), was made available by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

For the President's statement announcing an agreement in the aerospace industry dispute, see Item 390.

¹ See Item 298.

370 Remarks to the Staff at the NASA Launch Operations Center, Cape Canaveral. *September 11, 1962*

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Webb:

I want to express our thanks to all of you. We visitors come in and out of Cape Canaveral at the rate of 50,000 a year, and you stay, and you do the work upon which we so much depend.

I don't think that we can exaggerate the great advantage which the Soviet Union secured in the fifties by being first in space. They were able to give prestige to their system; they were able to give force to their argument that they were an advancing society and that we were on the decline.

But I believe that we are an advancing society, and I believe that we are on the rise, and I believe that their system is as old as

time. As long as the decision has been made that our great system and others will be judged at least in one degree by how we do in the field of space, we might as well be first; and, therefore, this country, both political parties, have determined that the United States shall be first. We started behind. We have a long way to go, but with your effort and commitment and the effort of all of our fellow Americans and their commitment, we shall be first.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Manned Spacecraft Center. His opening words referred to Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson and the National Aeronautics and Space Administrator, James E. Webb.

371 Remarks to Allied Students at the Army Guided Missile School, Huntsville, Alabama. *September 11, 1962*

General, gentlemen:

I want to express our great satisfaction in your presence here in the United States. This kind of joint community effort, the community of free nations, would have been regarded as impossible 2 decades ago, but now we take it very much for granted.

We are glad you're here. The effort that we and you are making in common is to defend our countries, defend our peace, defend the vital interests of the free world in the strong belief that in time the disease of liberty, as Thomas Jefferson called it, will be catching in all parts of the world.

You're here on a most important mission, and that is one which is greatly identified with the traditional and present and future aspirations of free men and women.

We are glad you're here, and we're confident that you will teach us as much as you will learn. Gentlemen, we're proud to have you in the United States.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Redstone Army Airfield. In his opening words he referred to Maj. Gen. Francis McMorrow, Commanding General, Army Missile Command at Redstone Airfield, where 472 troops representing 13 foreign countries were engaged in a training program.

372 Remarks on Arrival at the International Airport in Houston. *September 11, 1962*

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Vice President, Congressman Thomas, Mr. Webb, who directs the NASA program, Congressman Miller, the Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express our very warm appreciation on behalf of us all for your welcome

here. I don't know whether the people of the Southwest realize what a profound effect this whole space program is going to have on this most progressive city and State. The scientists and engineers and technicians who are going to be attracted to this great Space

Center can really remake the industrial life of the southwest United States as we reach towards the moon.

I think it's most appropriate that this Space Center should be located here in Houston, here at Rice University—a city which has been identified with progress in this State and county.

So we come here today to see what is being planned for the future, because from this place in America are going to be laid the plans and the designs which will reach out in this decade and put Americans on

the moon and bring them back again. And for the time being, I'm glad to be here in Houston to take part in this activity.

NOTE: The President spoke as he arrived for an inspection tour of the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston, Tex. His opening words referred to Lewis Cutrer, Mayor of Houston, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Representative Albert Thomas of Texas, James E. Webb, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and Representative George P. Miller of California, Chairman of the Science and Astronautics Committee of the House of Representatives.

373 Address at Rice University in Houston on the Nation's Space Effort. September 12, 1962

President Pitzer, Mr. Vice President, Governor, Congressman Thomas, Senator Wiley, and Congressman Miller, Mr. Webb. Mr. Bell, scientists, distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen:

I appreciate your president having made me an honorary visiting professor, and I will assure you that my first lecture will be very brief.

I am delighted to be here and I'm particularly delighted to be here on this occasion.

We meet at a college noted for knowledge, in a city noted for progress, in a State noted for strength, and we stand in need of all three, for we meet in an hour of change and challenge, in a decade of hope and fear, in an age of both knowledge and ignorance. The greater our knowledge increases, the greater our ignorance unfolds.

Despite the striking fact that most of the scientists that the world has ever known are alive and working today, despite the fact that this Nation's own scientific manpower is doubling every 12 years in a rate of growth more than three times that of our population as a whole, despite that, the vast stretches of the unknown and the unanswered and the unfinished still far out-

strip our collective comprehension.

No man can fully grasp how far and how fast we have come, but condense, if you will, the 50,000 years of man's recorded history in a time span of but a half-century. Stated in these terms, we know very little about the first 40 years, except at the end of them advanced man had learned to use the skins of animals to cover them. Then about 10 years ago, under this standard, man emerged from his caves to construct other kinds of shelter. Only 5 years ago man learned to write and use a cart with wheels. Christianity began less than 2 years ago. The printing press came this year, and then less than 2 months ago, during this whole 50-year span of human history, the steam engine provided a new source of power.

Newton explored the meaning of gravity. Last month electric lights and telephones and automobiles and airplanes became available. Only last week did we develop penicillin and television and nuclear power, and now if America's new spacecraft succeeds in reaching Venus, we will have literally reached the stars before midnight tonight.

This is a breathtaking pace, and such a pace cannot help but create new ills as it dispels old, new ignorance, new problems,

new dangers. Surely the opening vistas of space promise high costs and hardships, as well as high reward.

So it is not surprising that some would have us stay where we are a little longer to rest, to wait. But this city of Houston, this State of Texas, this country of the United States was not built by those who waited and rested and wished to look behind them. This country was conquered by those who moved forward—and so will space.

William Bradford, speaking in 1630 of the founding of the Plymouth Bay Colony, said that all great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and both must be enterprised and overcome with answerable courage.

If this capsule history of our progress teaches us anything, it is that man, in his quest for knowledge and progress, is determined and cannot be deterred. The exploration of space will go ahead, whether we join in it or not, and it is one of the great adventures of all time, and no nation which expects to be the leader of other nations can expect to stay behind in this race for space.

Those who came before us made certain that this country rode the first waves of the industrial revolutions, the first waves of modern invention, and the first wave of nuclear power, and this generation does not intend to founder in the backwash of the coming age of space. We mean to be a part of it—we mean to lead it. For the eyes of the world now look into space, to the moon and to the planets beyond, and we have vowed that we shall not see it governed by a hostile flag of conquest, but by a banner of freedom and peace. We have vowed that we shall not see space filled with weapons of mass destruction, but with instruments of knowledge and understanding.

Yet the vows of this Nation can only be fulfilled if we in this Nation are first, and, therefore, we intend to be first. In short, our leadership in science and in industry, our hopes for peace and security, our obligations to ourselves as well as others, all require us

to make this effort, to solve these mysteries, to solve them for the good of all men, and to become the world's leading space-faring nation.

We set sail on this new sea because there is new knowledge to be gained, and new rights to be won, and they must be won and used for the progress of all people. For space science, like nuclear science and all technology, has no conscience of its own. Whether it will become a force for good or ill depends on man, and only if the United States occupies a position of pre-eminence can we help decide whether this new ocean will be a sea of peace or a new terrifying theater of war. I do not say that we should or will go unprotected against the hostile misuse of space any more than we go unprotected against the hostile use of land or sea, but I do say that space can be explored and mastered without feeding the fires of war, without repeating the mistakes that man has made in extending his writ around this globe of ours.

There is no strife, no prejudice, no national conflict in outer space as yet. Its hazards are hostile to us all. Its conquest deserves the best of all mankind, and its opportunity for peaceful cooperation may never come again. But why, some say, the moon? Why choose this as our goal? And they may well ask why climb the highest mountain. Why, 35 years ago, fly the Atlantic? Why does Rice play Texas?

We choose to go to the moon. We choose to go to the moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard, because that goal will serve to organize and measure the best of our energies and skills, because that challenge is one that we are willing to accept, one we are unwilling to postpone, and one which we intend to win, and the others, too.

It is for these reasons that I regard the decision last year to shift our efforts in space from low to high gear as among the most important decisions that will be made during my incumbency in the Office of the Presidency.

In the last 24 hours we have seen facilities now being created for the greatest and most complex exploration in man's history. We have felt the ground shake and the air shattered by the testing of a Saturn C-1 booster rocket, many times as powerful as the Atlas which launched John Glenn, generating power equivalent to 10,000 automobiles with their accelerators on the floor. We have seen the site where five F-1 rocket engines, each one as powerful as all eight engines of the Saturn combined, will be clustered together to make the advanced Saturn missile, assembled in a new building to be built at Cape Canaveral as tall as a 48-story structure, as wide as a city block, and as long as two lengths of this field.

Within these last 19 months at least 45 satellites have circled the earth. Some 40 of them were "made in the United States of America" and they were far more sophisticated and supplied far more knowledge to the people of the world than those of the Soviet Union.

The Mariner spacecraft now on its way to Venus is the most intricate instrument in the history of space science. The accuracy of that shot is comparable to firing a missile from Cape Canaveral and dropping it in this stadium between the 40-yard lines.

Transit satellites are helping our ships at sea to steer a safer course. Tiros satellites have given us unprecedented warnings of hurricanes and storms, and will do the same for forest fires and icebergs.

We have had our failures, but so have others, even if they do not admit them. And they may be less public.

To be sure, we are behind, and will be behind for some time in manned flight. But we do not intend to stay behind, and in this decade we shall make up and move ahead.

The growth of our science and education will be enriched by new knowledge of our universe and environment, by new techniques of learning and mapping and observation, by new tools and computers for industry, medicine, the home as well as the school. Technical institutions, such as Rice,

will reap the harvest of these gains.

And finally, the space effort itself, while still in its infancy, has already created a great number of new companies, and tens of thousands of new jobs. Space and related industries are generating new demands in investment and skilled personnel, and this city and this State, and this region, will share greatly in this growth. What was once the furthest outpost on the old frontier of the West will be the furthest outpost on the new frontier of science and space. Houston, your City of Houston, with its Manned Spacecraft Center, will become the heart of a large scientific and engineering community. During the next 5 years the National Aeronautics and Space Administration expects to double the number of scientists and engineers in this area, to increase its outlays for salaries and expenses to \$60 million a year; to invest some \$200 million in plant and laboratory facilities; and to direct or contract for new space efforts over \$1 billion from this Center in this City.

To be sure, all this costs us all a good deal of money. This year's space budget is three times what it was in January 1961, and it is greater than the space budget of the previous 8 years combined. That budget now stands at \$5,400 million a year—a staggering sum, though somewhat less than we pay for cigarettes and cigars every year. Space expenditures will soon rise some more, from 40 cents per person per week to more than 50 cents a week for every man, woman, and child in the United States, for we have given this program a high national priority—even though I realize that this is in some measure an act of faith and vision, for we do not now know what benefits await us. But if I were to say, my fellow citizens, that we shall send to the moon, 240,000 miles away from the control station in Houston, a giant rocket more than 300 feet tall, the length of this football field, made of new metal alloys, some of which have not yet been invented, capable of standing heat and stresses several times more than have ever been experienced,

fitted together with a precision better than the finest watch, carrying all the equipment needed for propulsion, guidance, control, communications, food and survival, on an untried mission, to an unknown celestial body, and then return it safely to earth, re-entering the atmosphere at speeds of over 25,000 miles per hour, causing heat about half that of the temperature of the sun—almost as hot as it is here today—and do all this, and do it right, and do it first before this decade is out, then we must be bold.

I'm the one who is doing all the work, so we just want you to stay cool for a minute. [*Laughter*]

However, I think we're going to do it, and I think that we must pay what needs to be paid. I don't think we ought to waste any money, but I think we ought to do the job. And this will be done in the decade of the sixties. It may be done while some of you are still here at school at this college and university. It will be done during the terms of office of some of the people who sit here on this platform. But it will be done. And it will be done before the end of this decade.

I am delighted that this university is playing a part in putting a man on the moon as part of a great national effort of the United States of America.

Many years ago the great British explorer George Mallory, who was to die on Mount Everest, was asked why did he want to climb it. He said, "Because it is there."

Well, space is there, and we're going to climb it, and the moon and the planets are there, and new hopes for knowledge and peace are there. And, therefore, as we set sail we ask God's blessing on the most hazardous and dangerous and greatest adventure on which man has ever embarked.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke in the Rice University Stadium at 10 a.m. In his opening words he referred to Dr. K. S. Pitzer, President of the University, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Governor Price Daniel of Texas, Representative Albert Thomas of Texas, Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, Representative George P. Miller of California, James E. Webb, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and David E. Bell, Director of the Bureau of the Budget.

374 Remarks at the NASA Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston.

September 12, 1962

Doctor, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Webb:

I want to express my thanks to you for this model which I will take back to the White House, and which will remind us of this most extraordinary effort which is being made by all the men here and their companions scattered across the country in NASA, in private industry, in universities, all of whom are united in this extraordinary enterprise.

To talk of placing a tremendous rocket outside the orbit of the earth, to send it to the moon to rendezvous, to go to the moon's surface, to put men on the moon, to take them off, to rendezvous again, and bring them back to earth safely, and to talk about doing that in the next 5 or 6 years indicates

how far and how fast we have come and how far and how fast we must go. And back of all the extraordinary scientific and technical accomplishments which must be made to make this possible, of course, are the men who are involved, and particularly those who are at the point of the sphere, those who must fly this mission into the most unknown sea.

So we commend them and all who are associated in putting them there. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke in the Rich Building. His opening words referred to Dr. Robert R. Gilruth, Director of the Manned Spacecraft Center, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, and James E. Webb, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

375 Remarks in St. Louis to Employees of the McDonnell Aircraft Corporation. *September 12, 1962*

Mr. McDonnell, Senator, Governor, Mr. Mayor:

I want to express my very warm thanks to all of you. I know that some of you are on the first shift, and some on the second shift, and I appreciate very much your coming out and saying "Hello."

This is a most important effort in which you're all involved—building these planes which help protect the security of the United States and the dozens of countries which are associated and allied with us all around the world, which would not be free if it were not for the power and the determination of the United States, and also because of your efforts in the field of space.

As Mr. McDonnell said, no one can tell exactly what the future holds there, but it is an unexplored sea. It is essential that the United States participate in this great adventure. It is essential that the United States be first, and therefore we depend upon you. In the United States every citizen of this country is involved in this effort. As I pointed out this morning, it costs every citizen, man, woman, and child, today 40 cents a week to be involved merely in the effort in space. It will shortly cost them 50 cents a week.

Every citizen of this country has a stake, and is participating in this effort, but it all comes to you, to those in Houston, to those in Cape Canaveral, to those at MIT, to those on the West Coast, who perform the vital functions which make it possible to put one man or two men first in orbit around the earth, and then in orbit around the moon, and then on the moon, and then come back. And you are part of that great effort.

I can imagine no action, no adventure which is more essential and more exciting than to be involved in the most important and significant adventure that any man has been able to participate in in the history of the world. And it's going to take place in this decade.

I congratulate you on what you have done and I congratulate you on being part of this adventure.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:15 p.m. at Lambert Field in St. Louis, Mo. His opening words referred to James S. McDonnell, Chairman, McDonnell Aircraft Corporation, Senator Edward V. Long of Missouri, Governor John M. Dalton of Missouri, and Mayor Raymond Tucker of St. Louis.

376 Telegram to Officials of the Boeing Company and the International Association of Machinists Concerning a Threatened Strike. *September 13, 1962*

THE DIRECTOR of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service has reported to me that negotiations between the International Association of Machinists and the Boeing Company are stalemated. Agreements between the parties covering plant operations at Seattle, Washington, and Wichita, Kansas, as well as important work at numerous missile sites are due to expire on September 15, 1962, and strikes are threatened at these various locations.

Strikes at these important plants and missile sites would substantially delay our vital defense work, including the Minuteman Program, and would be contrary to the public interest.

The Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service has advised me that the appointment of a distinguished Public Board to assist further mediation efforts and, if necessary, to make a report and recommendations would, under all of the cir-

cumstances involved, be helpful in resolving the dispute and in effecting settlements.

In this important industry, all parties have a responsibility to cooperate in achieving a settlement without any interruption of work. Accordingly, I request the parties to this dispute to continue work and operations with the status quo being preserved under all of the terms and conditions of the existing agreements until November 15, 1962, or until agreements are reached, whichever date occurs first. I further request the union to withdraw all strike action during this period.

I am appointing a Board of distinguished citizens to supplement continuing mediation efforts of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service and, if necessary, to conduct hearings and to report its findings and recommendations to me and to the parties on or before October 15, 1962. The remain-

ing period until November 15, 1962, if needed, is to provide adequate time for further negotiations.

The Members of the Board are: Mr. Saul Wallen, Chairman, Mr. Lewis M. Gill and Mr. Patrick J. Fisher. I am requesting the parties to cooperate fully with the Board in the discharge of its important responsibilities.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical telegrams sent to William M. Allen, President, the Boeing Co., Seattle, Wash., and two other Boeing officials and to A. J. Hayes, President, International Association of Machinists, and seven other officers of the union.

On October 4 the White House announced that the President had extended the date on which the Board was to report its findings to November 5. On November 6 a further extension to January 5, 1963, was announced. The White House release of November 6 stated that the parties had agreed to postpone possible strike action until January 15, 1963.

377 Remarks Upon Signing Bill To Establish the Point Reyes National Seashore, California. *September 13, 1962*

I AM highly gratified by the action of the Congress in enacting legislation authorizing the establishment of the Point Reyes National Seashore in the State of California.

This is the second bill enacted by the 87th Congress authorizing a national seashore, the first being the Cape Cod National Seashore.

The Point Reyes National Seashore will preserve and make available to a great number of people the outstanding scenic and recreational characteristics of the area. This area is readily accessible to millions of our citizens, and its establishment as a National Seashore will pay vast dividends in the years to come.

The enactment of this legislation indicates an increased awareness of the importance of prompt action—and I emphasize that particularly with the population increases and these areas disappearing under that pressure—and the necessity for prompt action to

preserve our Nation's great natural beauty areas to insure their existence and enjoyment by the public in the decades and centuries to come. This is especially true about those areas close to the major centers of population.

We have a great many beautiful areas in this country but a good many of them are far away from the centers of population. Therefore programs such as this one and the Cape Cod National Seashore are great additions to the lives of a good many of our fellow citizens. This goal has been well laid out this year by the Outdoor Recreation and Resources Review Commission, and I hope we can stay at it.

I congratulate the members of both parties who participated in enacting this very advantageous piece of national legislation.

NOTE: The President spoke in his office at the White House.

As enacted, the bill (S. 476) is Public Law 87-657 (76 Stat. 538).

378 The President's News Conference of *September 13, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. I have a preliminary statement.

[1.] There has been a great deal of talk on the situation in Cuba in recent days both in the Communist camp and in our own, and I would like to take this opportunity to set the matter in perspective.

In the first place, it is Mr. Castro and his supporters who are in trouble. In the last year his regime has been increasingly isolated from this hemisphere. His name no longer inspires the same fear or following in other Latin American countries. He has been condemned by the OAS, excluded from the Inter-American Defense Board, and kept out of the Free Trade Association. By his own monumental economic mismanagement, supplemented by our refusal to trade with him, his economy has crumbled, and his pledges for economic progress have been discarded, along with his pledges for political freedom. His industries are stagnating, his harvests are declining, his own followers are beginning to see that their revolution has been betrayed.

So it is not surprising that in a frantic effort to bolster his regime he should try to arouse the Cuban people by charges of an imminent American invasion, and commit himself still further to a Soviet takeover in the hope of preventing his own collapse.

Ever since communism moved into Cuba in 1958, Soviet technical and military personnel have moved steadily onto the island in increasing numbers at the invitation of the Cuban Government.

Now that movement has been increased. It is under our most careful surveillance. But I will repeat the conclusion that I reported last week: that these new shipments do not constitute a serious threat to any other part of this hemisphere.

If the United States ever should find it necessary to take military action against communism in Cuba, all of Castro's Com-

munist-supplied weapons and technicians would not change the result or significantly extend the time required to achieve that result.

However, unilateral military intervention on the part of the United States cannot currently be either required or justified, and it is regrettable that loose talk about such action in this country might serve to give a thin color of legitimacy to the Communist pretense that such a threat exists. But let me make this clear once again: If at any time the Communist buildup in Cuba were to endanger or interfere with our security in any way, including our base at Guantanamo, our passage to the Panama Canal, our missile and space activities at Cape Canaveral, or the lives of American citizens in this country, or if Cuba should ever attempt to export its aggressive purposes by force or the threat of force against any nation in this hemisphere, or become an offensive military base of significant capacity for the Soviet Union, then this country will do whatever must be done to protect its own security and that of its allies.

We shall be alert, too, and fully capable of dealing swiftly with any such development. As President and Commander in Chief I have full authority now to take such action, and I have asked the Congress to authorize me to call up reserve forces should this or any other crisis make it necessary.

In the meantime, we intend to do everything within our power to prevent such a threat from coming into existence.

Our friends in Latin America must realize the consequences such developments hold out for their own peace and freedom, and we shall be making further proposals to them. Our friends in NATO must realize the implications of their ships engaging in the Cuban trade.

We shall continue to work with Cuban refugee leaders who are dedicated as we are

to that nation's future return to freedom. We shall continue to keep the American people and the Congress fully informed. We shall increase our surveillance of the whole Caribbean area. We shall neither initiate nor permit aggression in this hemisphere.

With this in mind, while I recognize that rash talk is cheap, particularly on the part of those who do not have the responsibility, I would hope that the future record will show that the only people talking about a war or an invasion at this time are the Communist spokesmen in Moscow and Havana, and that the American people defending as we do so much of the free world, will in this nuclear age, as they have in the past, keep both their nerve and their head.

Q. Mr. President, coupling this statement with the one of last week, at what point do you determine that the buildup in Cuba has lost its defensive character and become offensive? Would it take an overt act?

THE PRESIDENT. I think if you read last week's statement¹ and the statement today, I made it quite clear, particularly in last week's statement, when we talked about the presence of offensive military missile capacity or development of military bases and other indications which I gave last week, all those would, of course, indicate a change in the nature of the threat.

Q. Well, Mr. President, in this same line, have you set for yourself any rule or set of conditions at which you will determine the existence of an offensive rather than a defensive force in Cuba, and, in that same connection, in your reading of the Monroe Doctrine, how do you define "intervention"? Will it require force to contravene the Monroe Doctrine or does the presence of a foreign power in any force, but not using that force in this hemisphere, amount to contravention of the Doctrine?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I have indicated that if Cuba should possess a capacity to carry out offensive actions against the

United States, that the United States would act. I've also indicated that the United States would not permit Cuba to export its power by force in the hemisphere. The United States will make appropriate military judgments after consultation with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and others, after carefully analyzing whatever new information comes in, as to whether that point has been reached where an offensive threat does exist. And at that time the country and the Congress will be so notified.

[2.] Q. Would you state, sir, whether or not the United States has given export licenses for the export of U-2 aircraft to other nations, other than Nationalist China? And if so, what is our policy?

THE PRESIDENT. No, we have not. These export licenses were given, as you know, in July of 1960, and were sold to the Nationalist Chinese Government. And we have no plans to sell any further ones or grant any other export licenses.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, would you comment, please, on the Soviet announcement that they apparently will shelve discussion on Berlin until after our elections in November?

THE PRESIDENT. I thought that the leaders of both political parties in the Congress indicated very clearly that on this matter of Berlin there was not a political division within the United States, and that our position in Berlin, which carries over a long commitment, stretching back through many years, several administrations, would not be affected by whatever the results may be in the November election.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, could you tell us why the Alliance for Progress has not made more progress in the past year on Latin American problems, in your judgment?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the Alliance for Progress is a tremendous effort which is, by the united effort of the free countries of Latin America and the United States, to attempt to bring about an increase in the standard of living and the opportunities for the peoples of Latin America.

¹ Item 352 [14, 17].

Latin America has been neglected for many, many years. I would hope that a good many Americans who are particularly concerned about Cuba today would also take a very careful look at the very low standard of living of much of Latin America, the bad housing, the unemployment, the bad health of so many of the people there. We are engaged in a monumental task in attempting to increase the standard of living of the people of Latin America, and we have available for that purpose a good deal less money than we had available for the rebuilding of Europe, which had a highly developed labor force, great technical skills, and which required only an infusion to provide an increase over the prewar standard of living.

Here we do not have the technical skills. We do not have the planning staffs. We have, in a sense, neglected Latin America, so that we are engaged in a tremendous operation with insufficient resources. And I think we are moving ahead since Punta del Este. But there's an awful lot of business left unfinished, and will be for some time. You cannot remake the face of Latin America overnight and provide better opportunity.

In addition, I'm very anxious that the countries of Western Europe, particularly the Common Market, will concern themselves with Latin America. Latin America depends on its export markets to Europe in order to maintain its economy.

Latin America has had a flight of capital in recent months which has been serious. In addition, the price of its primary products has also dropped in recent months. So that even the assistance we have given has not been enough to keep Latin America even, and particularly when its population increase amounts to almost 3 percent. So we're faced with staggering problems in Latin America and I hope that in our concentration on the particular problem which I discussed at the opening, we will extend our view and realize that what's at stake here is the freedom of a good many countries which are in very dire straits today.

[5.] Q. What did you think, sir, of the rather harsh things that Republican Congressman Joel Broyhill in nearby Virginia had to say about you and your Press Secretary because Mr. Salinger gave a party last night for his Democratic opponent?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I can see why he would be quite critical of that, but I will say that I've never read as much about a Congressman who's in the paper as I do about that Congressman and see less legislative results. [*Laughter*]

[6.] Q. Mr. President, Martin Luther King has telegraphed you asking for Federal action against anti-Negro terrorism in the South, and at least one Negro organization has threatened to picket you with the allegation that the Federal Government has not done enough. Could you tell us whether you have answered Dr. King, and give us the thought that you gave him, and whether you can say that or not, can you give us a comment on the problem?

THE PRESIDENT. We are in contact with Dr. King and others who have communicated to us about it. I don't know any more outrageous action which I have seen occur in this country for a good many months or years than the burning of a church—two churches—because of the effort made by Negroes to be registered to vote.

The United States Constitution provides for freedom to vote, and this country must permit every man and woman to exercise their franchise. To shoot, as we saw in the case of Mississippi, two young people who were involved in an effort to register people, to burn churches as a reprisal, with all of the provisions of the United States Constitution—at least the basic provision of the Constitution guaranteeing freedom of worship—I consider both cowardly as well as outrageous. The United States now has a number of FBI agents in there, and as soon as we are able to find out who did it, we'll arrest them and we'll bring them before a jury, and I'm sure that they'll be appropriately dealt with.

But let me say that nothing, I think—and I'm sure this is the view of the people of the States—the right to vote is very basic. If we're going to neglect that right, then all of our talk about freedom is hollow, and therefore we shall give every protection that we can to anybody seeking to vote. I hope everybody will register in this country. I hope they will vote. I commend those who are making the effort to register every citizen. They deserve the protection of the United States Government, the protection of the State, the protection of local communities, and we shall do everything we possibly can to make sure that that protection is assured and if it requires extra legislation and extra force, we shall do that.

[7.] Q. Sir, in connection with the Chicago Northwestern Railway strike, how long do you believe such a major transportation tieup can be allowed to run on before the public interest requires Presidential intervention or congressional action?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, we exhausted the procedures of the Railway Labor Act in that case. The only provision which is available to us would be the Taft-Hartley under a finding that the national interest and security was affected, so that we would have to make that legal judgment. It's my understanding that representatives of both of these parties have been meeting with Mr. Wirtz during the last few days, and that some progress has been made.

I think it's very important that the parties come to an agreement immediately because there are great interests of nine States affected: a good many farm crops, which should be coming to harvest, which are in the field—and public welfare suggests that these two important groups come to a conclusion, I would hope, over the weekend.

I am hopeful of it, and, as I say, the latest report I had today was that progress had been made. So I'm hopeful that both sides will make the sufficient concessions, if that's the word, to permit an agreement, because the public interest suggests an agreement is due.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, it was generally understood that the current test series would be over by now and it now appears that the atmosphere tests may continue on into November. Can you tell us why this decision was made to continue?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, there're two reasons. One is that, as you know, because of the blowup in the pad at Johnston Island and because of the earlier failures of the communications system in the missile, we are not able to carry out these tests which were the most—among the most important, if not the most important, of our series. So we're going to finish those.

In addition, as a result of the earlier tests of this Dominick series, there were certain things learned which we would like to prove out. So that we have agreed to a limited number of tests in concluding the Dominick series. And also we have taken some steps to prevent a repetition of the incident which caused an increase in the number of electrons in the atmosphere, by lowering the altitude and the yield so that lunar flights will not be further endangered.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us whether you discussed the Cuban situation with General Eisenhower on Monday, and, if you did, whether there was any agreement between U.S. part leaders that it shouldn't be an issue in this fall's campaign?

THE PRESIDENT. We discussed all problems, and, of course, that was one of them, but I didn't request any such agreement from him.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with your plans for next month, do you think you will find time to visit the National Automobile Show in Detroit?

THE PRESIDENT. I'm hopeful I will. Yes, I think I might.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, in the recent Soviet statement on Cuba, the Russians implied that perhaps the main reason the United States is so exercised about Cuba now is because of our election coming up. I'd like to ask you if you agree with this premise, and, more pointedly, do you think that the

Republicans are going to make political hay out of Cuba?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would not want to comment on the extent of the Soviet knowledge of our pre-elective process, nor would I suggest that the concern over Cuba is due to the election. I think that the concern is due to the fact that Cuba is close to the United States territory and that Cuba is obviously tying itself closer to the Communist bloc. The arrival of these weapons and technicians has caused increasing alarm by not only the Members of Congress but also by the administration and by the American people. I would think that it's part of our serious problems in which we are engaged in a tense concentration in many parts of the world at a dangerous time and it's quite natural that this action would bring a good deal of concern. I would not suggest that those who are concerned about it are motivated by political purposes or that the Soviet judgment that they are is accurate.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, in view of your intention to try to close some tax loopholes next year, do you find either the House or the Senate version of H.R. 10 acceptable this year?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I want to wait until the conference, and of course the Senate version is much more acceptable than the House version, but even the Senate version requires some careful analysis and I'm sure—I think it would be more useful to wait until after the conference and then make a judgment as to whether we should go ahead with this bill or whether we should wait until the general reform of next year.

[13.] Q. Mr. President, the same Soviet statement which was mentioned earlier implied that the Soviet Union might intervene militarily on the side of Cuba in the event the United States was forced to take military action. Would this implied threat be a major factor in any decision you might be called upon to make?

THE PRESIDENT. No, the United States will take whatever action the situation, as I described it, would require. As far as the

threat, the United States has been living with threats for a good many years and in a good many parts of the world. But the United States will not take any action that the situation does not require and will take whatever action the situation does require along the grounds which I indicated in my opening statement.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, in the area of peaceful uses of space, you've said that we shall be first, but if we refrain from competing with Russia for warlike space vehicles, as Mr. Gilpatric has said, doesn't this almost condemn us to a second place finish in the military field?

THE PRESIDENT. No. As I said last week, in the first place we're spending \$1,500 million a year on our military space program.¹ What is key for the success both of peaceful exploration of space as well as the military mastery of space are large boosters, effective control of the capsule, the ability to rendezvous, and all of the rest, so that there is an obvious usefulness if the situation should require—military usefulness for our efforts, peaceful efforts, in space.

There is no sense—in addition, as you know, very recently we determined to go ahead with the Titan III, which gives the United States Air Force a very strong weapon if that should become necessary. So that the work that NASA is doing on Saturn, the work the Air Force is doing on Titan, the work that's being done on the Apollo program and Gemini and the others, all have a national security factor as well as a peaceful factor.

Q. Mr. President, could you say a little more about what Mr. Gilpatric meant by allowing the Russians to go first with hydrogen weapons in space?

THE PRESIDENT. I'm not aware that we're intending the Russians to go first with hydrogen weapons.

Q. He said we wouldn't go until they did.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the United States is attempting, and this administration,

¹ See Item 340 [5].

as you know, is making a very massive effort in space. As I said, we are spending three times what we spent last year in space, and more in this year's budget than the 8 previous years, so that this is a tremendous effort, \$5½ billion as well as the money that we're spending for the military use of space.

As I say, the size of the booster, the capsule, and the control all would have, if the situation required it, a military use. We hope it does not; we hope that space will be used for peaceful purposes. That is the policy of the United States Government. But we should be prepared if it does not. In addition, as I've said from the beginning, both the Soviet Union and the United States both have a capacity today to send a missile to each other's country with a nuclear warhead on it. So that we must keep some perspective as to where the danger may lie. But the United States, in the effort it's making both in the peaceful program and the military program, all of this will increase our security if the Soviet Union should attempt to use space for military purposes.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, Robert Frost, the poet, recently came back from a trip to Russia and said he had a message from Premier Khrushchev for you. I think the American people would like to know what that message was, and what message he might have taken over from you to Premier Khrushchev. Would you tell us what that was?

THE PRESIDENT. No, he didn't take a message, except the message of his own personality and poetry, to Russia and to Mr. Khrushchev, and his character. I have not received his message, though I hope to see him shortly, and if I do, I will if it's—I'm sure I'll be glad to communicate it to you and to the American people.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, you mentioned in your opening statement that proposals might be made to the Latin American countries. Could you give us some idea of your philosophy of what the Latin American

countries' role should be in this Cuban situation?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think it would be more appropriate—as you know, Mr. Rusk plans to meet with them this month at the time the General Assembly opens, and I think it would be more appropriate for they and he to meet and confer on the matter, and at that time we will have some suggestions.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, have you received any response from the Soviet Union to indicate that they are, in fact, considering cooperative ventures with the United States in space, other than those negotiated earlier in satellite weather research by the late Dr. Harry Wexler? If not, are you still hopeful that such cooperation is likely in the near future?

THE PRESIDENT. No. As you know, Dr. Dryden had some conversations in Geneva in regard to the matter, and some progress was made, but it's limited in its scope and we would hope more could be done. And more, perhaps, could be done if the atmosphere between the two countries should be improved.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, you said in your opening statement that you now had full authority to act in the Cuban affair. In view of this, do you think there's any virtue in the Senate or the Congress passing the resolution saying you have that authority?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I think the Members of Congress would, speaking as they do with a particular responsibility—I think it would be useful, if they desired to do so, for them to express their view. And as I've seen the resolutions which have been discussed—a resolution which I think Senator Mansfield introduced and which Chairman Vinson introduced in the House—and I would think that—I'd be very glad to have those resolutions passed if that should be the desire of the Congress.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, will you tell us some of your thinking on your request for special reserve mobilization powers? The international situation has led you twice to request such special legislation. You could

call a million reservists if you declared a national emergency. Why don't you do that?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think there're several stages of a possible crisis. The call of a national emergency, I would say, is near the final step of a crisis. But there may be increased threats which would require us to call some reservists, particularly in the air, maybe at sea, possibly on the ground. Last year, when we called the reservists, the two divisions, the Wisconsin and Texas Divisions, we also laid plans for making two more divisions permanent, which came into effect this summer—August and September—so that those two divisions served a purpose of giving us this reserve during the period of the crisis at that time, and at the end of it we had two permanent divisions.

We have, as you know, of course, increased our Army strength from 11 to 16 divisions in the last year and a half. Now, if we need—of course, if we're in a national emergency, where the United States is threatened with very serious military action, of course there would be no hesitancy in declaring it. But we might be in a situation where the declaration of a national emergency might not be the most appropriate step, and in that case we would use the power granted to us by the Congress.

Q. Mr. President, in that connection, your request for only 150,000 reservists would seem to not enforce the opinion expressed because it seems no stage at all.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that—

Q. You said that you've strengthened the Armed Forces.

THE PRESIDENT. That's correct. Then we have 150,000 more that we could call. They could be in very critical areas. As I have said, the air and the sea are two, and, of course, there could be Guard divisions called. If the United States were obliged to reinforce its forces any place, the ability to call up needed men would make an appreciable difference. Now, as I say, we always have the final weapon, or nearly final weapon, of a national emergency and the power to call

a million men. But the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretary of Defense felt that this intermediate step could be very useful during the period when Congress is out of session.

[20.] Q. This question concerns the aerospace dispute. As you know, the auto-workers and the machinists unions have accepted the Presidential board's recommendation, and recommendations, sir, which I believe you have also found acceptable as a basis for settlement. The four leading aerospace manufacturers, especially Lockheed, have rejected the basic union shop recommendation. Now the unions feel they are being forced into a strike posture, as a result of the company's attitude. Could you tell us something of your opinion and your reaction to the situation and what the equities in this area are?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, in the first place, most major industrial companies or industries in the United States have accepted the union shop many years ago—the steel industry, the auto industry, the aluminum companies, other basic industries. The union shop is part of collective bargaining and particularly under the terms suggested by Dr. Taylor—a two-thirds vote—people do not have to join the union to get the job. After they've come to work, if it's an opinion of a large majority of the members, then they would join the union. This, as I say, has been acceptable for many years to many companies which are even larger than the ones that are involved. That's the first point.

Now the second point is that the total package, it seems to me, should be considered as a package. The economic proposals made are not excessive. They come well within the guidelines suggested by the Council of Economic Advisers. The unions are accepting a financial settlement which is not particularly generous in relation to certain other unions in recent years. They feel that the total package, however, is acceptable. I would hope the companies would accept it, because if a strike comes, in view of the fact that the recommendation of the fact-finding board headed by Dr. Taylor,

who also was given a comparable assignment by President Eisenhower in the steel strike case—which indicates his own high reputation and that of the panel—I would hope that the companies would accept it, because if there is a strike, the responsibility would be very clear, I think, to the American people for such an action. I would hope there wouldn't be a strike, that business would go on, that the companies would accept the report.

[21.] Q. Mr. President, do you favor the election of every Democratic candidate for Congress? How many seats do you feel you need in the Senate and the House to get a Congress that will put across your legislative program?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would be glad to go through the names with you. I've said from the beginning that I would probably be supporting any Congressman who was interested in my support. I think there are probably some Democrats who might not be particularly anxious for my support and, therefore, my endorsement would not be required across the board. Those Congressmen who are interested in my supporting them are usually people who hold the same general view of the necessity for this country making progress that I do.

Now, secondly, this Congress is ending. I think that it is somewhat like Lazarus. It has revived. It's moving and we are going to see the session end, in my opinion, with the passage of a good trade bill, with a tax bill which will come out of the conference, I hope a higher education bill, and a good many other bills which 2 months ago seemed to be in the deep freeze. So I think that we're making progress.

What I think is important is because these votes—and we will get a farm bill, I hope—because these votes are so close, because their program is opposed by the opposition party,

almost across the board, and because some Democrats join, I would hope that we could hold the number of seats we have and perhaps pick some up, even though I recognize that it's going to be a very intensely fought election.

[22.] Q. Sir, when you went to Houston the other day you didn't take along Congressman Casey whose district you went to, and you also didn't take along Senator Yarborough from Texas. I wonder why you did this and I also wonder if you were motivated in leaving Casey at home because he had opposed you on some issues.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, you say I didn't take Senator Yarborough, and he and I have been in close concert so, of course, the reason was not that which you have suggested. We did not take any Congressman or Senator along to Florida though we visited it. We didn't take any Congressman or Senator along to Alabama because this was a program trip.

Q. One was already there, wasn't he?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, yes, and we invited all the Congressmen and Senators who were in the districts to come with us on the trip. For example, Senator Long from Missouri, came with us to the McDonnell plant. We would have been glad to have anyone come. But we invited the members of the Space Committees of the House and Senate, the ranking Democrat and Republican. We also brought Congressman Thomas along, who is Chairman of the Appropriations Committee for the space program. And that was the total invitation because this was a nonpolitical trip.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's forty-third news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 6 o'clock on Wednesday evening, September 13, 1962.

379 Statement by the President: The Jewish High Holy Days.
September 14, 1962

ON THE occasion of Rosh Hashanah and the period of the Jewish High Holy Days, I welcome the opportunity to extend to all of our fellow Americans of the Jewish faith my warm greetings and best wishes for the New Year.

In this solemn period you are called upon to rededicate yourselves anew to the faith, the values, the ideals, and the teachings that have stood the stern test of time in your heritage. It is a time for a personal and spiritual inventory and for reflection on goals and achievements. It calls for a reaffirmation of the willingness to sacrifice that

there may be righteousness for all mankind.

Never was the desire for genuine understanding among the nations of the world stronger than today. The danger of ultimate disaster increases the urgency and need for a common cause of peace. Our people must lead the way toward relief from oppression, hunger and despair so that all may share in the age-old vision of a good and righteous life.

I know that all Americans join with me in this message of good will.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

380 Remarks Upon Signing the Public Works Acceleration Act.
September 14, 1962

I AM TODAY approving S. 2965, a bill which authorizes the appropriation of \$900 million to initiate and accelerate Federal public works projects and to provide Federal assistance for a similar expansion of local public works to relieve unemployment and spur economic expansion in those areas of the country which have failed to share fully in the economic gains of the recovery from the 1960-61 recession.

Enactment of this bill is a significant milestone in our efforts to strengthen the economy and provide a greater measure of economic security to the unemployed. It is an important companion measure to other efforts already under way. The Area Redevelopment Administration has begun the long difficult task of stimulating the creation of new, permanent jobs in communities which have suffered economic reverses for the longest periods. Through the manpower development and training program, tens of thousands of jobless men and women will soon be learning the skills needed to improve their employment prospects and productivity. Because of expanded distribution

of surplus agricultural commodities, thousands of destitute families now have at least the essentials of a decent diet.

I shall shortly transmit to Congress a request for the appropriation of funds necessary to get the program under way. To ensure that prompt use is made of the new authority as soon as funds are available, I am today issuing an Executive Order¹ designating the Secretary of Commerce as the coordinator of this program. Four principles will guide his efforts:

The funds will be invested in worthwhile and necessary projects designed to make eligible communities better places in which to live and work.

The jobs created will be made available to the maximum feasible extent to the unemployed within the eligible communities.

The program will be administered according to the highest standards of impartiality, economy, and scrupulous honesty.

The program will become operative as quickly as prudent management and respect

¹ Executive Order 11049 (27 F.R. 9203).

for the foregoing principles permit.

I want to especially commend those members of the Congress who worked hard and long to develop this bill. I hope, too, that in the next Congress consideration can be given anew to the standby concept contained in the original recommendation of the administration. Every proper tool to fight

economic decline should be available—for experience teaches that the earlier action is taken, the more effective it is.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 a.m. in his office at the White House.

As enacted, S. 2965 is Public Law 87-658 (76 Stat. 541).

381 Statement by the President on the Passage by the House of Representatives of the U.N. Bond Purchase Bill.

September 14, 1962

I AM most heartened by the passage by the House tonight of the United Nations Bond Issue.

The bi-partisan nature of the vote was a demonstration of the commitment that all Americans have for the future of the United

Nations as an instrument devoted to preserving peace throughout the world.

NOTE: The statement was released at Newport, R.I.

For the President's remarks upon signing the bill, see Item 424.

382 Statement by the President on the Passage by the House of Representatives of a Bill Providing for the Hanford Reactor.

September 14, 1962

I WAS most pleased by the passage tonight by the House of the Hanford Reactor Bill.

This legislation is a major forward step in the use of nuclear power and will be of benefit throughout the Northwest to all power users both private and public.

This bill will eliminate the waste of mil-

lions of steam pounds per hour at no extra cost to the American taxpayer. The House is to be commended for taking this most affirmative action in this vital field.

NOTE: The statement was released at Newport, R.I.

For the President's remarks upon signing the bill, see Item 408.

383 Remarks in Newport at the Australian Ambassador's Dinner for the America's Cup Crews. September 14, 1962

Ambassador, Lady Beale, Ambassador and Mrs. Berckemeyer, Ambassador and Lady Ormsby Gore, the Ambassador from Portugal, our distinguished Ministers from Australia, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I know that all of us take the greatest pleasure in being here, first of all because whether we're Australian or American, we

are all joined by a common interest, a common devotion and love for the sea. And I am particularly glad to be here because this Cup is being challenged by our friends from Australia, this extraordinary group of men and women numbering some 10 million, who have demonstrated on many occasions, on many fields, in many countries, that they are the most extraordinary athletic

group in the world today, and that this extraordinary demonstration of physical vigor and skill has come not by the dictates of the State, because the Australians are among the freest citizens in the world, but because of their choice.

Therefore, Ambassador, you are most welcome here.

This Cup has been challenged in the past by our friends from Great Britain. We are glad to see Australia assuming the responsibilities of empire in coming here, and we're particularly glad to welcome you in the year 1962. This is a trophy which the United States has held for over a century, unlike the Davis Cup. And we do have a feeling, Ambassador, we do have an old American motto of "One cup at a time."

There is no question that this kind of national competition produces the greatest good will among nations. The most recent indication of that, of course, were the games held at Indonesia which produced a wonderful feeling of spirit in all of Asia, and I am confident that these games will produce the same kind of good will between Australia and the United States.

I really don't know why it is that all of us are so committed to the sea, except I think it's because in addition to the fact that the sea changes, and the light changes, and ships change, it's because we all came from the sea. And it is an interesting biological fact that all of us have, in our veins the exact same percentage of salt in our blood that exists in the ocean, and, therefore, we have salt in our blood, in our sweat, in our tears. We are tied to the ocean. And when we go back to the sea—whether it is to sail or to watch it—we are going back from whence we came.

Therefore, it's quite natural that the United States and Australia, separated by an ocean, but particularly those of us who regard the ocean as a friend, bound by an ocean, should be meeting today in Newport to begin this great sea competition. This is an old relationship between the United States and Australia, and particularly between

Rhode Island and Australia.

In the 1790's, Ambassador, American ships, mostly from Rhode Island, began to call regularly at New South Wales. Their cargoes, I regret to say, consisted mainly of gin and rum, and the effect was to set back the athletic development, until the recent great temperance movement in Australia, for many years.

In 1801, Governor Philip Gidley King of Australia complained to London, "Such has been the certainty in America of any quantity of spirits being purchased here that a ship cleared out of Rhode Island for this port with a very large investment of spirits, which I positively forbade being landed, in consequence of which she left this port with upward of 13,000 gallons of spirit brought to Australia for sale." And he told the American Minister Rufus King to warn the Rhode Island merchants not to try to market their rum in Australia. I need hardly say that the Rhode Island merchants continued to do their compassionate best to quench this thirst which was felt so strongly in Australia.

However, Australia became committed to physical fitness and it's been disastrous for the rest of us.

We have the highest regard for Australia and we, as you said, Ambassador, regard them as very satisfactory friends in peace and the best of friends in war. And I know that there're a good many Americans of my generation who have the greatest possible reason to be grateful to the Australians who wrote a most distinguished record all the way from the desert of North Africa, and most particularly in the islands of the South Pacific, where their particular courage and gallantry I think met the strongest response in all of us in this country.

But I don't really look to the past. I look to the present. The United States and Australia are most intimately bound together today, and I think that—and I speak as one who has had some experience in friendship and some experience in those who are not our friends—that we value very much the fact that on the other side of the Pacific the

Australians inhabit a very key and crucial area, and that the United States is most intimately associated with them. So beyond this race, beyond the result, rests this happy relationship between two great people.

I want to toast tonight the crew, the sailors, those who made it possible for the *Gretel* to come here, those who have, for a hundred years, defended this Cup from the New York Yacht Club, to all of them. As the Ambassador said so well, they race against each other, but they also race with each other against the wind and the sea.

To the crew of the *Gretel* and the crew of the *Weatherly*.

NOTE: The President spoke at The Breakers, the former Cornelius Vanderbilt estate which was loaned for the occasion by the Newport Preservation Society. His opening words referred to Sir Howard Beale, Ambassador from Australia, and Lady Beale; Fernando Berckemeyer, Ambassador from Peru, and Mrs. Berckemeyer; Sir David Ormsby Gore, Ambassador from Great Britain, and Lady Ormsby Gore; Pedro Theotónio Pereira, Ambassador from Portugal; Sir Garfield Barwick, Australian Minister for External Affairs; and Harold E. Holt, Treasurer of Australia.

384 Remarks Aboard the Destroyer *Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr.*, off Newport. September 15, 1962

Captain:

I want to express our very great appreciation to you, Captain, to Electrician's Mate Olsen, and to all of you for this presentation, and also for the model of the ship.

The ship, the *Kennedy*, means a good deal to all of us. My sister took part at the commissioning. My father and mother attended it. It was built in Fall River, Mass. My brother, Robert, served on it as a seaman in the Caribbean in 1944 and 1945. My father and mother have visited it on several occasions when it was stationed in the Mediterranean. It was, of course, as you know, named after my brother who had a distinguished combat record in the Second World War, and it's been the greatest source of satisfaction to all of us that you officers and men have maintained the extremely high standard which every captain and every officer and man on this ship has maintained

over a period of 17 years. So I was particularly happy when we heard that this ship was here, and I know that I speak on behalf of Mrs. Kennedy and all of us who were your guests today, the Members of the Congress, our visitors from abroad, members of the press, in expressing our very warm thanks to you, our very best wishes to you.

We realize that whatever may come for this country and for the Navy, that the U.S.S. *Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr.*, will be playing an important and forward part.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In the President's opening remarks he referred to Capt. Nicholas Mikhalevsky, Commander of the U.S.S. *Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr.*, and Electrician's Mate, first class, Gilbert M. Olsen, who presented the President with the model of the ship, together with a folder and schematic of the *Kennedy* bearing the signatures of all its officers and crew members.

385 Remarks With David McDonald Recorded for the United Steelworkers Convention at Miami Beach. September 17, 1962

THE PRESIDENT [following an introduction by Mr. McDonald]. Gentlemen, I am very grateful to President Dave McDonald for giving me this chance to express to you my

very best greetings to you all. I was a guest at your convention, I remember, some years ago in Los Angeles, then in Atlantic City. Your President has been kind enough to

invite me to your next convention in 1964, and I will be with you then.

I did want to have the chance, speaking to you as we are today from the White House, to express my very best regards to all of you. I have the greatest respect for the Steelworkers Union, for the effort that they have made to take care of their people, to raise the standards within the industry, and also to speak for the United States. I therefore do not want to miss this opportunity to assure you that those of us who work here in Washington are as committed to the welfare of your membership today and in the future as we have been in the past, and to tell you that we will take every possible step to make sure that the steel industry and the workers in this country are moved steadily forward. So I am glad to be here, Dave.

Mr. McDonald: Mr. President, that was very kind of you—your kind words—and I just want to say that we have tried to help you in this most terrific job you have. We know what your problems are on the Hill; we are critical of your critics, believe me. They do not realize what a real tough job you have with the Congress of the United States, so I say to you that anything at all we can do to help you advance your most wonderful program on behalf of the people of the United States, and, in fact, on behalf of the people in most of the world, we are with you.

THE PRESIDENT. We are trying to pass legislation and we hope by the time this Congress ends, it will be substantially moved ahead. If not, to carry it to completion next year in the new Congress. Programs which will help our people by providing an opportunity for them—those who are out of school and who cannot find work—which will help some of our workers in their industries who cannot find work to be retrained, which will provide decent standards of unemployment compensation for those who may be between jobs, to provide assistance for health care of the aged and to those who have retired, to provide assistance through public works programs and by other means to our economy

to stimulate it forward, to rewrite our tax bills to provide an upward movement to our economy, to deal in a dozen different ways with our domestic strength so that there is an opportunity for all people. I think the Steelworkers this year have made a real contribution to strengthen our country.

The agreement which was made, which was a responsibility, which was made 3 months ahead of time, which was made without a strike, I think, was an example of the kind of responsible unionism with which the United States—Steelworkers have been long identified. I am glad that it was possible for the company, finally, and the union to work together in this matter. I just want to say that I think there are a good many things still left to do in this country. We are committed to try to do them. We seek the support of a House and Senate that will join this effort and not prevent us from taking action on these vital measures which make the difference between prosperity and recession—between a man having a decent job and not having one—between a man being able to send his children to college and not being able to do so—between a man being able to retire with a decent expectation of dignity and not being able to do so. These are the issues—they may not be perhaps as dramatic as they were 30 years ago, but they are just as important. We have just as many unfinished things to do and I want you to know that we are going to try to do them. We are going to work with the House and Senate to do them and we ask your help in electing a House and Senate with standards for progress and not one that wants to sit still and look to the past rather than the future, because I know how strongly your membership believes in the idea of progress for our country and has throughout all of its years. I just want to say that I consider myself privileged to come to this convention even from long distance and speak to you from the White House.

Mr. McDonald: Well, we are certainly sorry that you couldn't be with us in person. We are looking forward to '64 and in the

meantime, Mr. President, I assure you that the Steelworkers political action committee forces will be working—ringing doorbells, doing all those zillion things which have to be done to supply a good Congress for you so you can put over your program.

THE PRESIDENT. I appreciate that, Dave. After all, the Steelworkers have helped elect me and now we are going to help elect a Congress that will help us to do the things

that need to be done. I want to thank you and wish you every success with the convention.

Mr. McDonald: Thank you very much, Mr. President.

NOTE: The remarks of the President and Mr. McDonald were recorded on film and tape at the White House for broadcast to the convention in session at the Fontainebleau Hotel in Miami Beach, Fla.

386 Telegram to Management and Labor Leaders Concerned in the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Strike.

September 17, 1962

I AM ISSUING immediately the following statement:

The Chicago and Northwestern Railway System has been shut down now for 19 days as a result of the strike against it by the order of Railroad Telegraphers.

This shutdown has caused serious inconvenience and economic hardship to the people of 9 midwestern States. This damage is mounting as each additional day of the shutdown passes without a settlement being reached.

Because of the seriousness of this situation, and because there is in my judgment no justification whatsoever now for its continuation, I want to review the record of this case briefly and then make a proposal for bringing it to an immediate conclusion.

This controversy started 5 years ago, when the Telegraphers organization served notice on the Northwestern Railroad requesting that the agreement between the organization and the carrier be amended to provide that the carrier could not abolish or discontinue any Telegrapher position except by agreement between the carrier and the organization.

The Railroad's refusal to bargain about this proposal resulted in extensive litigation and in an eventual decision by the Supreme Court that the Carrier was obli-

gated to bargain about the proposed contract amendment.

The negotiations which followed produced no agreement.

On April 23, 1962, the case was referred, under the Railway Labor Act, to a special Presidential Emergency Board. This Board was composed of Professor Arthur Ross, of the University of California, Professor Charles Killingsworth, of Michigan State University, and Mr. Paul Hanlon, of Portland, Oregon. These are highly respected labor arbitrators.

The Board issued its report and recommendations on June 14, 1962. These recommendations were (I) that the organization's proposal that no Telegrapher positions be abolished or discontinued except by agreement between the carrier and the organization be withdrawn; but (II) that a comprehensive program of employee protection should be negotiated. The Board identified the elements in such a program, including provision for notices and conferences prior to position changes, a forty hour work-week guarantee for extra Board employees, and various money allowances for employees adversely affected by position changes.

These recommendations were fair to both sides and consistent with the public interest.

The carrier announced its acceptance of the Board's recommendations in their entirety.

The organization reserved its overall position pending negotiation on some of the issues involved in these recommendations.

There were negotiations then during the 30-day period provided for in the Railway Labor Act and during a short extension period agreed upon by the parties at my request. These negotiations were also ineffective, and the organization called its strike against the Railroad on August 30th.

Negotiations have continued since that time, with the assistance of the National Mediation Board. There has been substantial progress in these recent negotiations. By the middle of last week, tentative agreement had been reached, or an area of agreement clearly established, with respect to most of the issues in dispute. This agreement was consistent with the Board's recommendations.

In this situation, with substantial agreement on most issues and only three or four disputed points remaining, I urged publicly last Wednesday that these negotiations be brought to a speedy conclusion.

Instead, these few remaining points have defied the parties' and the mediators' efforts at settlement.

Over the weekend the carrier announced its withdrawal from further negotiations, basing its action on what it considers the organization's continuing refusal to accept the Emergency Board's report "in its entirety."

I am advised by the Order of Railroad Telegraphers that it considers its position on the remaining disputed items to be entirely consistent with the Emergency Board's recommendations.

In this situation there is plainly no excuse for a continued stalemate. Agreement has been reached on most of the issues involved. So far as the three or four remaining issues are concerned, the disagreement about them

is asserted in terms of conflicting views as to the proper application of the Emergency Board's recommendations.

It is plain that differences limited to the interpretation and application of the Emergency Board's report cannot justify the continuing high price the people of the midwest are being required to pay for this dispute.

I accordingly propose and request, relying on the good faith of both parties in their stated positions regarding the Emergency Board's recommendations, that they agree to submit to the determination of an independent panel of qualified persons the question of the proper application of the Board's recommendations to the remaining disputed issues, and that it be agreed that this determination will be accepted as a final and binding settlement of these issues. I suggest that this panel include one member to be selected by the carrier, one selected by the organization, and a third member whom I will appoint if the parties cannot agree upon his selection. The panel should be expected to make its determination within not more than ten days.

Since the acceptance of this procedure will insure a definitive resolution of all issues in this dispute, such acceptance should include agreement to proceed immediately to restore full operations on this Railroad.

I urge your acceptance of this proposed procedure, and request that you advise me of your position by 12:00 noon, (EDT), tomorrow, September 18, 1962.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Ben W. Heineman, Chairman of the Board, C & NW Railway Company, 400 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois; G. E. Leighty, President, Order of Railroad Telegraphers, Hamilton Hotel, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: The telegram was released at Newport, R.I.

On September 28 the President announced that agreement had been reached in the dispute, that the strike was ended, and that service on the railroad would resume as speedily as possible.

387 Message to the Editor on the 40th Anniversary of
Foreign Affairs. *September 18, 1962.*

[Released September 18, 1962. Dated September 17, 1962]

Dear Mr. Armstrong:

On the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of Foreign Affairs, it is a pleasure to send my heartiest congratulations to you and to all who shared in the creation of a great quarterly. By its "broad hospitality to divergent ideas," its high standards of editorial integrity, and its responsible devotion to the best interests of the United States, Foreign Affairs has created an unrivalled forum for those who should be heard, and it has served our country well.

Let me add that we all know in what extraordinary measure this achievement is the result of your own individual contribution. There are not many American institutions which owe so much to a single man, and I know that hundreds of your other contributors will join me in saluting a great American editor.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Mr. Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Editor, Foreign Affairs, 58 East 68th Street, New York 21, N.Y.]

388 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President
Kayibanda of the Republic of Rwanda. *September 19, 1962*

HIS EXCELLENCY, Gregoire Kayibanda, President of the Republic of Rwanda, conferred today with the President about the future of United States-Rwandan relations and about general problems being faced by the Rwandan Government following its entry into the family of nations as an independent country last July 1.

President Kayibanda and the President expressed the mutual determination of their two governments to maintain and foster the cordial relationship which has emerged between the two countries since the attainment of independence by Rwanda.

President Kayibanda spoke of his deter-

mination to maintain and strengthen the independence and internal development of his country. He was particularly appreciative of the demonstrated sympathy for and interest in the manifold problems now being faced by his country on the part of the United States Government, of the friendly welcome which he and his Ministers have received on all sides during this, his first visit to the United States.

The President confirmed the determination of the United States to support the efforts of the Government of Rwanda to meet and overcome the myriad problems faced by all new nations.

389 Statement by the President on Foreign Aid.
September 19, 1962

THE DRASTIC CUT in foreign aid funds recommended by the House Appropriations Committee poses a threat to free world security.

It makes no sense at all to make speeches against the spread of communism, to deplore

instability in Latin America and Asia, to call for an increase in American prestige and an initiative in Eastern Europe—and then vote to cut back the Alliance for Progress, to hamper the Peace Corps, to repudiate our long-term commitments of last year and

to undermine the efforts of those who are seeking to stave off chaos and communism in the most vital areas of the world. Foreign aid has increasingly meant trade, sales and jobs in this country, and reform, progress and new hope in the developing countries.

The Aid program is just as important as any military spending we do abroad. You cannot separate guns from roads and schools when it comes to resisting Communist subversion in under-developed countries. This

is a lesson we have learned clearly in South Vietnam and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. To mutilate the aid program in this massive fashion would be to damage the national security of the United States.

I cannot believe that those in both parties who have consistently voted in the course of three administrations to fulfill this nation's obligations of leadership will permit this irresponsible action to go uncorrected.

NOTE: For the President's broadcast on trade and foreign aid, see Item 400.

390 Statement by the President Announcing an Agreement in the Aerospace Industry Labor Dispute. *September 19, 1962*

I AM PLEASED to announce that the United Aerospace Workers (UAW) and North American Aviation, Inc., have reached an agreement in principle on all the remaining issues in dispute based upon the recommendations of the President's Aerospace Board.

The parties will continue to meet for the purpose of translating the agreement upon principles into specific and detailed contract language. The parties have every expectation of completing their work within the next few days and the old agreement will continue in effect until the new agreement is ratified by the Union's membership. Both the union and the company have expressed their appreciation for the assistance of William E. Simkin, Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, and of Walter A. Maggiolo, the Service's Director of Mediation Activities.

It is gratifying that both parties in this

dispute were able to alter their positions sufficiently to bring about a mutually acceptable agreement on the principles for a new contract. Unquestionably, they have served the public interest by insuring continuous production of aerospace equipment at their facilities.

Mr. Simkin also informs me that General Dynamics (Convair Division) and the International Association of Machinists, negotiating with the assistance of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service in San Diego, California, have just reached general agreement on the basic guidelines of the Presidential Aerospace Board's report and the Union has announced that this eliminates any strike action at the production and missile site facilities of that Company.

I strongly urge the remaining companies and unions still negotiating in this industry to display the same sense of responsibility to the public interest.

391 Remarks Upon Signing Bill To Establish the Delaware River and Bay Authority. *September 20, 1962*

I AM pleased to sign the House Joint Resolution 783 which approves the compact between the States of Delaware and New Jersey, establishing the Delaware River and Bay Authority for the development of the

area bordering on the Delaware River and Bay.

The Compact will provide a foundation upon which the two States together can provide for the orderly development of an

area which is of concern to both. Such cooperation demonstrates again the vitality of our Federal system of government.

I understand that the first project to be considered by the Authority will be the construction of a second bridge at the head of Delaware Bay, and the establishment of a ferry at the mouth of the Bay. These crossings will provide great benefit to the people of the two States. In addition they will benefit many residents of other States by expanding the vital connecting links in the

routes of highway travel and transportation along the eastern seaboard.

I congratulate the States of Delaware and New Jersey and all of their officials and citizens who were instrumental in the establishment of the Compact approved by this Resolution today, and the Members of Congress from those States who worked for its successful passage.

NOTE: As enacted, H.J. Res. 783 is Public Law 87-678 (76 Stat. 560).

392 Remarks to the Board of Governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. *September 20, 1962*

Mr. Chairman, members of the Board of Governors, distinguished guests:

This is my first opportunity to take part in your annual meetings, and to welcome you to Washington—and I do so with the greatest of pleasure. For you are concerned with the problems which have been among my primary concerns since the day I took office exactly 20 months ago; and in that time I have come to appreciate how vital a role is played by the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and its affiliated institutions.

The work of the International Development Association is particularly important, and this country fully supports the proposal that the executive directors develop a program to increase its resources.

The pioneering practices of the bank, which have set a standard for others to follow, will sorely miss the services of Eugene Black. I hope he will permit us to call upon his wise counsel in the future, and that the rest of us, in pursuing the goals which he set, will increase our own efforts, including efforts in the industrialized countries to provide greater capital assistance to the less developed areas, efforts also in the industrialized countries to maintain at home prosperous and easily accessible markets for the products of the growing nations, efforts to

reach commodity agreements and other arrangements which will help stabilize the export earnings of these nations, and finally, and most importantly, greater efforts in the developing nations themselves to mobilize effectively their own people and their financial resources, and to make certain that the benefits of increased output are shared by the many and not by the few.

In addition to these discussions on the role of the bank, your meetings this year, as was true last year, are giving top attention to the state of the dollar, and that has been at or near the top of my own agenda for the last year and a half.

We in the United States feel no need to be self-conscious in discussing the dollar. It is not only our national currency; it is an international currency. It plays a key role in the day-to-day functioning of the free world's financial framework. It is the most effective substitute for gold in the international payments system. If the dollar did not exist as a reserve currency, it would have to be invented, for a volume of foreign trade already reaching \$130 billion a year, and growing rapidly, accompanied by large international capital movements, cannot rest solely on a slowly growing stock of gold which now totals only \$40 billion.

The security of the dollar, therefore, is and ought to be of major concern to every

nation here. To undermine the strength of the dollar would undermine the strength of the free world. To compete for national financial security in its narrowest sense by taking individual actions inconsistent with our common goals would, in the end, only impair the security of us all.

I recognize that this Nation has special responsibilities as one of the leaders of the free world, as its richest and most powerful nation, as possessor of its most important currency, and as the chief banker for international trade.

We did not seek all of these burdens, but we do not shrink from them. We are taking every prudent step to maintain the strength of the dollar, to improve our balance of payments, and to back up the dollar by expanding the growth of our economy. We are pledged to keep the dollar fully convertible into gold and to back that pledge with all our resources of gold and credit.

We have not impaired the value of the dollar by imposing restrictions on its use. We have not imposed upon our citizens in peacetime any limitations on the amount of dollars that they may wish to take or send abroad. We have followed a liberal policy on trade, and we have continued to supply our friends and allies with dollars and gold to rebuild their economies and defend their freedom.

All this we have willingly done. No other country or currency has borne so many burdens. But we cannot and should not bear them all alone. I know that other countries do not expect us to bear indefinitely both the responsibilities of maintaining an international currency and, in addition, a disproportionate share of the costs of defending the free world and fostering social and economic progress in the less developed parts of the world.

Concern over our imbalance of payments is not our concern alone, for it is not caused by our own narrow self-interests. Our deficit this year is expected to approximate \$1½ billion, a considerable improvement

over last year's \$2½ billion, and even higher deficits in the years before. But our total gross military expenditures abroad are \$3 billion alone. Our dollar aid expenditures abroad are \$1.3 billion.

The dollar, itself, is strong, and our commercial trade, excluding exports financed by AID, produce a surplus of nearly \$3 billion. In short, our balance of payments deficit is not the result of any monetary or economic mismanagement, but the result of expenditures our people have made on behalf of the peoples of the free world.

In 1946 the United States held over 60 percent of the world's supply of gold. Now we are down to 40 percent, and during that time we have spent some \$88 billion overseas for the defense and aid of others. The European nations alone received some \$26 billion in economic aid. The United States, as a result, no longer has a disproportionate share of the free world's gold, economic strength, or economic responsibility.

That is why I emphasize once again these are not American problems; they are free world problems. They are problems which cannot be met by one nation in isolation, or by many nations in disarray. They are not the sole concern of either the rich or the poor, of either deficit or surplus nations alone.

When burdens are shared, there is no undue burden on any nation. When risk is shared, there is less risk for all. And cooperative efforts to defend the international currency system based primarily on the dollar, and to share other responsibilities are not, therefore, based on appeals to gratitude or even friendship, but on the hard and factual grounds of self-interest and common-sense.

Of course, the United States could bring its international payments into balance overnight, if that were the only goal we sought. We could withdraw our forces, reduce our aid, tie it wholly to purchases in this country, raise high tariff barriers, and restrict the foreign investments or other uses of American dollars.

Such a policy, it is true, would give rise to a new era of dollar shortages, free world insecurity, and American isolation. But we would have solved the balance of payments. But the basic strength of the dollar makes such actions as unnecessary as they are unwise. They would not only be inconsistent with the responsibility and role of the United States in the world today; they would, because of the crucial role of the dollar, be utterly self-defeating.

All of us here are determined to follow the only other feasible course—not the unacceptable courses of restriction and isolation or deflation, but the course of true cooperation, of liberal payments and trade, of sharing the cost of our NATO and Pacific defenses, of sharing the cost of the free world's development aid, and of working together on steps to greater international stability with other currencies in addition to the dollar, bearing an increasing share of its central responsibilities.

We in the United States recognize that our own obligation in this regard includes, as a matter of the first priority, taking action to eliminate the deficit in our balance of payments, and to do so without resorting to deflation or retreating to isolation. I've spoken frankly at this meeting because these two successful institutions, the Bank and the Fund, have long flourished in a spirit of candor, and have consistently shown a reliable capacity to respond both flexibly and effectively to new needs and new challenges.

This spirit of cooperation and candor and initiative will, I know, continue in the future, for only in this spirit can we hope to maintain a sturdy free world financial system, with stable exchange rates capable of supporting a growing flow of trade and foreign investment free from discriminations and restrictions.

I have spoken frankly, moreover, because I believe the current strength of the dollar enables us to speak frankly and with confidence. Some sharing of responsibilities has

already been achieved. Considerable progress in the balance of our international accounts has been made. A new agreement among 10 industrialized countries to supplement the resources of the Fund, with special borrowing arrangements of up to \$6 billion, has been concluded, and implementing action will be completed by the United States Congress within the next few days or weeks.

Less formal arrangements between the major trading countries have also been evolved to cope with any potential strains or shocks that might arise from a sudden movement of capital. These arrangements, I should add, contain within themselves the possibility of wider and more general application, and this country will always be receptive to suggestions for expanding these arrangements or otherwise improving the operation and efficiency of the international payments system.

All of this is ground for confidence, for making it increasingly clear that no extreme or restrictive measures are needed; that speculation against the dollar is losing its allure; and that the economy of the United States can continue to expand in a framework based on the maintenance of free exchange and the early achievement of equilibrium.

The expansion in our domestic economy, while not all that we had hoped, has been substantial; and of equal importance, it has been accompanied by price stability. Wholesale prices for industrial goods are actually lower today than they were during the recession months of 1961. Nevertheless, I do not underestimate the continuing challenge which faces us all together.

The very success of our efforts, the very prosperity of those who have prospered, imposes upon us special obligations and special burdens. Centuries ago, the essayist Burton referred with scorn to those who were possessed by their money rather than possessors of it. We who are meeting here today do not intend to be mastered by our money or by our monetary problems. We intend to

master them, with unity and with generosity, and we shall do so in the name of freedom.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington, D.C. His opening words "Mr.

Chairman" referred to the Honorable Ahmed Zaki Saad, the Board's Governor for Saudi Arabia, who acted as chairman of the meeting. Later he referred to Eugene Black, who served as Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development from March 15, 1947, to June 24, 1949, and then as President until December 31, 1962.

393 Letter to Secretary Goldberg Upon His Resignation To Accept Appointment to the Supreme Court. *September 20, 1962*

Dear Arthur:

The regret with which I accept your resignation from the Cabinet is matched only by the depth of pride and pleasure which accompany my opportunity to name you to the Supreme Court.

You have been a wise and invaluable member of the innermost councils of this Administration; and your voice, counsel and tireless efforts will be sorely missed. But you shall bring distinction to our highest Court for many years after this Administration has gone; and I did not feel that I could deny our country and Constitution those benefits of your talented service.

As Secretary of Labor, you have brought to that Department a stature and significance which have never been surpassed. Your ceaseless and judicious laboring on behalf of industrial peace and economic stability have earned you the high respect of both management and union representatives. Your effectiveness in championing the rights of working men and women and their families is demonstrated by the enactment in this Congress of new legislation increasing minimum wages, supplementing unemployment compensation, tightening the safeguards on welfare and pension funds, providing for the retraining and placement of our unemployed manpower, aiding areas of chronic distress, improving the lot of migrant workers and modernizing our eight-hour laws. You have, in addition, played a major role in the passage of the Trade Expansion Act, new programs for juvenile delinquents and unemployed youth and executive efforts to

improve the employment opportunities of minority groups.

You go now to a post of grave responsibility; and I have the utmost confidence in your ability to fulfill the obligations of that post with honor and brilliance. While the Constitutional separation of powers now rightly alters our relationship, you will always remain in the esteem and affection of us all.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg, The Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C.]

NOTE: Mr. Goldberg served as Secretary of Labor from January 21, 1961, through September 24, 1962. His letter of resignation, dated September 20, 1962, follows:

Dear Mr. President:

I respectfully submit my resignation as Secretary of Labor. I do so with mixed emotions: deep appreciation of the great honor of your nominating me for the Supreme Court, the profound regret in leaving the Cabinet and your Administration.

I shall always regard the months I have served as your Secretary of Labor as the most rewarding period of my life. You have been a great President, inspiring in your leadership, firm in your support, tolerant of shortcoming but demanding of performance. Whatever success my own administration of the Department of Labor may have enjoyed has been owing above all to this leadership.

You are guiding the country in one of the most difficult periods of history. I profoundly believe that you can look back to the last twenty months as a period of accomplishment and achievement. Under your leadership the Nation can look forward to ever greater and more significant advances.

I shall, with the approval of the Senate, turn to new responsibilities in the Judicial Branch of government. I shall assume these responsibilities con-

scious that you have appointed me to a great seat once occupied by Story, Gray, Holmes, Cardozo, and Frankfurter. I cannot fill their places. I can only assure you that I shall do my best to discharge my high judicial office with fidelity to the principles

of the Constitution and fidelity to the great traditions of the Nation's highest Court.

Respectfully,

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

394 Remarks on Arrival at the Harrisburg-York State Airport, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. *September 20, 1962*

Mr. Morse, Governor Lawrence, Senator Clark, Mayor Dilworth, distinguished gentlemen:

I want to express my thanks to you for coming to the airport. Eighteen months ago I used to do this six times a day, but I haven't done it for a long time, and we start today, and most appropriately in Pennsylvania, on the fall campaign for 1962.

I think this is a most important election because it involves not only the control of the House and the Senate, but also the kind of government which the States will have, moving, as they must move in their sphere of responsibility, taking care of the needs of their people as we must do it on the Federal level.

I've just come from Washington, D.C., and I think we saw today in the House of Representatives a very clear indication of why this election is so important. We passed in the House of Representatives by 5 votes an agricultural bill which will save this country nearly a half-billion dollars, as well as protect the economic rights of American agriculture; and we lost in the House of Representatives a bill of assistance to higher education, and three-fourths of the Republican Party voted against it.

So I think that on today, and many other

days, on many issues which affect the welfare of this country, issues which must go to the Hill, to the House and the Senate, we see vote after vote moving in our favor by 1 or 2 or 3 or 4, or losing it by 1 or 2 or 3 or 4. And that's why I come to Pennsylvania and express the strong hope that you will send back to the United States Senate Senator Clark, who has represented this State with distinction; and that you will elect as Governor, Governor Dilworth to succeed Governor Lawrence; and that you will elect Members of the House and the Congress who will speak for Pennsylvania and speak for the people.

I come here and ask your support in an election just as important as any that takes place, in 1960 or 1964, and that is to elect a Congress which will move with the Executive in establishing progress in this country.

Thank you for coming here today. This is the beginning of a long and important campaign.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to Democratic State Chairman Otis B. Morse IV, Governor David L. Lawrence, and U.S. Senator Joseph S. Clark, all of Pennsylvania, and to former Mayor Richardson Dilworth of Philadelphia, Democratic candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania.

395 Remarks in Harrisburg at a Democratic State Finance Committee Dinner. *September 20, 1962*

Governor Lawrence; Senator Clark; your next Governor, Dick Dilworth; Members of the Congress; your candidates for State office; ladies and gentlemen:

I will introduce myself. I am Teddy

Kennedy's brother, and I'm glad to be here tonight.

This evening marks the beginning of the 1962 campaign for Governors, Senators, Congressmen, State Senators and Repre-

sentatives, and other State officials across the United States. And I think it most appropriate that I should start this most important campaign here in this State of Pennsylvania—a State which made my nomination for this office possible, a State which made my election to this office possible, a State which has sent to the United States Senate Senator Clark, who has fought for progress for this State and country and will in the future, a State which has elected Congressmen who on issue after issue during the last sessions of the Congress have stood up and spoken for the people. And we need them back and we need more of them, and with your help we're going to get them.

The fact of the matter is that there are 47 days from tonight until election eve, and there are a great many things we have to do. But in a very larger sense a campaign has been going on in this country for 20 months, because 20 months ago today I assumed the responsibility of President of the United States, and during those 20 months, and in the 20 months to come, we must be committed, as we have been in the past, to getting this country moving.

I am not on the ballot in this campaign, but as President of the United States I have a large responsibility for the progress that this country makes, and one fact is clear beyond dispute and that is that this country requires, if it is to move, a progressive Congress—in short, a Democratic House and a Democratic Senate. But more is at stake than what party controls the Congress and the various State governments. The American people on November 6th must choose whether this Nation sails or anchors, whether we are to step up the progress that we have already made, or return to drift and deadlock.

I do not intend to conceal the differences between our two parties. Those differences are available for all to see. If the Democratic Party is charged with disturbing the status quo, with stirring up the great interests of this country, and with daring to try something new, I plead "guilty." And

if the Republican Party is charged with wanting to return to the past, with opposing nearly every constructive measure we have put forward, then they must plead "guilty." And the American people will make their judgment.

It was a cold day in January when this Democratic administration took office. The Nation's engine was idling. We were in our third recession in 7 years. Nearly 5½ million Americans were out of work, the largest number since World War II. Here in Pennsylvania, and in other great industrial States, too many mines and too many steel mills and too many towns had people out of work; too many cities were decaying with slums for housing and congested transit and polluted water and increasing crime and increasing delinquency. Those working men and women who were unorganized were often denied a fair wage. Those who were Negroes were often denied their constitutional rights. Those who were on welfare were denied a chance to do better.

There were not enough safeguards for migrant workers, not enough homes for the elderly, not enough loans for small business. Food surpluses piled up in this very rich country of ours while thousands of families in this State, in West Virginia, and other places went unassisted. Unsuspecting housewives were sold harmful or worthless drugs, and the Congress and the President had, for 6 years, been deadlocked in divided, divisive, do-nothing Government.

Around the world the picture was dreary. Mr. Khrushchev vowed in the early days of January 1961 that he would eradicate this splinter Berlin from the heart of Europe. There was an imminent peril of a military takeover in Laos. The tide was running against us in Viet-Nam. There was a danger of a Communist foothold in the Congo. The dark clouds were gathering in Latin America, which had been ignored for 8 years, and the Communists had already taken over Cuba.

There had been a deterioration in our relations with Western Europe, and the

President of the United States had to cancel his trip to Japan. And the steady decline in our balance of payments position meant a massive outpouring of the gold resources of the United States. Other countries were doubting the credibility of a defensive deterrent position when our defense was hamstrung for budgetary reasons. They were not impressed by our space effort, which was determined to maintain a second position, which is like having a second best poker hand. They were unsure about what we meant about the equality of man or the urgency of peace.

All of this was 20 months ago tonight, and were I to tell you tonight that all was well, or were I to say that the 87th Congress had done all the things which we feel must be done, I would be setting my sights too low. But the facts of the matter are that progress has been made on every single one of these problems; that the decline in our position has been reversed; and that this country is moving forward again.

At home the gross national product, which is the measuring stick for the productivity of the United States, has risen by more than 10 percent since that day, by nearly \$50 billion above its previous peak. Although unemployment is still high, and is still much too high, it is 40 percent less in this State than it was 20 months ago, and it should be less and it will be if we can carry out the measures that are so essential.

The wages and salaries of our working men and women have risen \$27 billion, or 10 percent. Our families have more than \$30 billion more than they had a year and a half ago, and the profits enjoyed by our businessmen have risen over \$10 billion, or 26 percent.

Seven hundred depressed areas are finally receiving redevelopment aid, 5 years later than was necessary after the bill had been vetoed twice, once by a Congress and once by a President of the United States.

We have passed the most comprehensive housing bill in the history of this country. We have stepped up sharply the building

of new homes for older people, a supplemental unemployment benefit to nearly three million jobless workers, and each month's payment to about 200,000 children of those who are unemployed has helped see these families through the lean months of the recession. A manpower development and training program, sponsored by Senator Clark of this State and Congressman Holland of Pennsylvania, will train and retrain hundreds and thousands of workers in the next 3 years, many of them here in this State.

Here in Harrisburg, for example, men will be trained as auto mechanics and instrument men—men who could not otherwise find a job.

A \$900 million public works program, which Senator Clark helped to start, will soon be creating more jobs in better communities across the United States.

Five thousand cities and towns now receive new help in attacking water pollution, a program which was before the Congress for a number of years which we could not get enacted. Thousands of other communities will receive help in clearing slums, and fighting juvenile delinquency, and improving mass transit, and building nursing homes and hospitals, and highways and airports, and, above all, more homes, homes for the average family as well as those who are well-to-do, and poor, and college dormitories for those who're at school.

Aid has been stepped up to nearly three million other aged, blind, disabled, and dependent people, and Federal help has been made possible to reduce their dependency upon welfare. Five hundred thousand men and women now find it possible to retire at age 62 instead of age 65. Railroad and bus excise taxes have been removed, and other measures have been taken which help small businessmen.

No Congress in recent years has made a record of progress and compassion to match this. And only a Democratic Congress could pass these bills, for they were Democratic bills, sponsored, guided, and enacted by Democratic majorities, and in most cases

against the near unanimous opposition of the Republican Party. And that's why this election is so important.

And this session of the Congress is not over. In the next 2 weeks I expect to have on my desk a new farm bill, which will cut back on our surpluses, which weigh heavily on the farmers' price and the taxpayers' pocket; a drug bill, which will make it as certain as it can be that no harmful or worthless drugs are sold to the American people; a tax bill, which will provide incentives for new investment in new machinery and, therefore, new jobs; a health bill, enabling all of our children, before they go to school, to become immunized against familiar and deadly diseases—every child in the United States. And perhaps most important of all, a trade expansion bill, which will give jobs to our industries and our agriculture and permit us to have the closest ties with the great market which is springing up in Western Europe. All this and more will be passed by this Congress.

But we did also fail in some measures, and that's why this election is important here in this State, the election of Governor Dilworth, which I am sure he will be, as well as the Members of the Congress. Today in the House of Representatives we lost a bill to assist higher education, to make it possible for the 7½ million young men and women who will apply for admission to college in 1970, twice as many as we have today, and that bill was lost by 30 votes, and three-fourths of the Republicans voted against it.

We lost a bill in July, medical care for the aged. A change of 2 votes in the United States Senate would have passed that bill. These are the measures which will come back again in the next session of the Congress, and I'm asking the people of Pennsylvania to send us Democratic Congressmen, to send us Senator Clark, to elect Governor Dilworth, to give this State and country the kind of progressive leadership it needs and deserves.

This country is a strong country. In the last 16 months the United States has increased the number of combat-ready divisions from 11 to 16. We now have 50 percent of the Strategic Air Force on 15-minute alert, 24 hours a day. We have stepped up the production of Polaris submarines. We have made and are making and will make an effort to insure that before this decade is out, the United States will be number one in space and we will not have to look up to Soviet success around the world.

If we do these things as in earlier days they were done by other Presidents and other Congresses, then we will make it possible for those who are coming after us to enjoy the same security, the same peace, and the same sense of being part of a strong and living and forward-looking America. This is what I ask your help in making possible this year.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at the State Farm Show Building in Harrisburg, Pa. In his opening words he referred to Governor David L. Lawrence and U.S. Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania; and to former Mayor Richardson Dilworth of Philadelphia, Democratic candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania.

396 Remarks by Telephone to a Dinner Meeting of the Ohio State Democratic Convention in Columbus. *September 21, 1962*

Governor DiSalle, Senator Lausche, Senator Young, fellow Democrats:

I take great pleasure in joining you at this great Democratic Convention. We may be undertaking tonight something of a constitutional experiment. This is, I believe, the first time in our history that a President

has succeeded to the place of a Vice President. I know how much the Vice President misses being with you in Columbus, and I bring his greetings as well as my own.

You are assembling tonight on the eve of a great political campaign. At stake in this campaign is the prospect of continued

progress in our country; progress towards more and better jobs and better houses, and better schools, and better opportunities for our fellow citizens; progress towards giving our children, whatever their parents' position or income or color, a fair start in life; progress towards giving our older people a chance to live out their lives in dignity and security; progress towards keeping America moving forward, ahead, in an age of the greatest peril and the greatest promise in the history of the world.

I think it can be said that we have marched effectively towards these objectives in the last 20 months. No Congress in a generation has done so much for the American people as the Congress whose work is now drawing to a close. This Congress under Democratic leadership has passed, in the last 2 years—or will pass before this session is over—a great housing bill, an increase in the minimum wage, an area redevelopment act for communities in economic distress, a manpower retraining bill, a public works act, a bill providing for an amendment to abolish the poll tax, a bill regulating the distribution of drugs to protect our housewives, a farm bill, a tax bill, and an extraordinary and unprecedented bill for the expansion of our trade.

In carrying through this program the Democratic Party has demonstrated once again that it is a party of progress and of change, that it is the party dedicated to serve the needs of our people and to keep America forever abreast of a forever changing world. But there are still many things still to be done, and this is why it is essential to send more Democrats to Congress this November.

The day before yesterday, we passed in the House of Representatives an agricultural bill which will save this country nearly a half billion dollars, as well as strengthen the economic future of American agriculture—and we passed it by 5 votes. The same day we lost in the House of Representatives a bill for aid to our colleges and universities. We lost it by 28 votes, and three-fourths of

the Republicans voted against it. That is why we need a Congress next year which will work with the executive branch in promoting the welfare of the country. In no field do we need such a Congress more urgently than in the provision of medical assistance and care for our older people. And I am proud that the two Senators from the State of Ohio were among those who voted for this measure when it was before the Senate this summer.

The action of the Senate in turning down medical care for the aged this session was a blow struck against the American family. I propose to resume the fight for medical care next January, and I hope we will have your help in making this wise and beneficial measure the law of the land.

I am glad that seven of the Members of your House delegation are Democrats already, and I hope we can count on more after November. As for your Senators, Ohio should be proud of the fact that it has sent to Washington two independent minded representatives to speak for Ohio and the country in the United States Senate. I value their candor and their convictions, and I know that your State values the contributions they have made to the legislative deliberations of the Nation.

I count, of course, on the return of Senator Frank Lausche to Washington in November, and I count, too, on your changing Steve Young's mind about not running in 1964. We need them both. Progress is at stake in the election in this Nation, and the progress is equally at stake in Ohio.

Under the leadership of Governor DiSalle, Ohio has forged ahead in the last 4 years. It has forged ahead economically. It has moved in these years from fifth to second among the industrial States of the Union. It has forged ahead in the field of education and the field of welfare. And I want to pay particular tribute to Mike DiSalle for his work on behalf of the mentally ill and retarded children. And as Governor DiSalle has done these things for the people of Ohio, he has at the same time run a notably honest

and incorruptible State administration, and he has worked to put that administration on a sound fiscal basis. Of course he has opposition. Anyone who tries to do something new arouses opposition. I gather that in Columbus, as in Washington, the Republicans continue to regard opposition as a political philosophy, that when your Governor seeks to help the unemployed and their children, the Republicans locally as well as nationally remain the "no" party; but opposition is the price of change, and change is the necessity of survival.

I know that you recognize that your Governor is more than a State figure, that he commands esteem and admiration throughout the entire country. His leadership in the Circle Freeway discussions, his contributions to the Governors' Conferences, his determination to modernize State government, to serve the needs of the space age—all this shows how a State Governor can become a national leader. Progress in the State, progress in the Nation—these are the things which make the strength and leadership in the world.

When the Democratic administration came to office in January of 1961, Khrushchev was on the move in Berlin, the Communist Gizenga was on the move in the Congo, Castro and the Communists had taken over Cuba, the Communists were on the move in

Laos and South Viet-Nam. In the months since, that tide has been reversed. We have taken initiatives in many parts of the world from Viet-Nam to Berlin. Castro, reduced to a state of desperation, has invited Soviet help, and thereby sealed his own doom in South America and ultimately in Cuba itself.

This remains a dangerous world, and the only answer to danger is strength.

We have tried to build the strength of our Nation in these 20 months, and we stand ready to use that strength against aggression wherever it may occur. But a nation which is dedicated to progress, which does not try to freeze history in its tracks, which is determined to serve the people and their welfare, and their freedom, which is committed to progress—this is the nation which is most likely to unite the people of the world against aggression and for peace.

Progress, I believe, is the source both of our power and of peace, and progress remains in 1962 the watchword of the Democratic Party.

Thank you very much, and best wishes to you all.

NOTE: The President spoke by telephone from Newport, R.I., to the delegates meeting in the Veterans Memorial Hall in Columbus, Ohio. His opening words referred to Governor Michael V. DiSalle and to U.S. Senators Frank J. Lausche and Stephen M. Young, all of Ohio.

397 Remarks Recorded for an Oklahoma City Gathering in Honor of Representative Carl Albert. *September 21, 1962*

IT'S a great pleasure to join with the many friends of Congressman Carl Albert in saluting him this evening. I know of no member of the Congress who has labored with more diligence and more effectiveness for the people of his own district and for the people of the United States. I have been, as President, the beneficiary of his wise counsel and his unceasing efforts to advance the in-

terests of our country. He is a loyal and distinguished American. He has grown up in the tradition of Speaker Sam Rayburn. His recognition by his fellow members in electing him as the Majority Leader is only one indication of his strong character which will raise him to greater heights in the years to come.

I know the people of his district, who have

returned him again and again to the Congress, know his qualities and I'm sure that they must be gratified that these same qualities which come out of the good earth of Oklahoma and the people of Oklahoma are being recognized by the people of the United States.

I salute Congressman Albert as a friend, as a great Democrat, but above all a great American.

NOTE: The President's remarks were recorded at the White House for broadcast to the "Salute to Carl Albert" gathering held at the Municipal Auditorium in Oklahoma City, Okla.

398 Remarks Televised to the National Convention of the
Air Force Association Meeting in Las Vegas, Nevada.
September 21, 1962

Good evening, Governor Foss, Secretary Zuckert, Senator Cannon, and all who are attending the 16th Annual Convention of the Air Force Association:

I'm sure that your discussions this year will be as beneficial to your country as your discussions and services have been in the past. It's very appropriate that I should speak to you through the medium of space-borne communications. My voice and image are coming to you via Telstar, our American communications satellite, almost as easily as I might have talked with you on the phone a year or two ago.

I commend the Air Force Association for selecting as Aerospace Men of the Year Dr. John R. Pierce and Mr. Alton C. Dickieson of the Bell Laboratories for their leading roles in the development of this outstanding symbol of America's space achievements. I am happy to note that you have selected my good friend, Howard Cannon, as your convention chairman. I want to commend all of those of you who have devoted so much of your lives to the service of your country. The Air Force has played a significant part in World War I, a great role in the Second World War and in Korea, and today, even though we are at peace, we are heavily engaged in many parts of the world and the Air Force once more is rendering its services as the shield of the United States

and the cause of freedom. The planes which stand on a 15-minute alert at the SAC bases around our country and around the world protect the freedom of countries thousands of miles from the United States.

The Air Force has a great role to play in the future in the struggle against insurrection and guerrilla war, in the maintenance of our strategic force and strength, in the increasing responsibilities and burdens which will be placed upon the Air Force in the field of space, to make sure that space is maintained for peaceful purposes and that no nation secure a position in space which can threaten the security of the United States and the free world.

We count on the Air Force today and in the future as we have in the past, and we count on you who serve the Air Force and our country in peace and in war.

Gentlemen, I congratulate you, and ask of you the same kind of dedicated service in the future that we have had from you in the past.

NOTE: The President's remarks were recorded at the White House for broadcast to the Air Force Association's 16th National Convention and Aerospace Panorama at Las Vegas, Nev. In his opening words the President referred to Joe J. Foss, Director of the Air Force Association and former Governor of South Dakota, Secretary of the Air Force Eugene M. Zuckert, and U.S. Senator Howard W. Cannon of Nevada.

399 Remarks Recorded for the Ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial
Commemorating the Centennial of the Emancipation
Proclamation. *September 22, 1962*

I TAKE great pleasure in greeting you on this centennial commemoration of one of the most solemn moments in American history. One hundred years ago today Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. He thereby began the process which brought a final end to the evil of human slavery, which wiped out from our Nation what John Quincy Adams called the great stain upon the North American Union. But the Emancipation Proclamation was not an end. It was a beginning. The century since has seen the struggle to convert freedom from rhetoric to reality. It has been in many respects a somber story. For many years progress towards the realization of equal rights was very slow. A structure of segregation divided the Negro from his fellow American citizen. He was denied equal opportunity in education and employment. In many places he could not vote. For a long time he was exposed to violence and to terror. These were bitter years of humiliation and deprivation.

Looking back at this period, one must observe two remarkable facts. The first is that despite humiliation and deprivation, the Negro retained his loyalty to the United States and to democratic institutions. He showed this loyalty by brave service in two world wars, by the rejection of extreme or violent policies, by a quiet and proud determination to work for long-denied rights within the framework of the American Constitution.

The second is that despite humiliation and deprivation the Negro has never stopped working for his own salvation. There is no more impressive chapter in our history than the one in which our Negro fellow citizens

sought better education for themselves and their children, built better schools and better houses, carved out their own economic opportunities, enlarged their press, fostered their arts, and clarified and strengthened their purpose as a people.

In doing these things, the Negroes enlisted the support of many of their fellow citizens both North and South. But the essential effort, the sustained struggle, was borne by the Negro alone with steadfast dignity and faith. And in due course the effort had its results. The last generation has seen a belated, but still spectacular, quickening of the pace of full emancipation. Twenty-five years ago the Nation would have been unbelieving at the progress to be made by the time of this centennial, progress in education, in employment, in the even-handed administration of justice, in access to the ballot, in the assumption of places of responsibility and leadership, in public and private life.

It has been a striking change, and a change wrought in large measure by the courage and perseverance of Negro men and women. It can be said, I believe, that Abraham Lincoln emancipated the slaves, but that in this century since, our Negro citizens have emancipated themselves.

And the task is not finished. Much remains to be done to eradicate the vestiges of discrimination and segregation, to make equal rights a reality for all of our people, to fulfill finally the promises of the Declaration of Independence. Like the proclamation we celebrate, this observance must be regarded not as an end, but a beginning. The best commemoration lies not in what we say today, but in what we do in the days and months ahead to complete the work begun

by Abraham Lincoln a century ago. "In giving freedom to the slaves," President Lincoln said, "we assure freedom to the free." In giving rights to others which belong to them, we give rights to ourselves and to our country.

NOTE: The President's remarks were recorded at the White House on September 20 for broadcast as part of the centennial ceremonies held at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington on the morning of September 22.

400 Broadcast Remarks on Trade and Foreign Aid.

September 23, 1962

THE UNITED STATES faces two challenges and two opportunities. One is the Common Market, where we are going to have, instead of a number of different countries to trade with in Europe, one great unit. This can be a most powerful and prosperous and steadily growing economy which can bring the greatest results and strength to the United States in the entire free world.

The new trade bill will give us the opportunity to negotiate with this Common Market, so that our goods, our agricultural production, our machines, and all the rest can move successfully into this growing European market. It can mean a good deal to the prosperity of the United States.

The other great challenge of course we face is the problem of resisting the Communist advance which concentrates its attention and energy particularly on the poorer areas of the world, Asia, Africa, Latin America, where millions and hundreds of millions of people live without adequate food, without shelter, without education, without a chance. And the Communists move among them and say, "Come with us."

Now, we have been able to hold this line against this internal subversion by the Communists, as well as the external threat of military invasion, because for many years the United States has assisted these countries in meeting their own problems. We are assisting the people of Viet-Nam. We are assisting countries in Latin America which are faced with staggering problems. If we stop

helping them, they stand on the razor edge today. If we stop helping them, they will become ripe for internal subversion and a Communist takeover. And we've seen very recently, as well as really in the days since World War II, how difficult it is to eject a Communist regime once it gets its police power and controls the country. The best way, the cheapest way, the safest way, the most reliable way, is to help them help themselves maintain their freedom. The United States has done this. We did it in Europe. We've done it around the world. And it is only a fraction of what we spend each year for our own military forces. But it's a front line, and if we can keep these countries free, then we can keep the peace and keep our own freedom.

That's what this aid fight is all about, and I'm hopeful that the United States and the increasingly prosperous countries of Western Europe will meet their responsibilities. This way we can defeat communism. This is the way to victory. And I hope that however fatigued we may get with this program or carrying these burdens, the Communists aren't tired, we mustn't be tired, because we can win this way. So that's why, David, we're working as hard as we are to get this program and the trade bill through.

NOTE: The President's remarks were recorded at the White House on September 20 during an interview with David Schoenbrun, chief correspondent for CBS, for broadcast on the television program "Washington Review," at 12:30 p.m. on September 23.

401 Remarks Recorded for a Dinner in Cleveland Honoring
Secretary Celebrezze. *September 23, 1962*

I AM delighted to join with the many friends of Secretary Celebrezze in honoring him in his native city tonight. It is a tribute to the spirit of brotherhood that the people of Cleveland would be willing to hear from one who took their Mayor from them, but we have taken him from Cleveland in order to serve the people of the United States.

Mayor Celebrezze's life, I think, epitomizes all the great qualities which we associate with the word "brotherhood." His desire to serve people, his integrity, honesty, his courage, all these qualities which you in Cleveland know so well are becoming increasingly well known to the people of Washington and the people of our country.

I salute him tonight as a very worthy recipient of a very great honor, an honor which comes on the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, the hundredth anniversary of a great effort by a great American to provide equal rights for all people. This is the essence of brotherhood.

Secretary Celebrezze has lived brotherhood, and therefore I think it's most appropriate that you should honor one who by his efforts has honored the rest of us.

I salute you all, and most especially I salute my friend, Secretary Celebrezze.

NOTE: The President's remarks were recorded at the White House on September 20.

402 Remarks of Welcome to President Ayub Khan of
Pakistan at Quonset Point, Rhode Island.
September 24, 1962

Mr. President:

I want to express, in behalf of the people of the United States, our very genuine pleasure in welcoming you once more to the United States. And we're especially glad that on this occasion you have an opportunity to visit at an airbase which has played a major role in sustaining the United States Navy in peace and in war, in World War II, during Korea, and today as part of a great infrastructure along the Atlantic coast.

This airbase and the base at Newport play a significant part in maintaining our sea strength which contributes to the defense of freedom around the world. I think that in these critical days it's most appropriate and important that close allies who are separated by nearly half the globe should have the clearest and most intimate understanding of each other's problems and challenges and opportunities.

And, therefore, Mr. President, both as a distinguished leader of a great ally of the

United States, and also for the warmest personal reasons, because of your very generous hospitality to Mrs. Kennedy on the occasion of her visit to your country, it's a pleasure to welcome you to Rhode Island—a small State, but a large one in many ways—and to the United States.

NOTE: President Ayub Khan responded as follows:

Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen:

I am most grateful to the President for his very warm welcome to me, and also for the very kind words he said. Furthermore, I am grateful to him for giving me the opportunity of meeting him on this very famous military base, naval base. And being myself a military man, there could be no greater honor for a person like me than to be given the opportunity to come to a place like this, with such historical background and perhaps a great future ahead.

I am also thankful to you, Mr. President, for finding time to receive me here in the United States. Perhaps I am impinging on your very valuable and busy time. But having gone as far as Canada, I thought it would be the height of discourtesy if I did not come and pay my respects to you. I am

most grateful to you, indeed, sir, for receiving me here.

I am going to be here only for a short time. I know you are busy. I am looking forward to my

stay with you and having the pleasure of your company, which I always enjoy.

Thank you very much.

403 Joint Statement Following an Informal Meeting in Newport With President Ayub Khan. *September 24, 1962*

PRESIDENT KENNEDY and President Ayub Khan have had an informal meeting at Newport, Rhode Island today. The two Presidents have renewed their personal association established during President Ayub's state visit in 1961.

The two Presidents had frank and cordial discussions which included a general review of the world situation, with particular reference to matters of mutual interest and concern to Pakistan and the United States.

The two Presidents agreed that, since their

last meeting last year, the threat to world peace has remained grave and that the free nations must continue to cooperate in the defense of their integrity and independence. The two Presidents agreed that the close friendship and the alliance between Pakistan and the United States continues to represent an important contribution to the free world's quest for a durable peace.

NOTE: The joint statement was released at Newport, R.I.

404 Letter to President Ayub Khan on Problems of Agricultural Productivity in Pakistan. *September 24, 1962*

[Released September 24, 1962. Dated September 21, 1962]

Dear Mr. President:

I am pleased to write that, after intensive study and analysis of the problems of waterlogging and salinity in West Pakistan, the United States scientific team which I appointed last fall has drafted a comprehensive report. As you know, Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, my Special Assistant for Science and Technology, assembled a panel of specialists covering a broad range of knowledge and experience in agriculture, hydrology, engineering, and the economic and social sciences. We also enlisted the interest of Mr. Stewart Udall, my Secretary of the Interior, and of his Science Adviser, Dr. Roger Revelle, who has headed this Panel and has participated with great dedication in an extensive analysis of the problems. The solution of the problems of low agricultural productivity and waterlogging and salinity in West Pakistan requires efforts of unprecedented proportions. The most far-reaching

conclusion of the Panel has been that waterlogging and salinity must be attacked within the context of a broad approach toward a large and rapid increase in agricultural productivity. This can be done by an integrated application of all the factors of agricultural production, combined with sustained human effort and sufficient capital investment to attain momentum in improvement. The Panel's primary recommendation to achieve these goals is a reorientation of the strategy to concentrate efforts on limited project areas, each roughly a million acres in size, so as to permit a coordinated attack on all aspects of the agricultural problem. In total, this becomes an ambitious program, but one that is required to meet an exceedingly difficult set of problems.

In transmitting the Panel's report to you at this time, we wish to consider the Panel's product as still in draft form, subject to review and modification. We would like to

have the reactions of your officials and experts—since the basic data utilized in the Panel's analysis depends so heavily on Pakistan sources—as well as further discussions among the members of our scientific team. In addition, it would be possible to send Dr. Roger Revelle and other members of the team to Pakistan at a time convenient to you for personal discussions of the Panel's findings with your people.

I share the enthusiasm and feeling the Panel has had on the problem and wish you

well in your vital endeavors on behalf of the people of Pakistan.

With warm personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[His Excellency Mohammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, Rawalpindi, Pakistan]

NOTE: The "Draft Report of the White House-Interior Panel on Waterlogging and Salinity in West Pakistan" was dated September 7, 1962 (539 pp., processed).

The President's letter was released at Newport, R.I.

405 Remarks at the Swearing In of Willard Wirtz as Secretary of Labor. *September 25, 1962*

I AM delighted to have this opportunity, I am sure we all are, to witness the swearing in of our new Secretary of Labor, who succeeds a most distinguished Secretary who set an extremely high standard for Mr. Wirtz, a standard which we know he will meet.

The responsibility which he assumes is extremely sensitive. He represents the Labor Department, which is concerned with the interests of the working people of this country, and concerned with the public interest. I think that sometimes we in Washington, dealing with larger issues, do not become as aware as we should be that what we're really talking about are the working conditions of men and women working in factories across the United States, men and women whose job security is vital to their survival, the kinds of work they do, the conditions under which they work, the adjustments which are made in their hours, and in their working conditions, by technological changes or by economic or monetary changes in the policy of

the United States. All these matters come to rest upon the Secretary of Labor.

He also serves the public interest, which is affected by all the decisions that he makes in the labor-management field, so we were most anxious to secure the services of the man most capable of fulfilling this office which must be so responsive to the needs of our people. And, therefore, in our opinion the office and the man meet in the person of Mr. Wirtz.

We're glad he accepts this position. He accepts it with the wholehearted and warm support of the AFL-CIO, Mr. Meany and others who are here this morning, and he also, I think, accepts it with the knowledge of his responsibility to the business community and to the public interest. So we're glad to have you here, Mr. Wirtz. Congratulations.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

Mr. Wirtz' appointment as Secretary of Labor was first announced by the President on August 30.

406 Remarks to Members of the Ballet Folklorico of Mexico. *September 25, 1962*

WE WANT to express, Mr. Ambassador, our very warm welcome to you. You were very generous to all of us on our visit to

Mexico City and made us feel that we were not visiting a foreign country but, instead, visiting the home of friends, and we were

particularly impressed by your dancing.

So I'm glad that my compatriots and colleagues here in the United States will have a chance to see the dance. Are you doing the same thing you did? What about the guns? What about the song with the guns?

Do you want to translate what I said? Maybe they can sing a song for us.

Muchas gracias. Viva Mexico.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening remarks he referred to Ambassador Antonio Carillo Flores, Mexican Ambassador to the United States, who accompanied the group to the White House.

The Ballet responded to the President's remarks by singing "La Barca de Oro." The "song with the guns," to which the President referred, is a ballet inspired by scenes from the Mexican Revolution.

407 Remarks Upon Accepting a Painting of the Battle of Bunker Hill. September 25, 1962

GENERAL, I want to express my great appreciation to the Guard for this very generous gift to the White House and to congratulate Mr. Riley. I think this is a first-class painting which will add materially to the White House. We'll put it out in the Fish Room because I think it should be seen by our visitors.

I also want to take this opportunity to commend the Guard. They have played a very significant role in all the wars of our country's history. In World War I, I think they provided over 300,000 men in a number of divisions; they did the same in World War II. They played an important role in the Korean War. They were both in the air and on the ground. They played a role during the Berlin crisis of last year, and they stand ready again today.

Now there are those who argue that we really don't have so much need for a Guard, that war has changed so materially that we should have an Army continuously large enough to meet any conceivable crisis, and that the role of the Guard is somewhat secondary. I don't agree with that.

Crises come and, we hope, go, and we find ourselves materially stronger. And the power of the Executive and the Congress is strengthened considerably when we have this large pool of trained manpower who have,

by their signing up in the Guard, announced their willingness to serve and be called. So that the Guard is undefeated; whether it's on the field of battle or in the halls of Congress, still, and will, I'm sure, continue to maintain that proud tradition.

I can just assure you that in these very difficult days, that the existence of the Guard, these trained divisions, the Air units as well as the Reserves, who also comprise an important segment of our national strength, that they are very valuable and play a very significant role. And this battle scene is symbolic, I think, of the civilian preparedness to serve. Today our civilians are, because of the Guard, better prepared even than those men were, but the same spirit is there.

So I'm glad to have this picture, and it's a good reminder. I appreciate those who came over from the Department of the Army and the Air Force who participated in this ceremony, General, because I think it has importance, particularly this month, this fall.

NOTE: The President spoke in his office at the White House. The painting, entitled "The Whites of Their Eyes," is the work of Kenneth Riley. The picture was presented by Maj. Gen. D. W. McGowan, Chief, National Guard Bureau, on behalf of the more than 470,000 Army and Air National Guardsmen.

408 Remarks Upon Signing the Atomic Energy Commission Authorization Bill. *September 26, 1962*

I AM pleased to sign H.R. 11974, the Atomic Energy Commission 1963 Authorization Bill.

One portion of this legislation—for which we have waited for quite some time—will make it possible for the steam produced by the Hanford new production reactor to be transformed into electricity and distributed to the homes and factories of the Pacific Northwest.

It is a source of great satisfaction to me that a way has now been opened for the efficient utilization of this energy resource for the benefit of this growing region. To have permitted this resource to be wasted would have been in conflict with all principles of resource conservation and utilization to which we are committed.

This project is for peacetime application and atomic heat for electricity which will produce a million kilowatts, approximately. It will be four times larger than any other project in the world. It will give the United States a freer margin for superiority in the peacetime use of atomic energy. I think that it will benefit, in that way, the entire country, North and South and West, so I want to compliment those Members of Congress and the Joint Committee and the Interior Committee and others who have played an important role in the great passing of this legislation. I particularly congratulate Chet Holifield and Senator Jackson for their part in this effort.

As I stated in my letter of July 13, 1962, to Chairman Holifield of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy,¹ the proposal of the Washington Public Power Supply System to utilize the Hanford steam for the production of power presents an opportunity, clearly in the public interest, to obtain the maximum benefits from the public investment already committed for this facility and to demonstrate national leadership in resources development while furthering national defense objectives.

The arrangements contemplated by this legislation will provide assurance that the interests of taxpayers, consumers, and other producers of electric power will be adequately protected.

Enactment of this legislation is a highly significant achievement, and the Members of both Houses of Congress—in particular the members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy—are to be congratulated on the success of their unremitting efforts to bring about the utilization of the major national resource represented by the by-product energy of the Hanford reactor.

Congratulations to all those involved.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in the office at the White House. During his remarks he referred to Representative Chet Holifield of California, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, a member of the Joint Committee.

As enacted, H.R. 11974 is Public Law 87-701 (76 Stat. 599).

409 Remarks Upon Signing a Resolution Providing for a Medal To Commemorate Sam Rayburn. *September 26, 1962*

IT IS a great source of personal pleasure to sign this Joint Resolution in the presence of Members of the Congress from the State of Texas who served with Mr. Rayburn and knew him so intimately and are tied to him by the strongest lines of friendship. I join

with them in authorizing the striking of the gold medal in recognition of the distinguished services of Sam Rayburn to the people of the United States.

¹ Item 289.

Mr. Rayburn had an extremely high sense of public service from the time that he was in the Texas Legislature, where he was Speaker there as a young man; with his long service in the House of Representatives, where he had the universal respect and affection of Members on both sides of the aisle, and held the office of Speaker twice as long as any other person in our history; gave freely of his time and energy to all the Members of the Congress and to those occupants of the White House who served with him, whether they were Republicans

or Democrats, and gave unfailing support.

I think his career has been a source of inspiration to all people in public life. In the State of Texas they love him, and I say I am glad to sign it in the presence of the Vice President, a long-time friend, Senator from Texas, Senator Yarborough, and Members of the Congress, all of whom have been in close association with him.

NOTE: The President spoke in his office at the White House at 12:15 p.m.

As enacted, the Joint Resolution (S.J. Res. 133) is Public Law 87-702 (76 Stat. 605).

410 The President's Special News Conference With Business Editors and Publishers. *September 26, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Secretary.

[1.] You gentlemen look very well after having been talked at all day. But we want you to know how much we appreciate your coming to Washington and giving the members of the administration who are concerned with those matters which are of particular interest to you, and to us, a chance to explain our policies and also, I hope, and from all I've heard, the exchange has been back and forth, so that I think the Government will benefit.

This is an artificial city, a governmental city, and well removed by design from a good many of the influences and pressures of ordinary life which you deal with on every occasion. So that it's very advantageous to us to have you come to Washington and tell us about some of your thoughts on us, which we read about with great interest, and also have a chance to talk to you.

I wanted to just sum up more or less what our view was of the economy, where it is now and where we're falling short, and what our target should be in the coming months. In the first place, I think that while we're all proud of the accomplishments of our economic system, and it has been an extraordinarily effective system in serving the needs of our people over a long period of time, we also do have a responsibility to

look with candor at our shortcomings in order to attempt to develop courses of action which will make our system even more effective.

We all know that in spite of impressive economic advances during the last months, the last year and some months, there are several areas across a broad economic front that must still give us serious concern.

First, we have a rate of unemployment which is unacceptably high.

Two, we have significant industrial capacity which is not fully utilized, the steel industry being the most obvious example.

Three, we have persistent economic distress in certain regions. This is an old problem that's been with us for a great many years. But we still have the serious structural unemployment in the coal regions, steel—eastern Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, southern Illinois, parts of Indiana, and eastern Ohio. And we still have a shrinking but troublesome deficit in our international balance of payment. And we still have a rate of economic growth which has lagged behind that of other major industrial nations.

These problems affect us all and none of us can escape responsibility for trying to meet them. We have attempted in the past 20 months to set forth policies and carry out

programs which would provide a sound and solid basis for economic progress at home and abroad.

For the first time since the war I believe the American economy has moved forward simultaneously towards a number of major economic goals: full employment, though as I say we still have some to go; faster growth, at the same time avoiding inflation; and moving a long way towards a balance of payments equilibrium and also keeping a free competitive market and their functioning in operation.

Your copies of the summary of the 1961-62 economic expansion policies give you the particulars of what our economic growth rate has been since January 1961. I want to say, however, that with the problems that we still have, I think all of us in Government and in business should be thinking of what additional steps we could take which would be of assistance in maintaining an economic growth rate which will absorb the increase in our population and also those who are technologically dislocated.

We have to do that at home while at the same time maintaining a competitive position abroad, particularly with our European neighbors which will permit us to compete in their markets on a satisfactory basis in order to protect our balance of payments position.

So that, therefore, while we want to maintain a steady growth of the economy here at home, we also want to maintain the strictures that we can against inflation here at home which would deprive us of an increasingly advantageous economic position—particularly a position which has developed in the last 3 years in our ability to get our goods into Western Europe on a satisfactory basis.

This balance is very fine because, quite obviously, if we have an increase in costs, which are excessive in the United States, it could throw our hopes—upon which we are building so much of the success in our trade bill—it could cause us a drop in our exports and an increase in our imports, another critical period for our balance of pay-

ments, and therefore for the dollar, with all that that could mean to the United States at home and abroad.

I want to indicate, therefore, how complicated I think our task is. But there is so much slack in our economy that I think we should be able to take steps, and I'm hopeful our tax policies next year will provide an additional stimulus to the economy without threatening us with inflation.

And it seems to me that the fiscal—the monetary—procedures which we have available could effectively prevent any new inflationary pressure which might come because of a particular fiscal policy which we might follow.

I would like to say one word about the competitive market system because I think there seems to be, on occasion, some question among businessmen as to the views of those of us in Washington on this matter. Our experience during the present expansion has also demonstrated our ability to achieve impressive economic gains without shrinking the area of market freedom. I regard the preservation and strengthening of the free market as a cardinal objective of this or any administration's policies.

It is well to remind ourselves from time to time of the benefits we derive from the maintenance of a free market system. The system rests on freedom of consumer choice, the profit motive, and vigorous competition for the buyer's dollar. By relying on these spontaneous economic forces, we secure these benefits:

(a) Our system tends automatically to produce the kinds of goods that consumers want in the relative quantities in which people want them.

(b) The system tends automatically to minimize waste. If one producer is making a product inefficiently, another will see an opportunity for profit by making the product at a lower cost.

(c) The system encourages innovation and technological change. High profits are the reward of the innovator, but competitors will soon adopt the new techniques, thus

forcing the innovator to continue to push ahead.

The free market is a decentralized regulator of our economic system. The free market is not only a more efficient decision maker than even the wisest central planning body, but even more important, the free market keeps economic power widely dispersed. It thus is a vital underpinning of our democratic system.

Price and wage controls paralyze the operation of the free market, and that is why we have opposed them. Likewise, unnecessary Government regulation undermines the efficiency of the market. That is why, in my transportation message to Congress last April,¹ I urged that Government controls be curtailed, and the scope for competition broadened in the important transportation sector of our economy. A market, of course, is not a fact of nature. It is a creation of man and, as such, we have no guarantee that it will work effectively and impartially if we pay no attention to it.

We must encourage and protect the availability of full information, safeguard competition, and extend freedom of opportunity to individuals and businesses to participate fully in the economy in accordance with their desires and their abilities. The full benefits of the market system can only be felt when all of our people and all of our resources are used as wisely and effectively as possible.

It is, of course, natural that we will disagree as to how these goals can be implemented on occasion. Such controversies are essential to the democratic system, and also essential to democratic progress. I think it's important, however, that the controversy be based as soundly as possible on facts and on the most detailed information, that this information be made available as widely as possible in order to make sure that the businessmen of the country play as significant a role as their responsibility warrants.

As editors and publishers of the Nation's business magazines, you have a responsibility

to bring to your readers accurate information concerning the activities of the Federal Government in those areas in which you are particularly concerned. I hope that this conference has helped to clarify the substance and rationale of Federal Government programs and policies, and that it will be helpful to you in your task of reporting on these activities to your readers who depend so much upon the information you provide them.

I'll be glad to answer any questions that anyone might have.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, do you believe that your administration is unduly sensitive to the alleged hostility of the business world?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we're unduly and alleged, I would say. [*Laughter*] I would think that we are sensitive naturally to hostility, if that were the appropriate description, by any segment of the economy. This system of ours really depends upon comity, upon cooperation, if it is going to function. Therefore, hostility from the business section, labor, agriculture, East or West, North or South, would make it much more difficult for us. So I would be sensitive to hostility from the business community.

I recognize that there is a political difference between this administration and most businessmen. I'm not really concerned about that political difference, because I think that it's traditional and, quite honestly, no Democratic administration has banked heavily on the amount of support it would get politically from the business community. What I'm concerned about is, however, in all these very intimate interrelations—whether it's the dollar, whether it's the new trade bill, all the rest, transportation—that we have as close an understanding as possible. A good many of the proposals that we may make to improve the state of the American economy require congressional action. We want to try to make sure to the extent that it's possible that we secure the support where we can of the business community.

In my judgment, we had a good deal of misunderstanding with the business com-

¹Item 129.

munity which did not serve the public interest this year on our tax bill. We really didn't get the kind of support that the investments credit, in my opinion, would warrant as a stimulus to our economy. The whole fight against the withholding, the impression that was widely created that this was a new tax, rather than a method of collecting a tax which had been in effect for many years—and now, as I look forward to an intensive study of taxes this fall by us, and presentation to the Congress, I would like to describe the relation between business and the Government as one of cooperation, and one of amity, and one that disregards the alternate Novembers, when we may be divided politically, and instead work on the common task of making this economy move ahead.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, you spoke a moment ago of the significance of the free market. May I ask how that statement jibes with what we heard from Mr. Ball¹ this morning, who told us that we have just concluded our first international global commodity price support operation, or how that statement jibes with our current agricultural program?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that if we talk about the first, we are attempting to get an agreement on coffee because if we don't get an agreement on coffee we're going to find an increasingly dangerous situation in the coffee producing countries, and one which would threaten investments, private investments, from abroad, in those countries, and would threaten, in my opinion, the security of the entire hemisphere.

I must say that I was looking yesterday at some figures on what the drop in coffee prices has done to a country with which we have the closest relations, Colombia. And all the aid that we have given Colombia has, of course, not amounted to the amount that Colombia has lost in foreign exchange due to the drop in the price of coffee.

So I think we have to be concerned with the problem of our primary producers, whose

prices have been declining in the last 3 years and who are faced with very serious instabilities in their own countries. So that while we would like to have what we might call a completely free competitive market, I think in these cases the national interest is served by the international agreement.

Now in agriculture we have—of course, a good deal of our agriculture is in the free market. The problems that we have particularly, of course, are in wheat, in the feed grains, and, of course, in cotton, tobacco, peanuts, the so-called basics.

There it has been felt that a withdrawal of governmental support would precipitate a decline in prices which would be of such an extraordinary range that it would bring an economic collapse in the Middle West which would adversely affect the entire economy. The Purdue University study of the effect of a drop in or withdrawal of the Government from the support business has indicated the very serious effects this would have on the entire economy. On the other hand, of course, we pay a very large bill. We have been attempting in this Congress, with some success, but not total success, to provide that those who receive the supports will not plant an unlimited amount.

We have had, as I say, some success. But I think that those members of the business community who feel that the solution is a total withdrawal of the Government's support program, I don't think we're going to see that in the very near future and, number two, I'm not sure that it would serve our long-range interests. But there are, of course, obvious limitations.

The transportation industry is regulated. There are, of course, limitations on the free market. But basically this is a free market economy, and the fact of the matter is, it is the freest market economy of any industrialized society in the world today, and I think we can take some satisfaction in that. It's the freest in the world.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, you mentioned business cooperation. The administration's target date for you to proclaim the Tariff

¹ George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State.

Classification Act is January 1st. Would you give consideration to postponing that about 45 days so that Government and the import trade can get a chance to study that 2-inch volume of our new tariff?

THE PRESIDENT. I will give that consideration, definitely.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with the problem of inflation, would you agree that the fact that the excessive supply was greater than the effective demand was a greater factor in keeping the prices stable than any Government action?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I think that's fair, though I think we made a contribution which was unacknowledged and comparatively unsung last spring.

But I would think that—I would think your thesis is right. I think that as everything has a good and bad side, the good side is the stability of the price level. Unfortunately, it comes from an excess, to a degree an excess of supply. And this is also true of the fact we have wage stability.

The manufacturing wage rate—because we have unemployment—the manufacturing wage rate increase in the United States in 1960–61 was a 2.8 percent increase in annual rate and in 1961–62 was 2.4 percent, which is the lowest it's been since 1947. The reason has been the one that you in part stated.

The hourly earnings in June 1961–62, of the United States show about a 3.0, while Belgium, for example, was 7.7. In fact, we had less than any country except Canada. Germany, for example, was 12.9 percent. As you know, that has been true since 1959. That's why I say our competitive position has improved but the reasons for it in both the wage rates and in commodities owe a good deal to the reasons you suggested.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, business leaders in the aerospace industry feel very strongly that you have demonstrated your alleged anti-business attitude in forcing a union shop on them. An IAM official has indicated that he is not particularly pleased with this approach to a union shop. In view of its significance

for all industries, would you comment on this?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. As you know, we set up a committee headed by Dr. Taylor because we—most of these missile companies, aerospace companies are really very much dependent upon the Government. The Government is their major purchaser. Therefore, any contract or any increase would, of course, be paid for in good measure by the Government.

Number one, any interference with production would be paid for by the American people because all these programs are vital. So that I set up a committee which was acceptable to both labor and management which was headed by Dr. Taylor from Pennsylvania, who had performed a similar function for President Eisenhower in the steel case in November of 1959, and included on it an arbitrator for Bethlehem. And it was a panel which, as I say, was acceptable. They made the report.

This was not done by the United States Government. As part of the report was the exceptions to the union shop. The fact is the wage section of the report was not as generous as the unions felt that they must have. On the other hand, the union shop was unacceptable to some of the companies. But as I said the other day at a press conference, the union shop in major industries has been accepted for a great many years—automobiles, steel, aluminum. This is not something new or radical. We've had that, as I say, in our basic industries. I can't think of any of them, really of our basic industries, that have not had the union shop.

So I don't think that this is asking very much. And as I say, it's not my report. It is Dr. Taylor's report. Now you can have an economic struggle out there on the coast in these industries, and you can have a strike, and then where are we all going to be on missiles and planes and all the rest?

So this was an attempt to work out an equitable solution. Obviously, neither side is very happy with it. The unions feel the

wage section is too limited, and the companies don't like the union shop section. But I think that probably it's as equitable a solution as you would get from a long economic struggle.

And I think our experience in the steel industry, where you had a 6-month strike and then finally settled on terms you probably could have settled on 6 months before, indicates that if we can prevent the strikes, particularly in the vital industries, it's in the public's interest.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, what is the status of the wilderness bill?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, unfortunately, it's quite far out, in the sense that the bill is unsatisfactory and not very satisfactory in the House. It is in the Senate. And I hope we can get a good bill. I think many of us who travel around the United States know what an asset this is, and I hoped the bill would pass in a form similar to that in which we originally discussed it. I think if I may say so, this bill is an example of some of the problems which we have here in dealing with the business community. This is a bill which conservationists and others feel strongly is in the national interest. It does, possibly, cut across the interests of mineral producers or lumbermen and others, and they, therefore, may feel that the very sponsorship of such legislation is antibusiness. But it isn't. It's an attempt to protect the public interest. And it's quite natural that those who may be adversely affected may suffer. But that doesn't warrant the general labeling of antibusiness. As a matter of fact, a good many businessmen who complain about the antitrust actions of the Federal Government, this administration or others, if they would see the letters that come in from businessmen demanding that we take such action they would realize how difficult it is to keep all businessmen, or indeed, all of everybody else, happy.

[8.] Q. In the last few months it has become increasingly difficult to report in the aerospace field. There is, however, a DOD order outlining the mechanics of working

with the press. Yet the order is secret. How can we get copies of it?

THE PRESIDENT. Arthur Sylvester—I'll ask him about it.

Q. I asked him Tuesday.

THE PRESIDENT. What did he say? You are with which magazine?

Q. Western Aerospace.

THE PRESIDENT. Fine. I will talk to him, without success, I'm sure.

[9.] Q. A couple of weeks ago, Mr. President, you said you'd recommend to the Department of Agriculture that it prepare legislation to eliminate the inequity of the two-price system in cotton. Did you have in mind the substitution of a one-price system?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that we will, in January, present a program which will eliminate the inequities. I think it would be better for the Agriculture Department to finish its analysis of the various alternatives, but it definitely will be presented. Now there isn't any doubt that when it is presented, it's going to make some people unhappy. It will make the textile manufacturers happy. It will perhaps make some other people less happy. Otherwise, it would have been done long ago. There's no magic to this. It means a struggle, but I think the struggle is worth while, because I think it is really foolish to pile on this extra burden on the manufacturer, and then at the same time try to hang it on another way on the importation of textiles.

Q. Did you have in mind removing the inequity of the one-price system at one step, just eliminate it, or would it be a phased proposal?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would prefer to wait until we get it through the Department of Agriculture, but we will have it in January.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, what are your views on H.R. 10, the self-employed pension bill?

THE PRESIDENT. I am going to take a good look at it after the Senate has acted, which may be today. It does represent a budget loss, as you know, of \$100 million or \$125

million, depending on which figures you use. In addition, it would be ideally more suited to a reform bill and I think would be part of any reform bill which we would be presenting next January, so that we have to weigh the factor of the loss versus the factor that it did pass the House unanimously and has widespread support. I expect that it will pass very generously in the Senate if it hasn't already done so, and then will come to us. And then we will have to take action.

It is—the principle has equity to it. The problem is that it does represent additional loss of revenue this year, and there are other groups who have a claim which is equal but which we have suspended in action because of budget losses, and so we really have to decide whether this is the fair way to do it this year for this group or whether it should be part of a package in January.

Perhaps we can have about two more questions. I know you are tired.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, several weeks ago the Director of the Office of Emergency Planning presented to you a study on the crude oil import control program. Have you anything to say at this point particularly as to when there might be a decision, or what direction the decision might take?

THE PRESIDENT. The report was not wholly accepted by me, so that I don't expect any announcement will be made about the matter at the present time.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, in time of a hot war, we are asked to sacrifice time and money and lives. Do you believe that this country can win over the Communists in the long run without greater sacrifices?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I think that the United States or the free world is going to be successful. And now, the question of sacrifices—I think the United States will do whatever must be done to provide for that success. What is difficult is the operation of a free society and who sacrifices.

Talking about one of our problems, which is gold, we have been attempting to cut down, as you know, the amount of money we lose from the expenditures abroad for

the maintenance of our national defense, from \$3 billion to about \$1.5 billion. There have been suggestions that there be even further cuts. We also have been cutting the \$1.3 billion loss we incur in our AID program down to \$800 million. To do that, of course, we have to give up a good many projects which are very important. We have the Buy American, and in the case of Viet-Nam it requires them to buy products in the United States, which they could buy next door substantially cheaper. We do that in order to protect our gold balance. At the same time we lose net a billion dollars a year from tourists abroad. Our tourists spend a billion dollars more than their tourists, and therefore that is spent particularly in Western Europe, which already have dollar surpluses.

We also invest abroad about two and a half billion dollars. No other country would permit that kind of movement of capital. But we do it as a free society. I indicate this only because at the time when we're talking about writing a tax bill, which would deal with loopholes, and which would put American businessmen in a position of equity with American companies who might be investing abroad and selling here in the United States the products they make abroad, a good many businessmen felt that was unfair and was perhaps antibusiness. But it isn't at all. We just have to attempt to balance what is the national interest between cutting down on the number of troops we have abroad or cutting down the very vital programs abroad as opposed to losing a billion dollars on tourists or two and a half billion dollars here, and other funds other places.

I mention that example because I think it indicates quite clearly the complexities of the alternatives which we have, to us as a Nation, and though you may have a private interest in an expenditure abroad, it also affects the public interest, because each of those expenditures has some effect upon the supply of the United States gold at Fort Knox, and its movement.

So in answer to your question, I've some feeling that a good many of the calls for sacrifice are very genuine. But the difficulty is, without a central authority of a kind repugnant to us, it's difficult to make these sacrifices equitable. And that is where we get into a difference of view. But in answer to your question, I think the job can be

done, and I think the United States, as one of a number of countries, can do it.

Delegate: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's special news conference for the delegates to the White House Conference of Business Editors and Publishers was held in the State Department Auditorium at 5:30 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, September 26, 1962. His opening words "Mr. Secretary" referred to Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges.

411 Remarks to the White House Conference on Narcotic and Drug Abuse. *September 27, 1962*

Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Secretary, Governor Brown, Mr. Secretary, Mayor Wagner, Mr. Chairman, participants in this Conference:

I want to welcome you to Washington on a matter which I think needs great, urgent, public attention. The White House conferences can be useful or they can be merely window dressing. But I don't think that there is any field about which there is so much divided opinion, so much possible to do, and, in some places, so limited in action as this field of narcotics and drug control of abuse.

For more than a half century this Nation has faced persistent and difficult problems arising out of the abuse of narcotics and non-narcotic drugs. It is especially tragic and upsetting that this great loss to our society in the form of human suffering and misery and lost productivity flows directly from agents which possess the capacity to relieve pain and suffering. Properly and expertly used, they contribute significantly to the improvement and betterment of our lives.

This national problem merits national concern. I'm confident that the White House conference, the first ever held in this field, will help focus attention on the various aspects of the problem and, most importantly, will permit a pooling of our information and experiences to the end that an orderly, vigorous, and direct attack can be under-

taken at all levels, local, State, Federal, and international.

Assembled here today are representatives from cities, States, and 12 different Federal agencies, including many of the Nation's most distinguished men and women in the field of medicine, law, sociology, education, and law enforcement.

There is universal agreement that the two key objectives of an effective program are the elimination of illicit traffic in drugs and, secondly, the rehabilitation and restoration to society of drug addicts. In recent years we have seen a dramatic and drastic reduction in the volume of illegal narcotics and drugs brought into this country. This is a result of the cooperative effort of numerous Federal, State, and local agencies, but I must single out the Federal Bureau of Narcotics for special note. Under the forceful and purposeful leadership of Commissioner Anslinger, the Bureau reduced this misery-producing traffic so effectively that where 35 years ago addicts could purchase 100 percent, or pure, heroin, the sharply curtailed amount entering the United States today requires traffickers to dilute their product to the point that the addict obtains only 3 to 5 percent heroin in the packet that he purchases.

This morning I presented a special citation to Commissioner Anslinger, expressing the appreciation and gratitude owed by the

people of the United States to him, and by the world community for the enormous contribution he has made in this vital field.

This aspect of the attack on the drug abuse problem must continue, and I'm confident that the conference panel devoted to this subject will bring together our Nation's most experienced and skilled personnel. Although there is admittedly some divergence of view regarding the remedial action which is most appropriate for the addict who peddles illicit narcotics, there is no divergence of opinion on the need for vastly improved techniques and programs aimed at rehabilitating all addicts.

The discouragingly high degree of relapse among addicts who leave our medical institutions free of any physical dependence on drugs is clear evidence that more must be done. One of the areas where I feel that there is some need for improvement is in the collection of statistics. I've seen various governmental agencies report figures dealing with the same matters which are quite different and, therefore, I hope that this conference will stimulate the orderly collection of statistics by both the States and the Federal Government, which will serve as a basis for action.

In addition, I think that there is clear need for, we hope, greater uniformity of opinion by those in this field—medicine, law enforcement, and all the rest—as to the proper method of treatment, how much should be done in hospitals, how much should be done in outpatient treatment, what kind of hospitals we need, what kind of medical treatment is most effective. On all these matters, there is such a variety of opinion that I feel that this conference can play a more significant role than most conferences in attempting to assemble in a more unified viewpoint for guidance the varying opinions in the field and the varying suggestions for improvement.

We have had, as you know, the Science Advisory Committee, headed by Dr. Wiesner, who has had a panel working on this

matter. The results of this panel¹ have been made available to all of you and I hope will serve as the basis for further discussion, but I do believe that there is no area about which there is so much mystery and, in a sense, so much misunderstanding, where there is so much difference of opinion, and, therefore, I think that this conference can serve a more useful role than many other conferences have served in the past.

This conference should not be merely window dressing, but instead should serve as a basis for a much more effective and renewed action by the National Government, as well as by the States. Some of the States have been extremely advanced in this field. We're glad that Governor Brown is here. California has taken a very active role in this matter, but I think that there's a good deal more that the States, as well as the Federal Government, can do.

What I think we are looking for from you gentlemen is guidance about what actions we might take, where should be the thrust of the national action? I'm sure we can secure budgetary support once we've made a clear determination as to what should be the road of governmental action, as well as action by the State.

One problem meriting special attention deals with the growing abuse of nonnarcotic drugs, including barbiturates and amphetamines. Society's gains will be illusory if we reduce the incidence of one kind of drug dependence, only to have new kinds of drugs substituted. Abuse of these drugs is increasing problems of abnormal and antisocial behavior, highway accidents, juvenile delinquency, and broken homes. The Congress is now considering legislation which I requested to strengthen Federal authority to control the manufacture and distribution of barbiturates and stimulant drugs. This key area should be the subject of continuous, extensive scrutiny. The sooner effective devices for preventing abuse of these drugs

¹The "Progress Report of an Ad Hoc Panel on Drug Abuse" (59 pp., processed) was released by the White House on September 7, 1962.

are implemented, the less severe the problem will be.

Our focus on national issues must not obscure the international aspects of our drug abuse problem. Criminals responsible for international traffic in illicit narcotics have no respect for national boundaries. Many nations have a real concern in controlling illicit traffic. Towards this end, the United States through our representation on the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs, has sought international cooperation in dealing with this trade. In addition, the United States Government will continue to work directly with other nations to secure adequate international controls.

In my recent conversations with President Mateos of Mexico, we discussed the eradication of illegal drug traffic and agreed to redouble our efforts and our cooperation to achieve it. The Bureau of Narcotics has cooperated with narcotic enforcement officers in Europe and in the Near and Middle East to strike at the foreign sources of illicit narcotics traffic intended for United States consumption. These efforts have been so successful that the activity of the Bureau of Narcotics is being expanded to other parts of the world, a program which will be implemented before the end of the year.

It is unfortunate that in this area of drug abuse, as I said at the beginning, there have been conflicting approaches, a dearth of hard, factual data, and only partial cooperation between Federal, State, and local government levels. It is our hope, therefore, that this conference will give us more effective guidance to determine how more effective means for control of the traffic across State and international borders can be achieved, what judgments you can make as to the most effective means of treatment, both in the hospitals and out of the hospitals, what are the most

effective kinds of hospitals, where Federal energy should be directed in the next year, where State energy should be directed, and how important a role environment, circumstances, jobs, how important a role these play on men and women who have been cured but who must return to the same environment from which they came, in which their addiction first began.

All these are problems on which we need guidance. I don't think there is any area on which a conference could be held where the members of the conference could play a more significant role. This conference and its members, I know, do not consider themselves as ornamental fixtures to give sort of a public look at a problem; instead, we want direct guidance from you, and this mixture of talents and experiences which are brought together here at this White House conference, the first one ever held in this field, can serve as a very positive base for much more comprehensive action by us all.

What you do here we will attempt, and what you suggest we will attempt to implement, and I think after a year has gone by we can make a real judgment on the success of this conference.

I want to express my personal appreciation to all of you who carry many burdens and responsibilities, to all of you for having come, therefore, and taking part in this vital meeting.

Gentlemen, thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the State Department Auditorium. His opening words referred to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who served as chairman of the conference, Secretary of the Treasury C. Douglas Dillon, Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown of California, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze, and Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City.

412 Statement by the President to Members of the New
National Advisory Committee on Manpower De-
velopment and Training. *September 27, 1962*

I CONSIDER the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 one of the most important measures ever passed by Congress to help foster our Nation's technological development, strengthen our domestic prosperity, and maintain our position of leadership in the world. This bill attacks one of the basic causes of long-term unemployment, and encourages sound manpower planning based on research. It is a bill which will help eliminate waste of our human resources wherever it may occur throughout the Nation.

You who have agreed to serve on the National Advisory Committee on Manpower Development and Training have the opportunity to contribute a great deal to the success of this extremely important program. I thank you for agreeing to serve and I wish you success in your endeavors.

For too long a time we have paid lip service to our Nation's manpower problems without doing anything significant to solve them. We have "viewed with alarm." We have "urged that something be done." We have "summarized the situation." But, until the Manpower Development and Training Act was passed during this session of the 87th Congress, concrete proposals aimed at solving our manpower problems were hard to come by. Now we have a program for training the unemployed and the under employed. Now we have a broad program of manpower research.

I am pleased to note that 138 training programs in 20 States have already been initiated under the new Act. This is a good beginning, but it is only a beginning. I am certain that if our manpower programs are administered with wisdom and imagination, we will be in a far better position to face the inevitable problems that are generated by a highly complex and constantly evolving technology.

You have the opportunity to see to it that this goal is reached. The Manpower Training and Development Act is not a panacea which will cure all our manpower problems. It is, however, a potent tool which can be used effectively against unemployment and for the promotion of a highly skilled labor force throughout the entire Nation.

You have my best wishes for success in this critically important task.

NOTE: The President spoke in his office at the White House at 10:30 a.m. The committee of ten, appointed by the Secretary of Labor, includes the following members: Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Columbia University, New York City, who served as Chairman of the Committee; Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., of Atlanta, Ga.; Joseph A. Beirne and Peter T. Schoemann of the AFL-CIO; William G. Caples, Inland Steel Co., Chicago; Mrs. Louise G. Daugherty, District Superintendent of Schools, Chicago; Upshur Evans, Cleveland (Ohio) Development Foundation; Felix E. Larkin, W. R. Grace and Co., New York City; Dr. M. D. Mobley, American Vocational Association, Washington, D.C.; and Dr. William H. Nicholls, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

413 Remarks Upon Signing the Food and Agriculture
Act of 1962. *September 27, 1962*

THE Agriculture Act of 1962 represents an important step forward in our program to increase farm income while reducing costs to the Government of the farm program,

and holding the accumulation of farm surpluses.

Last year under the 1961 program we made excellent progress. Farm income in-

creased \$1 billion—and surpluses are down. This is reflected in improvement also in the economic health of rural communities. I notice that deposits in country banks in farm States are already up 10 percent from 1960, and industries which supply farmers have reversed unfavorable trends. This bill will permit us to increase the gains we have made in all of these sectors of the economy.

I understand that feed grain stocks would have climbed to more than 3 billion bushels by 1964 without the farm legislation the 87th Congress has enacted. With this legislation stocks should go down to near the needed reserve levels by 1964. I think that this is an important point—with this legislation stocks should be down to near the needed reserve levels by 1964.

Similarly, as a result of this bill, wheat carryover stocks in a few years will be reduced to half of the 1961 level.

This legislation brings to a successful conclusion nearly 40 years of public discussion, some 10 years of congressional debate, and a long record of active support by farm groups for what is called “two price wheat legislation.” Now wheat producers and wheat processors can plan confidently for the future instead of having to operate from year to year under emergency bases.

I am especially pleased by the pilot program in the bill to explore means of turning farm lands to nonagricultural purposes, and to broaden the authority of the existing watershed and lending programs of the De-

partment of Agriculture. These may be the most important provisions of this legislation, for it opens up possibilities for constructive and continuing programs of multiple use of private and public conservation projects, expanded open air space areas around cities, and economic development of some of our less developed areas. With this bill we can also continue our efforts to expand the Food for Peace program, and encouraging at the same time our prospects for expanded commercial trade.

There is provision for increasing participation by the United States in school lunch programs in friendly countries, and for partial financing of these programs by the recipients. I am confident that this act will help us sustain prosperity, reduce burdens of surpluses, and maintain stable food prices.

I want to congratulate the members of the Congress from both sides who labored so long in the past 2 years on this legislation—Senator Ellender in the Senate and Congressman Cooley in the House, and the members of the House and Senate Agriculture Committees who are with us today, who, against substantial odds, were able to secure the passage of this important piece of legislation which benefits agriculture and the country as a whole.

NOTE: The President spoke in his office at the White House at 12:45 p.m.

The Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 is Public Law 87-703 (76 Stat. 605).

414 Remarks at the Wheeling Stadium, Wheeling, West Virginia.

September 27, 1962

Governor Barron, Senator Randolph, Senator Byrd, Congressman Cleveland Bailey, Congressman Slack, Congressman Hechler, Congressman Staggers, Congressman Wayne Hays from the neighboring State of Ohio, ladies and gentlemen:

When I come back to West Virginia, I feel as if I was coming home. This, after all, is the State which sent me out into the world,

and you are the people who made me the Democratic candidate for the President of the United States.

Sometimes when Senator Humphrey and I get together to discuss the crises which pile up on the President's desk, we may wonder which of us you did the greater favor for. But nevertheless, for better or for worse, I know that if it had not been for Wheeling,

and a score of other West Virginia cities and towns, 2½ years ago, I would not be here tonight. This is the place where the Democratic victory of 1960 had its start, and I can assure you that this is also the place where the Democratic congressional victory of 1962 will have its start.

The campaign of 1960 was important, and that included especially the primary campaign, because it provided an education, not just for the candidates who were involved, but also for the people of the United States. It reminded this Nation that even in America people through no fault of their own have had to live lives of hardship and want, and that even in America communities, through no fault of their own, have suffered from stagnation and age, and it reminded this Nation that an affirmative and progressive Government could do something about it.

To do something about it—that has been always the faith of the Democratic Party, and it is the issue in the 1962 election. For not everyone, even in America, welcomes change. Throughout our entire history there have always been people, and they are excellent people, who preferred to hold things as they were, who wanted to go back to some golden age which never was, and if change is inevitable, they want as little of it as possible. I do not agree. This has never been the view of the Democratic Party.

We believe that if men have the talent to invent new machines that put men out of work, they have the talent to put those men back to work, and that is the issue in this campaign.

The fact of the matter is that this State has a very clear contrast between these two points of view, because in the 1950's West Virginia was left on the beach, to decline, to rot. Then in January of 1961 a Government of veto and obstruction and do-nothingism was thrown out of office, and a Government here in this State of West Virginia, under your Governor, and a Government in Washington, committed to progress, began to work together for the State of West Virginia. And the result in that brief period has been a

marked improvement in the economic climate of this State.

I do not claim for a moment that the problems of West Virginia are solved, but I say they've begun to be solved. I know that troubles and difficulties remain. I know that much more needs to be done, and that is the purpose of this meeting tonight, because we want your help in doing it, and that's why this election of November 1962 is so important.

Look at West Virginia today. Only 2 weeks ago the West Virginia Chamber of Commerce, not an organization which is an arm of the Democratic Party, announced that in 1961 the economy of West Virginia had recovered from a recession to have the second best year in the history of West Virginia, and if progress continues, 1962 would be the best year in the history of this State. There has been in the last 20 months a decline of 37 percent in the number of unemployed in this State, and there are still too many, but at least we have begun, and I come here tonight to ask your help in finishing this job.

Why has it come about? Why have we been able to make this progress? It is because we have attempted in this State and in this country a comprehensive attack on the problems that face this State and Nation. West Virginia has been fortunate to have enjoyed the strong and progressive leadership of your Governor, and it has come about because a progressive Democratic administration in Washington, and a Democratic Congress, has worked to provide the people of West Virginia with the tools to do this job.

It is the people themselves who must do it, but it is the State Government and the National Government that can help provide an atmosphere that will make it possible to do the work. I am proud that the first thing I did on the Saturday morning after assuming the responsibility of President of the United States was to sit down at my desk and sign an Executive order doubling the amount of surplus food that could be dis-

tributed to the needy people of this State and other States.

But the job has only begun. In the fiscal year of 1960, the total of military contracts placed in West Virginia was \$36 million, but since January of 1960 things have changed. The total in 1962 was four times as much as in 1960, and twice as much as in 1961. The increase from 1960 to 1962 has been 272 percent, and I might add that the neighboring States of Ohio and Pennsylvania, since January '61, defense contracts have totaled \$1.5 billion in each of these States, and defense contracts are only a part of the story. A few years ago West Virginia was actually paying more money into the Federal Treasury as a State with most serious economic problems than most of the other States, and a good deal more than it was receiving back from the Federal Government. Your State in those Republican years bore far more than its share of the national burden. We have changed this situation. In the allocation of public works, in road building, especially the North-South highway project, in small business loans, in family farm loans, in the food stamp program, in health, education, and welfare grants, in emergency unemployment compensation, in area redevelopment projects, the Corps of Engineers projects, in flood prevention, watershed protection, forest management, public housing, and college housing, West Virginia has received increased grants, and this has stimulated and helps stimulate the West Virginia economy.

I know that there are those who are against this, and I know that there are those who say that people who are out of work should find it. But I believe that the free enterprise system means that there will be an opportunity for all people who want to work to find a job, and it is to that credo that this Government of ours is committed.

Two years ago I said that it was time to get this country moving again. In the last 2 years, we have made a start, but just a start. But we have begun to act, for no Congress in a generation has passed as much affirmative and constructive legislation as the

present Congress. This Congress under Democratic leadership has passed a widespread housing bill, an increase in the minimum wage to \$1.25, an area redevelopment act for depressed areas, a manpower retraining act to make it possible for those who are out of work to find new training and a new job, a bill preventing the distribution of harmful drugs, a farm act, relief for children of unemployed workers, and a trade bill, and these other bills which are important. But this is a beginning, and a beginning only. And that's why this election is important.

We have won fights by 3 or 4 votes in the House of Representatives, and we have lost fights by 3 or 4 votes. This is not a matter of personalities or merely parties. It is a question of whether the people of this district, rain or shine, will support people who believe in progress.

A few days ago we lost a bill for aid for higher education. We lost it by 32 votes; three-fourths of the Republicans voted against it. Last year 84 percent of the Republicans voted in the Senate against nationwide financing of unemployment compensation. Last month, 9 out of 10 Republicans on the House Ways and Means Committee voted against a bill to provide temporary relief for those who have exhausted their unemployment compensation. Eighty-one percent of the Republicans in the House voted against the area redevelopment bill. Ninety-five percent of the Republicans in the House voted against the housing act; 80 percent voted against the minimum wage of \$1.25—80 percent of the Republican Members of the House of Representatives voted against giving a man \$1.25, for a 40-hour week, an hour.

Now this is the issue in this campaign. We want to finish the job that we have started here in West Virginia and in Ohio and Pennsylvania, because a good deal more needs to be done. But I can assure you that so closely divided is the House and Senate that we cannot do the job without the assistance of forward-looking Members of the House and the Senate. And this State of

West Virginia has them. I am confident that Congressman Cleveland Bailey, with whom I served in the House of Representatives a decade ago, and your other Congressmen, Ken Hechler, Mrs. Kee, Congressman—well, they're all here—stand up, gentlemen—Harley Staggers—Wayne Hays of Ohio—with your two distinguished Senators—gentlemen, stand up—that they're going to be back. These men and others like them—and women—have stood for the passage of the kind of legislation which means so much to the State of West Virginia.

I have too high a regard for this State to have the rain fall upon all of you, but I want you to know how much I appreciate your coming here tonight in a cold, rainy night. You believe and I believe that it is the function of National and State Government to permit the people to develop their own resources. I can assure you that in January 1963 we shall send a program to the Congress of the United States that will continue the progress that we have begun to make. That program will be enacted into legislation only if we have Members of the House and Senate who share this same view of the future which the people of West Virginia have shared. This State, which for 10 years lay in the backwash, now knows that this State and others can move forward, and I come to West Virginia tonight for the purpose of asking your help in giving us the men and women who, joining together in Washington, can help West Virginia and the country move forward.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Wheeling Stadium at 5:45 p.m. His opening words referred to Governor William W. Barron, U.S. Senators Jennings Randolph and Robert C. Byrd, U.S. Representatives Cleveland Bailey, John M. Slack, Jr., Ken Hechler,

and Harley O. Staggers, all of West Virginia, and to U.S. Representative Wayne L. Hays of Ohio. Later he also referred to U.S. Representative Elizabeth Kee of West Virginia.

Because of the heavy rain the President cut short his remarks. The remainder is from the prepared text:

"Progress is not only essential for the future of our people at home. It is also essential for our position in international affairs. Progress is the source of purpose, and it is the source of power; and purpose and power are the weapons with which we oppose communism and fight for peace and justice in the world.

"A stagnant nation, a torpid nation, a conservative nation, a nation committed to the past—such a nation could not hope to rally the people of the world against communism. Only a strong nation, an active nation, a nation moving always ahead, a nation dedicated to the future can lead the peoples of a revived Europe and an emergent Asia and Africa and Latin America. Armed by purpose and power, we need have no fear about our capacity to deal with communism.

"This remains a dangerous world—and the only antidote to danger is strength. We have rebuilt the strength of our Nation in these 20 months. They all know—Castro, Khrushchev, Mao Tse-tung—that we stand ready to use that strength against aggression, whether in the Caribbean, in Berlin, or anywhere else on this earth. And they all know too that the purpose and power of free society will in the end override and defeat communism, in all its fanaticism and fury.

"As we are loyal to our own ideals, we generate the purpose and power which will lead the world to safe and lasting peace. What is happening in West Virginia shows the strength of these ideals. It shows how free government and free men, working in partnership, can overcome stagnation and want and keep America moving forever ahead.

"Americans have always believed in progress—Americans have always kept their eyes fixed on far horizons and new frontiers. If we are faithful to our past, we cannot be fearful of our future.

"This is what this election is all about—and, as I asked for your votes in 1960 to start America moving again, I ask today that you help return a Democratic Congress so that we can keep America moving ever more steadily ahead in the years of peril and promise to come."

415 Message to Prime Minister Muhirwa on the Forthcoming Celebration of the Independence of Burundi.

September 27, 1962

[Released September 27, 1962. Dated September 6, 1962]

Excellency:

I was honored to receive your kind invitation to attend the ceremonies and festivities celebrating the independence of the Kingdom of Burundi.

I regret greatly that I cannot personally join with you in this celebration. However, I have asked Charles F. Darlington, United States Ambassador to Gabon, to represent me at the ceremonies and festivities that you plan to hold September 27-29, 1962, in Usumbura. Ambassador Darlington is a distinguished American diplomat and a man eminently qualified to represent me and the

people of the United States on such an important occasion.

Once again, I extend to the Government and people of the Kingdom of Burundi my sincere congratulations and those of the Government and people of the United States on the attainment of your independence. We look forward to close and friendly relations between our two countries.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[His Excellency Andre Muhirwa, Usumbura, Burundi]

416 Remarks at the Presentation of the Distinguished Service Medal to Gen. George H. Decker. *September 28, 1962*

I WANT to welcome all of you to the White House to participate in a very significant ceremony, and that is the award of the Distinguished Service Medal, an Oak Leaf Cluster, to General Decker. This is also an opportunity for us all to acknowledge a very long and distinguished career in the service of the United States.

General Decker started off as an enlisted man in the New York State National Guard. He then went into Lafayette College and he went into ROTC from Lafayette College and rose to be the head of the United States Army. General Shoup, his colleague on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I think, came to his position of eminence out of Tulane University in Louisiana. What this indicates and what trend this indicates is still uncertain but, in any case, it does indicate the extraordinary talent of General Decker who has successfully moved up the ladder holding positions of the greatest responsibility—in World War II as the Chief of Staff for the Sixth Army in

the Pacific—holding positions of great responsibility, and successively being promoted to finally the head of the Army after a very long and distinguished career.

In looking around the Rose Garden today we see various colleagues of his in the Armed Services who themselves held positions of responsibility. We want to welcome all of the members of the most exclusive club or trade union in the world, former and present three-star generals of the United States who are here today, such as General Bradley and others.

I am going to ask Secretary Vance to read this citation.

[*At this point Secretary of the Army Cyrus R. Vance read the citation. The President then resumed speaking.*]

I take great pleasure in presenting this award to General Decker. I think that this citation illuminates his career. I just want to say, speaking personally, that I have the

highest regard for General Decker and for his loyalty to our country and to those with whom he served. I have been the beneficiary of that service and counsel. In the last year and a half, when we have been working together, we have seen a steady increase in the combatant strength of the Army, the number of combat divisions, as Secretary Vance mentioned, the preparedness of each division, the particular attention which General Decker has given to the development of our special forces, and we have seen some of those results in Korea; the encouragement he has given to

younger officers to realize what an important place of service for the next decade the Army will be and the military forces as a whole in this particular phase of our national life. So I hope as he leaves the United States Army after all these years he will feel that his final months of service were the most significant.

NOTE: The presentation ceremony was held at noon in the Rose Garden at the White House.

General Decker served as Chief of Staff, United States Army, from October 1, 1960, through September 30, 1962.

The text of the citation and of General Decker's response was also released.

417 Remarks Upon Signing Bill Providing for the Padre Island National Seashore. *September 28, 1962*

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am pleased to approve S. 4, providing for the establishment of the Padre Island National Seashore.

The 113-mile-long Padre Island along the Texas coast of the Gulf of Mexico, extending from Corpus Christi on the north almost to Mexico on the south, is the longest barrier island of the United States. By preserving 80 miles of the island's scenic, untrammelled shoreland, this measure will make possible a broad range of year-round opportunities for recreation and quiet enjoyment of a natural environment for a large number of people.

The Padre Island National Seashore is the third authorized by the 87th Congress insuring that this Congress will enjoy an honored position in the development of conservation in this country. Padre Island on the Gulf will now take its place with Cape

Cod on the Atlantic, and Point Reyes on the Pacific. Each of these areas has its unique characteristics—each is readily accessible to millions of Americans—each will offer an enduring opportunity for the renewal of body and spirit where the land meets the sea.

I want to congratulate the Members of the Congress. As I said, these are three very exceptional sites which have been preserved for the people of the United States. The one at Cape Cod which I know intimately was a great step forward as was the one at San Francisco, and now we will have this one off the coast of Texas. I think the Members of Congress can look upon this step forward with unprecedented pride for many, many years.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. in his office at the White House. As enacted, S. 4 is Public Law 87-712 (70 Stat. 650).

418 Statement by the President on the Signing of the International Coffee Agreement. *September 28, 1962*

IT GIVES ME great satisfaction that the International Coffee Agreement was signed today at the United Nations in New York. It was signed on behalf of our country by Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson and our

principal negotiator, W. Michael Blumenthal, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. I am submitting the Agreement to the Senate next week and shall urge that it be considered early in the next

Congress. Since we account for 50 percent of world coffee imports, the Agreement cannot take effect until ratified by the United States.

The Agreement is a heartening example of international cooperation to resolve a vitally important economic problem. Coffee is the third most traded commodity in the world and is the main source of foreign income in many underdeveloped countries, particularly in Latin America. A drop of one cent a pound for green coffee costs Latin American producers \$50 million in

export proceeds—enough to seriously undercut what we are seeking to accomplish by the Alliance for Progress.

The Agreement fixes export and import quotas for coffee. To assure that prices to consumers are fair and reasonable, importing nations have an equal voice with exporters in fixing quotas. Fifty-eight countries took part in the negotiations, and some 70 nations may eventually join in this Agreement covering the bulk of world trade in coffee.

419 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom. *September 30, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT had lunch with the Foreign Secretary Lord Home, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Ambassador to the United States Ormsby Gore, Under Secretary of State George Ball and Ambassador David Bruce. They met for two hours. The discussions centered on Berlin, the Congo and Cuba.

The conversations which Lord Home and Mr. Rusk had had with Mr. Gromyko in New York were reviewed. There was complete agreement on the assessment of the dangers of the Berlin situation and on the continued need for the Western powers to stand firm on their vital interests.

They agreed on the urgent need for a settlement of the continuing Congo crisis on

the basis of the reconciliation plan proposed by the Secretary General of the United Nations.

They agreed on the serious nature of developments in Cuba and they discussed ways and means of containing further Communist expansion and subversion in the Caribbean.

The President and the Foreign Secretary confirmed their support for the early signature of a test ban agreement.

They also agreed on the strong necessity for the signatories of the Geneva Accord on Laos to see to it that all foreign forces are withdrawn from that country by October 7th.

420 Radio and Television Report to the Nation on the Situation at the University of Mississippi. *September 30, 1962*

Good evening, my fellow citizens:

The orders of the court in the case of Meredith versus Fair are beginning to be carried out. Mr. James Meredith is now in residence on the campus of the University of Mississippi.

This has been accomplished thus far without the use of National Guard or other troops. And it is to be hoped that the law

enforcement officers of the State of Mississippi and the Federal marshals will continue to be sufficient in the future.

All students, members of the faculty, and public officials in both Mississippi and the Nation will be able, it is hoped, to return to their normal activities with full confidence in the integrity of American law.

This is as it should be, for our Nation is

founded on the principle that observance of the law is the eternal safeguard of liberty and defiance of the law is the surest road to tyranny. The law which we obey includes the final rulings of the courts, as well as the enactments of our legislative bodies. Even among law-abiding men few laws are universally loved, but they are uniformly respected and not resisted.

Americans are free, in short, to disagree with the law but not to disobey it. For in a government of laws and not of men, no man, however prominent or powerful, and no mob, however unruly or boisterous, is entitled to defy a court of law. If this country should ever reach the point where any man or group of men by force or threat of force could long defy the commands of our court and our Constitution, then no law would stand free from doubt, no judge would be sure of his writ, and no citizen would be safe from his neighbors.

In this case in which the United States Government was not until recently involved, Mr. Meredith brought a private suit in Federal court against those who were excluding him from the University. A series of Federal courts all the way to the Supreme Court repeatedly ordered Mr. Meredith's admission to the University. When those orders were defied, and those who sought to implement them threatened with arrest and violence, the United States Court of Appeals consisting of Chief Judge Tuttle of Georgia, Judge Hutcheson of Texas, Judge Rives of Alabama, Judge Jones of Florida, Judge Brown of Texas, Judge Wisdom of Louisiana, Judge Gewin of Alabama, and Judge Bell of Georgia, made clear the fact that the enforcement of its order had become an obligation of the United States Government. Even though this Government had not originally been a party to the case, my responsibility as President was therefore inescapable. I accept it. My obligation under the Constitution and the statutes of the United States was and is to implement the orders of the court with whatever means are necessary, and with as little force and

civil disorder as the circumstances permit.

It was for this reason that I federalized the Mississippi National Guard as the most appropriate instrument, should any be needed, to preserve law and order while United States marshals carried out the orders of the court and prepared to back them up with whatever other civil or military enforcement might have been required.

I deeply regret the fact that any action by the executive branch was necessary in this case, but all other avenues and alternatives, including persuasion and conciliation, had been tried and exhausted. Had the police powers of Mississippi been used to support the orders of the court, instead of deliberately and unlawfully blocking them, had the University of Mississippi fulfilled its standard of excellence by quietly admitting this applicant in conformity with what so many other southern State universities have done for so many years, a peaceable and sensible solution would have been possible without any Federal intervention.

This Nation is proud of the many instances in which Governors, educators, and everyday citizens from the South have shown to the world the gains that can be made by persuasion and good will in a society ruled by law. Specifically, I would like to take this occasion to express the thanks of this Nation to those southerners who have contributed to the progress of our democratic development in the entrance of students regardless of race to such great institutions as the State-supported universities of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Kentucky.

I recognize that the present period of transition and adjustment in our Nation's Southland is a hard one for many people. Neither Mississippi nor any other southern State deserves to be charged with all the accumulated wrongs of the last 100 years of race relations. To the extent that there has been failure, the responsibility for that failure must be shared by us all, by every State, by every citizen.

Mississippi and her University, moreover, are noted for their courage, for their contri-

bution of talent and thought to the affairs of this Nation. This is the State of Lucius Lamar and many others who have placed the national good ahead of sectional interest. This is the State which had four Medal of Honor winners in the Korean war alone. In fact, the Guard unit federalized this morning, early, is part of the 155th Infantry, one of the 10 oldest regiments in the Union and one of the most decorated for sacrifice and bravery in 6 wars.

In 1945 a Mississippi sergeant, Jake Lindsey, was honored by an unusual joint session of the Congress. I close therefore with this appeal to the students of the University, the people who are most concerned.

You have a great tradition to uphold, a tradition of honor and courage won on the field of battle and on the gridiron as well as the University campus. You have a new opportunity to show that you are men of patriotism and integrity. For the most effective means of upholding the law is not the State policeman or the marshals or the National Guard. It is you. It lies in your courage to accept those laws with which you disagree as well as those with which you agree. The eyes of the Nation and of all the world are upon you and upon all of us, and the honor of your University and State are in the balance. I am certain that the great majority of the students will uphold that honor.

There is in short no reason why the books on this case cannot now be quickly and quietly closed in the manner directed by the court. Let us preserve both the law and the peace and then healing those wounds that are within we can turn to the greater crises that are without and stand united as one people in our pledge to man's freedom.

Thank you and good night.

NOTE: In addition to the President's address, the White House released the following papers:

1. On September 29 an announcement that the President had talked to Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi on three occasions; that the President was unable to receive satisfactory assurances that law and order could or would be maintained in Oxford during the coming week; that the President was therefore federalizing units of the Mississippi National Guard; and that the units would be available for service on October 1.

2. On September 29 the text of Proclamation 3497, ordering persons engaged in obstructing justice in Mississippi to cease and desist therefrom and to disperse and retire peaceably forthwith.

3. On September 30 the text of Executive Order 11053 directing the Secretary of Defense to take all appropriate steps to enforce the court orders, including the calling into active service of units of the Mississippi National Guard.

4. On September 30 the text of the President's telegram to Governor Barnett referring to his two telephone conversations with the Governor on September 30, and requesting replies by the evening of September 30 to three questions as to the course of action the Governor intended to follow.

421 Statement by the President Upon Creating a Board of Inquiry in the Longshoremen's Strike. *October 1, 1962*

THE STRIKE at midnight last night by the International Longshoremen's Association has tied up shipping in all ports on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, from Maine to Texas.

I am advised by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service that negotiations between the union and the companies involved have failed thus far to result in an agreement on any important issue in dispute. A settlement of this dispute in the imme-

diate future, therefore, is unlikely.

While the ILA has indicated its willingness to load and unload full military cargoes, under certain conditions, this strike will prevent the handling of all other cargoes at the ports involved, cutting our vital shipping lifelines to all parts of the world.

Puerto Rico will be especially hard hit because of its primary reliance on shipping connections with the mainland.

If this strike is allowed to continue for any

length of time, its effects will have such grave and far reaching repercussions on our total domestic economy and upon our ability to meet our urgent commitments around the world that the national interest would be gravely jeopardized.

In my opinion, the immediate threat presented by a continuation of this strike to the national health and safety requires that the emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act be invoked without delay. Therefore, I am appointing a Board of Inquiry to look into and to report to me on the facts surrounding the strike on or before Thursday, October 4.

In addition to its immediate responsibility

under Title II of the Taft-Hartley Act, I am requesting the members of the Board of Inquiry to work with the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service in mediation efforts to resolve this dispute.

As members of the Board of Inquiry, I am appointing:

Mr. Robben W. Fleming, Urbana, Illinois, Chairman

Mr. Vernon H. Jensen, Ithaca, New York

Mr. Robert L. Stutz, Storrs, Connecticut

All members of the Board are experienced in the labor-management field as arbitrators and mediators.

422 Remarks Upon Presenting the Distinguished Service Medal to Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer. *October 1, 1962*

Gentlemen:

I wonder if we can have some of General Lemnitzer's old colleagues come forward, General White, General Bradley; Admiral Radford, I think, is out there. General Devers, would you come over here? Come up here, General, and join us. General Twining, General Collins.

If there're any other generals there, we're glad to welcome you all and we're glad to have this opportunity to participate in this ceremony.

Actually, General Lemnitzer is already somewhat leaning to the left with all the braid that he carries, but I'm glad to add another Oak Leaf Cluster to his two Distinguished Service Medals.

General Lemnitzer has had an extraordinary career and has held positions of great responsibility. He was highly recommended to me for his character and integrity and ability by General Eisenhower when I assumed my office. The fact that he has been willing to undertake what is the most difficult, sensitive, and in many ways the most important command in the United States, which is Commander of our forces

in Europe, and also the Commander of NATO, which means that he serves all of our NATO partners as their representative as well as mine, these two hats that he wears have been worn by distinguished officers, but he wears these hats at a very critical time in the life of NATO and in the critical period in the defense of Western Europe and Berlin, so that I am privileged to participate in this award.

But I think that the General knows that even the more substantial award is the confidence we all have in him and the confidence of other nations in wishing him to assume his new position at a time when so much of our security depends on his good judgment and so much of the peace.

[At this point Assistant Secretary of Defense Roswell L. Gilpatric read the citation. Following General Lemnitzer's response, the President resumed speaking.]

I know that all of us take satisfaction in the fact that so distinguished an officer as General Norstad, who has been a great servant for the West, is being succeeded by another distinguished officer, so we're very

grateful to him and we hope that he will be visiting us at the White House shortly. And I'm sure that he shares the same satisfaction that you're succeeding him, General.

NOTE: The presentation ceremony was held at 11

a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

General Lemnitzer served as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from September 30, 1960, through September 30, 1962.

The text of the citation and of General Lemnitzer's response was also released.

423 Remarks at the Swearing In of Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. *October 1, 1962*

GENERAL, it's a great pleasure to participate, for all of us: the Deputy Secretary of Defense representing the Secretary, other members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Air Force, the Navy, and representatives of the Marine Corps, also former members of the Chiefs of Staff and the former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who are with us today—General Lemnitzer and General Decker.

It's a great pleasure to have this opportunity to swear in General Taylor as Chairman. I have worked very intimately with General Taylor where he has been the military representative of the President, working closely with me as liaison with the Chiefs, who are my official advisers under the laws of the Congress, and as a practical matter of fact.

General Taylor will now assume responsibility borne with such distinction by General Lemnitzer as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and, therefore, as Chairman of the Advisory Board to the President on matters affecting the national security.

I am impressed as President with the succession of distinguished officers whom I have had the opportunity to serve with—General White, who was the first to retire; Admiral Burke, head of the Navy; General Decker, who's now retired as head of the Army; General Lemnitzer, who's moved on to new responsibilities; others who are here; the man

who took over, General LeMay, Admiral Anderson, and now General Wheeler, a number of distinguished and patriotic men of high competence and integrity who serve in our Armed Forces. And while these men are the leaders of our Armed Forces rank after rank, I think we find the same qualities down to the academies at West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Force.

So this country's very fortunate. Instilled with a strong constitutional sense of the responsibility of the Armed Forces to the civilian heads, they carry out their duties and also advise in a way which makes it possible for us to fulfill our responsibilities and oath more effectively.

So we're grateful to the Armed Forces and those who in a number of ways carry out their responsibilities to their country in all parts of the world, and we're particularly glad to have General Taylor, with his broad experience, his distinguished combat record in Europe, and in the Pacific and in Korea, who I think comprehends and divines the great strategic and tactical problems which face the United States and the free world today.

NOTE: The ceremony was held at noon in the Rose Garden at the White House. The text of General Taylor's response and of the remarks by Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric was also released.

424 Remarks Upon Signing the United Nations Loan Bill. *October 2, 1962*

I AM pleased to sign the bill authorizing a loan to the United Nations and appropriating the funds therefor.

This legislation will permit the United States to lend up to \$100 million to the United Nations in order to help it meet the financial crisis it faces. This crisis is largely the result of the failure of some members of the organization to pay their share of the costs of the peace-keeping machinery in the Middle East and in the Congo. I believe that that machinery and those activities of the United Nations are vital to the peace of the world. They have helped prevent major armed conflicts and advanced the means of reconciliation between opposing factions. We must continue to give our firm and full support to these efforts.

For centuries, men have dreamed of a way to secure world peace. To translate

these dreams into hard reality has become the great imperative of our time. This legislation demonstrates the determination of the American people to support the United Nations in this demanding task in the years ahead, and to help marshal the resources needed by the United Nations in pursuit of a just and lasting peace among all nations of the world.

I congratulate the members of Congress who participated in this important demonstration of our dedication to that ideal, and I express my pleasure in having them here in the company of our Ambassador to the United Nations who has served us there with distinction.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 a.m. in his office at the White House.

The bill (S. 2768) as enacted is Public Law 87-731 (76 Stat. 695).

425 Remarks Upon Signing Bill Amending the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act. *October 2, 1962*

I AM happy to approve H.R. 8520 which amends the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act to permit the Secretary of the Interior to offer to lease or purchase certain wetlands valuable for waterfowl before the Agriculture Department acts on applications for financial or technical assistance for the drainage of those lands.

This legislation responds to a statement contained in my February 1961 message to the Congress on natural resources expressing the hope that fish and wildlife opportunities could be expanded without conflict between government agencies. The specific illustration cited was the case of one department paying to have wetlands drained for agricultural purposes while another is purchasing such lands for wildlife or waterfowl refuges.

The Department of Agriculture and the Department of the Interior have worked together in developing this legislation which deals with the situation in the area of most acute need—the three-State area of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Minnesota.

This amendment of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act should prove helpful in our efforts to halt the decline of our migratory waterfowl population and at the same time provide appropriate protection for the interests of property owners. The legislation makes a great deal of sense and I want to commend all who had a part in its development and enactment.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in his office at the White House.

As enacted, H.R. 8520 is Public Law 87-732 (76 Stat. 696).

426 Statement by the President on the Orbital Flight of Astronaut
Walter Schirra. *October 3, 1962*

THE CITIZENS of this nation are again proud of an historic exploration into space. Today's milestone comes as the direct result of our redoubled effort in this scientific venture.

Our country extends special congratula-

tions to Commander Schirra and to all those connected with Project Mercury, and our deep appreciation to the other nations that have helped make this program a success.

427 Telephone Conversation With Astronaut Walter Schirra
Following His Flight. *October 3, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. Hi, Commander.

Commander Schirra: Yes, sir, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. We are delighted with your trip. I will tell you that.

Commander Schirra: I thought I might as well go where I was headed this time.

THE PRESIDENT. You did a wonderful job and we are very, very pleased.

Commander Schirra: I appreciate your coming down and giving our booster a blessing.¹ It seemed to help.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it does us a lot of good, so I certainly extend all the congratulations to you and your family.

Commander Schirra: Thank you very much, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. I will look forward to seeing you sometime soon.

Commander Schirra: I will look forward to it, too.

THE PRESIDENT. Thanks, Commander. Good luck.

Commander Schirra: Thank you for calling, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Right. Goodby.

NOTE: The President spoke from his living quarters in the White House to Commander Schirra aboard the aircraft carrier *Kearsarge*.

428 Statement by the President on the Longshoremen's Strike.
October 4, 1962

THE BOARD of Inquiry I established in the present longshore dispute has reported to me that there has not been agreement on any of the major issues which divide the parties and that a quick settlement of the dispute is not likely.

Reports that I have received concerning the present and potential impact of this strike clearly indicate to me that its continuation would imperil the national health and safety.

I have therefore directed the Attorney

General to seek an injunction against this strike under the emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

While an injunction will return the longshoremen to work on our Atlantic and Gulf coasts for 80 days, it will not settle the dispute which caused the strike. It is now the responsibility of labor and management in the industry, with the help of appropriate governmental assistance, to resolve their differences. To help them do this, I have requested the members of the Board of Inquiry to work with the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service in an attempt to

¹ See Item 370.

bring the parties together in agreement.

I wish to thank the members of the Board of Inquiry for their diligent and expeditious handling of their report to me, and for their willingness to help resolve this dispute.

NOTE: The President's letter to the Attorney General directing him to petition for an injunction in the longshoremen's strike was dated October 4, 1962, and made public by the White House the same day.

429 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Crown Prince Faysal of Saudi Arabia. *October 5, 1962*

ON OCTOBER 5 His Royal Highness Crown Prince Faysal and President Kennedy held private talks at the White House. Frank and cordial discussions were held on Saudi Arabian-American relations and on the world situation. Crown Prince Faysal

and the President are confident that this opportunity to become personally acquainted will lead to increased mutual understanding between the United States and Saudi Arabia.

430 Message to Pope John XXIII on the Occasion of the Opening of the Second Vatican Council. *October 5, 1962*

[Released October 5, 1962. Dated September 27, 1962]

Your Holiness:

It is difficult to realize that three years have elapsed since Your Holiness announced that you planned to convene an Ecumenical Council of the Catholic Church—the first in almost a hundred years. During these three fateful years, millions of my fellow citizens in the United States, including many who do not belong to the Catholic Church, have followed with lively and sympathetic interest the work of the various preparatory Commissions appointed by Your Holiness to draw up the agenda for this extraordinarily important Council. They have also read, with particular interest and with genuine admiration for your all-embracing concern for the welfare of humanity, the several inspiring statements issued by Your Holiness on the background and purposes of the Council.

In the face of staggering problems which, from the human point of view, seem at times to be almost insoluble, people all over the world have found reason for renewed confidence and courage in the welcome thought that the Fathers of the Council, as Your

Holiness indicated in your Radio Message of September 11, will give special attention to the grave economic and social problems which daily press upon suffering humanity in almost all parts of the world but, more particularly, in the economically underdeveloped nations. It is very heartening to know that the Council, in the words of Your Holiness, will strive to deepen the fellowship and love which are “the natural needs of man” and “are imposed on the Christian as rules for his relationship between man and man, and between people and people.”

We hope that the Council will be able to present in clear and persuasive language effective solutions to the many problems confronting all of us and, more specifically, that its decisions will significantly advance the cause of international peace and understanding.

In closing, may I respectfully extend to Your Holiness my warmest personal greetings and best wishes and those of Mrs. Kennedy, who will always cherish the memory of her audience with Your Holiness last March. On the eve of the Council, we ear-

nestly hope and pray that God will continue to bless you with vigorous health and will give you the great joy and satisfaction of seeing the Council fulfill all of your fondest hopes and dreams for a worldwide renewal of fellowship and love and for the establish-

ment of a just and lasting peace.

With sentiments of profound esteem I remain,

Respectfully yours,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[His Holiness Pope John XXIII, Vatican City]

431 Remarks Upon Arrival at Greater Cincinnati Airport, Erlanger, Kentucky. *October 5, 1962*

Wilson Wyatt; Governor Combs; my old colleague, Congressman Spence; Governor DiSalle:

I want to express my appreciation to all of you for your willingness to come out and permit us to say a word about this election on November 6th.

Beginning with this weekend I shall, on every Friday, leave Washington and travel around the United States in an attempt to secure the election this November of a strong Democratic House and a Democratic Senate. I know that many of you may wonder why a President of the United States, who is not a candidate himself, whose name is not on the ballot, should campaign so hard and so long for the election of Congressmen and Senators. Well, the reason, of course, is very simple, and that is, while any administration and any President can make proposals dealing with matters which affect the welfare of all of our people, in the final analysis it will depend upon the House of Representatives and the Senate to determine whether that legislation shall become law, to determine whether those proposals shall be accepted. And I have spent the last 2 years on issue after issue affecting the welfare of the people of Kentucky and the welfare of the people of this country, and seen us win issue after issue by 3 or 4 or 5 votes, or see us lose issue after issue by 1 or 2 votes in the House or the Senate.

I hold the view in 1962, with all of the great problems that we have here in the United States at home, that it is vitally important that we have an executive branch of

the Government and a House and a Senate which is committed to progress.

Let me describe to you some of the issues which I think indicate how clear and how significant this election is. A few days ago in the House of Representatives we lost a bill to provide assistance to higher education. We are going to have twice as many young men and women in the colleges of the United States in 1970 as we did in 1960. We're going to be doubling the number; and some of them are here today. We lost our bill to provide assistance to higher education by 32 votes, and three-fourths of the Republicans voted against it.

Last year 84 percent of the Republicans in the United States Senate voted against nationwide financing of unemployment compensation. Eastern Kentucky, West Virginia, parts of Indiana, southern Illinois, parts of Ohio know what it is to have chronic unemployment. Eighty-four percent of the Republicans in the Senate voted against nationwide standards for unemployment compensation.

Last month 9 out of 10 Republicans in the Ways and Means Committee of the House, which must report the bill to the floor, voted against renewing temporary unemployment compensation for those hundreds of thousands of workers who, every month, exhaust their unemployment compensation and can't find a job and go on relief.

That's why we're out here today. Eighty-one percent of the Republicans in the House voted against the area redevelopment bill, legislation which is needed to assist those

areas of the country which have chronic unemployment of 10, 15, and 20 percent, and need new companies and new jobs.

Eighty percent of the Republicans in the House voted against a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour. That is \$50 a week, in those firms in interstate commerce.

Now, that's the issue in this campaign. These Republicans, and they're all fine men, but they do not agree with our view of the necessity for the passage of this kind of legislation, they are joined by a few Democrats who oppose progress also, and this combination, this coalition, prevents us on issue after issue from securing the passage of important legislation. They have opposed it for 30 years.

I can tell you what we stand for, but I challenge anyone to tell us what the Republican Party stands for in 1962 on a record such as this. That's why we come here today asking your help in electing Frank Chelf as the Congressman from this district to take the place of a distinguished Congressman, Brent Spence, who has been the author of more significant legislation, particularly dealing in the field of housing, than any member who served, nearly, in this century, and we need a United States Senator Wilson Wyatt.

This summer we lost health care for the aged, which affects not only the aged, but their sons and daughters who're about 40 or 45 who must support their fathers or mothers and also must educate their child. A change of one vote in the United States

Senate would have secured the passage of this piece of legislation—and I must say, though this is a matter which Kentucky must decide in a time when we have a Democratic administration and President and a Democratic House and Senate, who speaks for Kentucky, with two Republican Senators; and there's a chance this year to change it by sending not only a Democratic Senator, but far more importantly, a distinguished American who can serve not only Kentucky but also the United States of America, so we ask your help for him.

Politics is a profession which interests comparatively few people, but the things that we're talking about are the matters which go to the vitality of the United States in 1962. This country has a great many responsibilities here in the United States, and only if we meet them can we be sure of being strong abroad. Therefore, I come to Kentucky, and I ask a State with a long Democratic tradition, with a distinguished Governor, a State which has occupied a position of leadership in the Congress for years—I come to Kentucky and ask your support in returning Democrats to the House and a Democrat to the United States Senate.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to Wilson W. Wyatt, Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate from Kentucky; Governor Bert T. Combs and U.S. Representative Brent Spence of Kentucky; and Governor Michael V. DiSalle of Ohio. Later he referred to U.S. Representative Frank Chelf of Kentucky.

432 Remarks at Fountain Square in Cincinnati.

October 5, 1962

Governor DiSalle, Senator Young, ladies and gentlemen:

I am glad to be back in Cincinnati—these 20 months have not been entirely wasted—[laughter]—and to come back here on a very good cause.

I do not come to this city and State in October of 1962 as a candidate for office my-

self. I come to this State because I believe, after 20 months as President of the United States, I believe it's vitally important that the people of Ohio and Kentucky and the people of the United States make a choice for progress in 1962 and not choose to sit still. And that's why we're here in Ohio.

You have in Ohio 23 Congressmen. You

have 7 Democrats and the remainder are Republicans. And what this State must decide is: What are the issues facing the United States today? What do you want of your Congressmen? What do you want of your Senators? What do you want of your Governor? What are the problems that this State and country face?

Well, I think we can sum them up very briefly, and that is that the United States, with a population increasing three million a year, with nearly 20,000 new people coming in looking for jobs every week, that the United States has had the lowest rate of economic growth in the last 5 years of any major country in the world—any major country in the world. There are more people out of work in the United States, with the exception of Canada, than any major country in the world. That is the basic domestic issue that the United States faces.

Do you know the United States this year could produce nearly \$50 billion more than we are going to produce? The Soviet Union works 48 hours a week, 50 hours a week, every factory going to the maximum. We have 5½ percent of our people out of work. We have 2 or 3 percent more that would like to find a job but don't. We have people who work short time. That's the issue in this campaign. And I think in the last 20 months in the Congress of the United States—and this is not a matter of characters or personalities or parties, this is a question of whether your Congressmen and your Senators and your Governor support the kind of program which will make it possible for this very rich country of ours to fulfill its promise—I want to read you the record, and it's here for all to see.

In the last session of the Congress we had a bill up to provide for aid for education for our college students. Three-fourths of the Republicans voted against it.

We had a bill before the Congress for \$1.25 minimum wage. A Republican Congressman from Ohio made the motion against it. And 80 percent of the Republican Party in

the House of Representatives voted against \$1.25 minimum wage.

Ninety-five percent of the Republican Members of the House of Representatives voted against a housing bill last year.

Now, we believe—I believe, and I'm sure you must believe—that those Members of the House and Senate, however splendid they may be in character, the fact that they vote time and again against medical care for the aged and for housing and temporary unemployment compensation and area redevelopment, and all these programs that are so necessary for the welfare of our country, indicates why I'm out here tonight: because I believe this election's important.

We have one hundred thousand people, and thousands in Ohio, who have unemployment compensation and exhaust it, and they can't find a job, so we suggested that unemployment compensation be renewed for them for 6 months. Nine out of 10 Members of the House Ways and Means Committee who are Republicans voted against that. Now you have a chance to decide here in Ohio and in this district whether this is the kind of Congress and country you want—one that sits still, one that lies at anchor, one that drifts, one that says "no." They have made the word "no" a political program.

I believe in the word "yes," and that's why I am hopeful that, of course, you will elect again Senator Lausche, and that you will send to the Congress men and women who can speak for Ohio, and speak for the country, Monica Nolan, and Harry Sand, and Jerry Rasor, and Martin Evers, with whom I went to school long ago, Robert Riley, and John Pritchard from Indiana. These are men and women who I believe support the kind of a program that this country's going to need.

We go back in January to write a new tax bill. Is that tax bill going to be a bill which takes care of a few people, or are we going to write a tax bill which will give this economy sufficient stimulus to move it ahead and not have a recession in 1963? That's why

this campaign is important and that's why we're here tonight.

I think the issue is very simple: Those who believe in a strong country must recognize that it's here at home we first must be strong, and this administration has been strong abroad. We have added, and it's easy to make speeches about what America should do abroad, but this administration has added five combat divisions. We've increased our army from 11 to 16 divisions in the last 20 months.

This year in the field of space we will spend three times what we spent last year, and last year we spent more than the previous 8 years combined. These people who talk about a strong country abroad—we need military strength, and we need to be strong in space, and we need to demonstrate a concern for the people of the world. This last administration ignored Latin America for 8 years, and we paid the price. This administration, in the Alliance for Progress and in the OAS, has worked to make it possible for democratic institutions to flourish in Latin America, which is far more important than all the speeches and all the signs. So I come here today and I ask your help for these Members of the House and Senate.

And, finally, I know that this State will reelect Governor DiSalle. Ohio is known

as the mother of Presidents. Well, for a brief period I was a son-in-law of Ohio because Governor DiSalle was the first Governor of any State in this Nation who supported my campaign for the Presidency. And while for a period Ohio, my mother-in-law, locked me out, we're back here tonight to ask your help in making it possible for him to be reelected again.

Being Governor of a great State is the most difficult task in the world, but he has shown in his concern for education, in bringing jobs to this State, in taking care of those who are sick and those who are mentally retarded—he has made the same record here as he made in Washington and in his own home State, so I'm proud to come here today and stand on this platform with men and women who are committed to progress, with a distinguished Governor of a great State—of Ohio.

I come here in October 1962 and ask you to help us move this country forward.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to Governor Michael V. DiSalle and U.S. Senator Stephen M. Young, both of Ohio. Later he referred to U.S. Senator Frank J. Lausche of Ohio; Mrs. Monica Nolan, H. A. Sand, Jerry C. Rasor, Martin A. Evers, and Robert A. Riley, Democratic candidates for U.S. Representative for the First, Second, Sixth, Third, and Seventh Districts, respectively, of Ohio; and to John Pritchard, Democratic candidate for the Ninth District of Indiana.

433 Remarks Upon Arrival at Metropolitan Airport, Detroit.

October 5, 1962

Governor Swainson; Neil Staebler, who I hope is going to be the Congressman at Large from the State of Michigan; your distinguished Congressman and a former colleague of mine, Congressman Lesinski; your distinguished Congressman from this area of the State, Congressman Ryan; Congressman Dingell; Congressman Nedzi; ladies and gentlemen:

This is not a nonpolitical trip; it's a political trip in the sense that we have come here

to Michigan in order to talk to the Democrats of this State who on many occasions, both in this State and in the country, have stood up for progress. And that's why we're back in Michigan tonight, to join you in a campaign to reelect a distinguished Governor who has been carrying the banner in this State formerly borne by the present Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Soapy Williams, and we're here tonight in a State which has sent two great Senators, Pat McNamara and

Phil Hart, who stand for progress on the floor of the United States Senate; and your Congressmen.

Michigan, which is a great industrial State in this country, I believe has its best years ahead. And I come here tonight to ask your help in electing the kind of men who believe in moving this country forward.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In his opening words the President referred to John B. Swainson, Governor of Michigan; Neil Staebler, Democratic candidate for Congressman at Large from Michigan; and John Lesinski, Harold M. Ryan, John D. Dingell, and Lucien N. Nedzi, U.S. Representatives from Michigan. Later he referred to U.S. Senators Pat McNamara and Philip A. Hart of Michigan.

434 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Relating to Suits Against Government Officials. *October 5, 1962*

I HAVE today signed H.R. 1960 which corrects an historic anomaly in the jurisdiction of the United States courts. While the bill creates no new remedies, it will extend to all district courts the same jurisdiction heretofore enjoyed solely by the District Court for the District of Columbia to hear actions in the nature of mandamus against Govern-

ment officials. Thus it will no longer be necessary for citizens throughout the country to come to the District of Columbia to maintain actions against government officials.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 1960 is Public Law 87-748 (76 Stat. 744).

435 Reply to Chairman Khrushchev's Message on the Flight of Commander Schirra. *October 6, 1962*

[Released October 6, 1962. Dated October 5, 1962]

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I thank you and the Soviet people on behalf of the American people for your congratulations on Commander Schirra's successful space flight. Your greetings and best wishes

have been conveyed to Commander Schirra.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Chairman Khrushchev's letter, dated October 4, was released in Detroit with the President's reply.

436 Remarks at a Democratic Rally in Detroit. *October 6, 1962*

Governor, Congressmen, ladies and gentlemen:

I wonder if we could have the Congressman from this district, Congressman Diggs, come up here—and the Congressman from a nearby district, Congressman Ryan; Congressman Lesinski and Congressman Dingell and Congressman Nedzi.

I want to express our thanks to all of you for coming here to this rally this morning.

I am not a candidate on this occasion. I am not on the ballot. But I do believe that the election of 1962, both in the State of Michigan and in the country, for Members of the House and Senate, are equally important to any election of a President of the United States, because under the Constitution of the United States, especially in matters of domestic affairs, the House of Representatives and the Senate have equal power with the

President, and if Member after Member, Congressman after Congressman, Senator after Senator, says "no" to all of our programs, then this country stands still.

So I come here this morning to ask the people of Detroit, the people of this county, the people of the State of Michigan—the people of the United States—to elect Members of the House and Senate who vote for progress, and that is the issue of 1962.

There are those who say that there are not differences between the two parties, but they have a golden chance in 1962 to see the differences. On issue after issue, on minimum wage, and social security, and aid for education, and housing for the elderly, from 70 to 80 to 90 percent of the members of the Republican Party from the State of Michigan voted "no." On vote after vote, on aid to education, higher education—and there is no State in the country which has more young men and women in the next 8 years who will want to be admitted to your colleges and universities than this State—on a bill 1 month ago to assist our colleges and universities, three-fourths of the Republicans voted against it. On a bill to provide a minimum wage of \$1.25, \$50 a week, \$1.25, there is a consistency to their opposition because 90 percent of the Republicans in the 1930's voted against 25 cents an hour, and 90 percent of the Republicans in the 1960's voted against \$1.25 an hour, including the overwhelming majority of the Republicans from the State of Michigan.

That's why this election is important. All these issues, education, the food stamps, area redevelopment, minimum wage, aid to higher education, cleaning our rivers, rebuilding our cities, urban renewal, and all the rest—we have met the nearly unanimous opposition of the Republicans joined by a handful of Democrats who have opposed every program since Franklin D. Roosevelt. And therefore we come to Michigan and ask your help in reelecting the Democratic Members of the House from this State—and give us some new Congressmen. Every vote on an important piece of legislation in the Sen-

ate and the House either won by 4 or 5 votes or lost. A change of 1 vote in the Senate and we would have medical care for the aged. A change of a few votes would have meant the passage of legislation which benefits our States and our country, and this is not a matter which concerns only the people of Michigan.

You won't sell cars from Detroit unless this country is prosperous. Michigan can't buy these cars. They sell them across the country and across the world. And yet a majority of the Republicans from this State, a majority of the Republican leadership, opposed our bill to make it possible for Detroit to sell cars in Europe on the trade expansion bill. So this is an important issue. This is not merely a political discussion. All these Republican Members we talk about are fine men, they believe in the United States, they believe in its future. But the problem is they will not support the kind of legislation which makes it possible for us to maintain employment, to educate our children, and provide security for our older citizens.

The decision is yours. Every off year in this century, with the exception of once, the party in power has lost votes. And I can tell you after the razor-thin majorities by which we have won or lost, that we need every vote we can get; otherwise this country will stand still. The decision is yours and we ask your help in Michigan by electing some people who believe in progress.

I'm proud to be standing here today next to a Governor who puts on his literature he's a Democrat. One of the most interesting political phenomena of our time is to see Republican candidates in various States who run for office and say, "Elect the man." You can't find the word "Republican" on their literature, and I don't blame them. But we write the word "Democrat" in large letters, because the Democratic Party stands for progress. A Democratic Governor, a Democratic President, a Democratic House and Senate, I think, spells progress.

This State in January 1961, when your Governor became the Governor and I be-

came the President of the United States, had an unemployment rate two and a half times the national average—15 percent. Today Michigan has less unemployed as an average, though it's still too many, less unemployed than the national average, under 5 percent. That is the record that he's made. And I hope that the people of this State, believing in progress, believing that a country and a State must move together, will reelect Governor John Swainson by the overwhelming majority that he deserves.

I just want to close by giving you these figures. Every time you go into a booth, and I hope everybody here is registered, there are places in the United States where churches are burned because somebody tries to get registered, or where three women were shot because they were trying to register people. How can anyone in this State or this city say they're too indifferent to register and vote when people in the United States are fighting for the right to register and vote? I hope nobody in this city by next Tuesday will be unregistered and say that it doesn't matter to them and that they're too indifferent and they're too busy to take 10 minutes to go and vote, which is the best and proudest privilege of a free citizen. Everybody in this city ought to vote, no matter for whom they vote, but they ought to be regis-

tered; they ought to be registered. It's too difficult for too many people to be registered for anyone in this city and this State to stay at home. To be registered, to vote, to commit ourselves to a forward movement for this State and country—that is the program for the next month in the State of Michigan, and we ask your help on it.

Area redevelopment, 81 percent of the Republicans voted against it. Minimum wage, 80 percent of the Republicans voted against it. Unemployment compensation, for those workers, and there're nearly 100,000 of them who exhaust their unemployment compensation—we tried last month to get it out of the Ways and Means Committee of the House. There are 10 Republicans on that committee and 9 out of 10 voted against it.

So those who say that this election doesn't count, that Presidential elections are important but not that of Congressmen and Senators and Governors—you in Michigan know the difference.

I hope on November 6th that this State and this city and this country will say "yes."

NOTE: The President spoke in front of the Sheraton-Cadillac Hotel in Detroit. In his opening words he referred to Governor John B. Swainson and to U.S. Representatives Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Harold M. Ryan, John Lesinski, John D. Dingell, and Lucien N. Nedzi, all of Michigan.

437 Remarks at the Municipal Mall in Flint, Michigan.

October 6, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen; Governor Swainson; Neil Staebler, who I wish would stand up, who is running as Congressman at Large from the State of Michigan, and whom I hope you will elect; Don Hayworth, who I served with in the Congress, and who I hope will be the Congressman from this district—I hope he'll stand up. And you're all standing up!

I want to tell you that it's a great pleasure to be here in Michigan. You may wonder if a President of the United States doesn't have

something better to do than to travel around Michigan and other States talking about this campaign. Well, I can tell you that I've nothing better to do than to come here and ask your support in the election of Democratic Congressmen, a Democratic Governor, and ask the same thing of the people of this country.

Ours is a very complicated political system. We have a system where the Executive, the President, and the Congress both bear in their various capacities equal responsibilities

under the Constitution of the United States. No matter what legislation for the benefit of this country that we may propose to the Congress, in the final analysis it depends upon the members of the House and the Senate. What do they say? What is their view? And because the Members of the House and one-third of the Senate go before the American people for judgment and decision this November, I come here to Michigan and I travel these United States because I believe it vitally important that we have a working majority in the House and the Senate if we're going to carry forward our program.

Now, let's not make any mistake about it. The people of this country have a very clear choice this November, a very clear choice, on whether they will support programs which will make it possible to educate our children, to find work for our working citizens, and to find security for our older citizens. Those are the issues in this campaign. And let's see how the Democratic Party and the Republican Party feel about them.

Last year we passed the most progressive housing bill which had been passed in the history of this country, which provided housing for the elderly and the middle income groups. Eighty-two percent of the Republican Congressmen from the State of Michigan voted against it.

We proposed a bill for urban affairs, to make it a Cabinet position, to make sure that those who live in our cities have a voice in the Cabinet of the United States. Seventy-three percent of the Republican Members from the State of Michigan voted against it.

We proposed \$1.25 minimum wage. That's \$50 a week for those working in interstate commerce. It doesn't seem very much for a 40-hour week. Do you know what the Michigan Republican delegation—how they voted on it? Ninety-one percent voted against it—91 percent against \$1.25 an hour. Eighty-one percent of all the Republican Congressmen in the United States

voted against \$1.25 an hour for a 40-hour week.

The Peace Corps, which was originally suggested at the University of Michigan during the campaign of 1960 at 1 o'clock in the morning: 73 percent of the Republicans from this State voted against it.

The Trade Expansion Act, which makes it possible for the goods of this industrial State to be sold all over the world: 73 percent of the Republicans from this State voted against it.

They have made the word "no" a political philosophy. We made the word "yes," since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, our political philosophy.

Medical care for the aged—it's not very revolutionary. It came up in the United States Senate. Seven-eighths of the Republicans voted against it. But they were consistent, anyway, because seven-eighths of them had voted against Social Security in the 1930's, and because it was new and because it was good, that was sufficient reason to defeat it.

So I come here today and ask your help in the election of Neil Staebler, Don Hayworth, Jim O'Hara, and the other Democratic Congressmen who stand for progress for Michigan and the country.

The United States had a recession in 1958. It had a recession in 1960. In January 1961 in Flint, Mich., the unemployment rate was 20 percent. Now it's 3½ percent. How many people in this country think that this country is going to be able to move forward, to find jobs for our people, to educate our children, to provide security for our older citizens, just by standing back and doing nothing? We have to participate, all of us, in all the responsibilities which pour upon us as citizens. Your responsibility is to register. There is nothing more unfortunate than someone who says he is a citizen of the United States, the greatest democracy in the world, and can't take the trouble to register. There are people in this country who've been shot because they've tried to register. We

want every citizen of this State to register and we want them to come and vote. We hope they'll vote with us, but we want them to vote.

There should be in this off year—it is called an off year because a President isn't running.

But the Congress makes the judgment in the final analysis of whether we will have these programs from social security and minimum wage, area redevelopment, housing, urban renewal, and all the programs, education, which make it possible for a great country to move forward, the House of Representatives, the United States Senate.

This State has sent two progressive Senators, Pat McNamara and Phil Hart, to the United States Senate. On medical care for the aged, on all these programs, they have voted with us.

This is a close and tight election. In January 1961 we won the crucial vote, in the Rules Committee, on whether these programs should come to the floor by 5 votes. The other day we passed our farming bill—5 votes. We lost our higher education by 28 votes. Vote after vote we have won or lost by 3, 4, 5, or 6 votes. With 85 to 90 percent of the Republicans voting against us, joined by a few Democrats who have opposed progress also for 20 years, they have enabled every vote to be tight and close. Therefore, every seat counts.

I come here to Michigan, a great industrial State whose economic health depends upon the health of the United States—the people of this city of Flint can't find jobs

unless this country is prosperous—and I ask you to join with us to make it possible to promote those programs which will keep this country going ahead, and not move from recession to recession, from 3 percent unemployed now to 25 percent 6 months from now, and then back to 5 percent. So this is an important election to you.

I come here, though I'm not a candidate, because I believe the election of Congressmen and Senators who support progressive, forward-looking legislation is vitally important. You have a great chance to re-elect in this State a distinguished Governor, John Swainson. I come to this State—as I say, in January, in Flint, Mich., there was 20 percent unemployed when he became Governor; Detroit, 15 percent. Now Detroit is below the national average, and this city is no longer a distressed area. This party in this State has stood for progress under Mennen Williams and it stands for progress today.

Those who say that a Republican can deal better with the Republican legislature—we know what their record is, and we know what the Democratic Party's record is. So I ask your help. Register and vote. Register and vote, and vote Democratic.

Thank you.

NOTE: In his opening words the President referred to John B. Swainson, Governor of Michigan; Neil Staebler, Democratic candidate for Congressman at Large from Michigan; and Don Hayworth, Democratic candidate for U.S. Representative from the Sixth District of Michigan. Later he referred to U.S. Representative James G. O'Hara and U.S. Senators Pat McNamara and Philip A. Hart of Michigan.

438 Remarks at the Airport in Muskegon, Michigan.

October 6, 1962

Governor; Neil Staebler, who is the Democratic candidate for Congressman at Large in the State of Michigan—I hope he will stand up; and Donald Jennings, who is running as the Democratic candidate in this district—his picture is over there [indicat-

ing] and he is right here, will he stand up; ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express our thanks to all of you coming on a Saturday afternoon, coming to this airport. We have been campaigning in the State of Michigan today and we do it

for a very simple reason, and that is that in the next 4 weeks, on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November, the people of the United States are going to choose the entire membership of the House of Representatives, and one-third of the United States Senate. That Congress will meet in January 1963, and it will bear, in 1963 and 1964, it will bear in its hands the power of judgment on whether this country passes legislation on taxes, on industrial development, on a whole host of measures which will determine whether this country moves ahead.

That's why we come to this community today, to ask your help in electing in this State a Democratic Congressman at Large, and electing in this district a Democratic Congressman. Let's not make any mistake about it. On issue after issue of importance to the people of this district and country and State, I believe the Democratic Party, on the whole, has stood for progress, and I believe that the record indicates that the Republican Party as a whole has stood against it.

Let's look at that record. Let's look at the figures. On a bill to provide for area redevelopment assistance—that is, a program to assist those communities of high unemployment, and in January 1961 unemployment in this district, this community, was 16, 17, and 18 percent; today it is less than 4 percent—area redevelopment, 82 percent of the Republicans from this State voted against it.

Last year we passed the most comprehensive housing bill, certainly, since the Housing Act of 1949, housing for the middle income, housing for the aged. Eighty-two percent of the Republicans from this State voted against it.

In the Senate we proposed a bill for medical care for the aged. You may say that you're not aged, but you're going to be, or your mother may be, or your father may be. You may say that you have the means to take care of them. You may own your own house and you may have three or four thousand dollars in the bank, and you may be trying to educate your children, and your

mother or your father may be in the hospital for weeks. Have you seen how fast that can disappear? We proposed a bill for medical assistance under social security. Seven-eighths of the Republican members of the United States Senate voted against it, just as their fathers in the 1930's had voted against social security itself.

That's why we're out here today, on Saturday, campaigning in this State, because I've seen too many bills either go up or down by 3 or 4 or 5 votes. So I come to this district and ask you to elect a Democratic Congressman, and I come to this State and ask the State to send us men and women who will support progressive legislation so that we can keep this community and other communities moving ahead. That's what this election is all about.

We proposed and carried through an increase in the minimum wage. Do you know how much it was? One dollar and twenty-five cents an hour. That's \$50 a week for anyone who works in a company which does an annual business of a million dollars a year or more. That does not seem very much. Ninety-one percent of the Republican Congressmen from the State of Michigan voted against it—\$1.25 an hour. Eighty-one percent of all the Republican Congressmen in the House voted against it.

Now you have to decide, living in this community, having experienced, as this community has, cold winds as well as warm winds, hard days as well as good days, whether housing and urban renewal, and minimum wage, and medical care for the aged, and aid for education—all these measures which make it possible for a great, dynamic economy to move forward, whether we're going to have them or whether we're going to lose.

In January 1961 we won a crucial vote to permit these bills to come to the floor in the Rules Committee by 5 votes. That same measure will come up in January 1963. Are we going to lose that one? Are we going to insure that the Congress of the United States, regardless of what we propose in the

field of domestic legislation, is going to lose, is going to stand still, is going to say "no," or are we going to elect Congressmen and Senators across this State and country who are committed to progress? That's the question, and that is what you must decide in November of 1962.

I am not a candidate for office, but after having been in the office of the Presidency for 20 months, I know how important it is that the President, the Executive, the House and the Senate work together for legislation which advances the common interest. You in this State of Michigan have had the experience of serving with a distinguished Governor, John Swainson. We passed a bill some months ago to provide for retraining for workers who were unemployed and couldn't find a job in their traditional occupation. The first State in the Union to pass a program to take advantage of job retraining was the State of Michigan, and what is true of retraining has been true of area redevelopment, food stamp programs, and all the others. This State, which once had an

unemployment rate two and a half times the national average when he became Governor, now has an unemployment rate still high, but less than the national average. And what is true of the State is especially true of this community.

John Swainson has been a distinguished and courageous Governor who has demonstrated in his own life the same purposeful sense of progress for which our party stands. So I come to this airport not just engaged in a political tour, but because these decisions which you make next month are going to be decisions which govern the movement of our country for 2 years.

And I ask you, as on time and time again the people of Michigan have responded, to join us and say "yes" to progress in 1962. I ask your support in this effort.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to John B. Swainson, Governor of Michigan; Neil Staebler, Democratic candidate for Congressman at Large from Michigan; and Donald Jennings, Democratic candidate for U.S. Representative from the Ninth District of Michigan.

439 Remarks at the Hippodrome Arena in St. Paul, Minnesota. *October 6, 1962*

Lieutenant Governor, Senator McCarthy, Senator Humphrey, ladies and gentlemen:

It is worth coming 1500 miles from Boston to this city for a bean supper, and I want you to know that I come here not only because of the beans, but also because I want to see this State elect a distinguished Governor, the man who just spoke, whom I'm confident you will elect as Governor of this State. And I'm glad to be here tonight with my old friend and colleague, the Majority Whip of the United States Senate, Hubert Humphrey. Every Tuesday morning we have breakfast in the leadership meeting, and he smiles, and then he just says, "We've got to have a couple of words about Minnesota." So then we hear all about it!

And with Senator McCarthy, who serves this State and the country, and I don't think

there's any State in the Union who has Senators who speak more strongly for the best interests of their State and also stand up for our country on the great issues which face us. Woodrow Wilson once said, "What is the use of the success of a political party unless that party is being used by the Nation for a great national purpose?"

All of these dinners, all of these meetings, have no significance unless the political parties of our country are committed to those actions which serve us best in the most difficult and dangerous period in the long life of our country.

I know that there are many Americans who constantly are dissatisfied with what our country is doing, but you should realize that for 17 years, since 1945, the United States of America, and in a very real sense

only the United States of America, has stood watch and ward for freedom all around the globe. One billion Communists today are contained in their outward drive by the 180 million people of the United States of America.

So I recognize that both political parties, Republicans and Democrats, are both concerned for the welfare of their country. What concerns us in this election, what brings me to this State, is because I believe in 1962 those programs for which we stand serve the best interests of our country and strengthen our country and move it forward, and I'm going to tell you why: This country's strength all around the world, from Berlin, in a great half circle to Viet-Nam, all of that effort to prevent the expansion of communism in the strong belief that the disease of liberty, as Thomas Jefferson called it, will finally catch and sweep the world, all that is contained by the power and drive of the United States of America. Unless we are strong here in this country, unless we are moving ahead, unless our people can find work, unless we're educating our children, unless we're providing the kind of society where every person has an opportunity, regardless of his race or his creed or his color, to develop their resources, this country fails.

Now, the people of this State know very well what the issues are between the two parties. Here in 1962 the people of this country are going to elect an entirely new House of Representatives. They're going to elect one-third of the Senate, they're going to elect Governors, they're going to, in short, make a judgment of whether they want to sit still or whether they want to move this country forward, as it must move, if it's going to maintain its strength and power and prestige. That's the issue of November 1962, and I come to this State of Minnesota, which has seen these battles fought over the years, and ask your help in electing Congressmen who believe in progress, electing a Governor who believes in progress, and committing this State and country not to sit still, not to drift, not to rest on its oars, but to pick

itself up and finish the job which so desperately needs to be done.

One of the favorite bromides in the world is that there is no difference between our two political parties. I'm going to show you what the difference is this year. Last year we had a bill to increase the minimum wage for workers in interstate commerce in companies which do an annual business of a million dollars a year or more. It was to increase the minimum wage to \$50 a week, \$1.25 an hour. Do you know that on this not very drastic piece of legislation 100 percent of the Republican Congressmen from Minnesota voted against it? Do you know on a bill a month ago that was killed, to provide assistance for higher education, by 1970 twice as many boys and girls are going to be applying for admission to our colleges as in 1960—they are our most valuable resource—on a bill to assist higher education in this country, 67 percent of the Republican delegation from the State of Minnesota voted “no.” On a bill to provide for assistance to depressed areas, those with long-term, chronic unemployment, and this State in its iron range knows the meaning of those words, in our effort to assist those areas, in a bill which Congressman John Blatnik worked on, 81 percent of the Republican Congressmen in the House of Representatives voted “no.”

That's the issue in this campaign. On a bill to provide medical care for our older citizens, and this was a traditional vote, seven-eighths of the Republican Members of the Senate voted “no,” just as their fathers before them had voted 90 percent against the social security in the 1930's. That's why this issue is important and that's why this election is important. We have won and lost vote after vote by 1 or 2 or 3 votes in the Senate, and 3, 4, or 5 votes in the House of Representatives, and I don't think we can find jobs for our people, I don't think we can educate our younger people, I don't think we can provide security for our older citizens, when we have a party which votes “no.” And that's why this election is important.

And the farmer: Orville Freeman can tell you more about the problems that he's had in trying to put forward a program. I take satisfaction in the fact that in 1961 the average income of the farmers of this State of Minnesota was 23 percent higher than it was in the preceding year of Ezra Taft Benson, 1960, and it will be higher this year. Now we have tried, in 2 years, to put forward a program of assistance to the farmers of this State and country.

I don't know whether you've read and heard of a letter from Martin Sorkin, who was one of Ezra Taft Benson's assistants. He wrote this letter recently: "The Republican National Committee Chairman, Congressman Miller, and Senator Goldwater, and the Chairman of the House Committee on the campaign, Congressman Wilson, and I held a secret meeting. The objective of this meeting was to develop the basis for a continuing attack on the Administration's efforts on the farm front.

"It was agreed that it was not the responsibility of the Republicans to propose solutions, but to criticize the Administration whenever feasible."

That is a letter written by a former assistant of Ezra Taft Benson after attending a meeting of the Republican Party late last year.

"I am much impressed with the seriousness of Senator Goldwater and Congressman Miller. They feel with a gigantic effort that the Republicans can gain control of the House of Representatives, and I will do everything possible to help." And then he concludes, "I am leaving this afternoon for a meeting with Governor Rockefeller on agricultural problems."

The result, of course, was that when we brought up our feed grain proposal last year every Republican but four voted against it. And then again this year when we came forward with our proposal, do you know what the program was of the Republican Party? Our feed grain program of last year. That's the program they put forward.

Now, I don't believe that any country can

function, and I don't believe that any political party is meeting its responsibilities when it says that what it must do in the most difficult period in our country's history, dealing with a problem which affects the welfare of millions of people who are the most underpaid group in the United States, and which says, as the opposition party, "It is not our responsibility to propose solutions, but to oppose them."

So I come here to this State, and I ask your support in electing Members of the House of Representatives who are committed to solutions. This country has many pieces of unfinished business. Many of the things that we hoped to do are still not done, but we're trying to do them. And we need Members of the House and Senate who are committed as your two Senators are, not merely to voting "aye" and "nay," but participating in the legislative process, which makes it possible for this country to go ahead.

So we come here today, a distinguished list of people, who I think will make great Congressmen, Donald Fraser, who can be the Congressman from this District; and Joe Karth, your present Congressman who has taken a leadership in the field of space.

Do you know that the United States this year in space will make a greater effort, a greater national commitment, than all the 8 years of 1953 to 1960? We came into office second in space. I hope before the end of this decade the United States will be second to none. And it will be due to the efforts of men like Congressman Karth and others who are committed to this kind of effort.

And John Blatnik, who has been the author of three of the most important pieces of legislation for his district and country, the public works bill, the area redevelopment bill, and other programs which will make it possible for people to find a job.

One month ago we tried to pass legislation for the hundred thousand workers who exhaust their unemployment compensation. We were defeated in the House Ways and Means Committee. Every Republican but

one voted against us. Yesterday in the Senate, the Senator from this State, Senator McCarthy, offered that amendment in the Senate and it passed by a vote of 4 to 1. And before this Congress goes home I hope they will write it into law. That's the sort of thing that can be done by progressive Congressmen. David Graven, Conrad Hammar, and Irving Keldsen, and Alec Olson and Harding Noblitt and the others, these are the men who I think can stand for this State and, most important, stand for this country.

This country is as strong abroad only as it's strong at home. It is the great productive power of the United States of America, combined with the will and determination of the people of this country, that makes it possible for us to fulfill our role in space, around the world. Tonight the United States of America has more troops on guard in West Germany than any other country. It has nearly as many on guard and ready as all the countries of Europe combined. The United States of America has 7,000 Americans scattered over Viet-Nam participating in a guerilla struggle. All of these men who meet their responsibility do so because we meet ours here at home.

In 1958 the United States moved through a recession, and again in 1960. We have had an economic growth rate about half of the other major industrialized countries of the world. This country must recognize that we have to make our system work in such a way that people will determine that we have a solution to the problems which disturb the world, and if we stand still, and if we say "no," and if we oppose, and if we retreat, and if we say "out" to every proposal that's put forward, then this country will sit still.

And that's why I come here tonight, though I'm not a candidate for office, asking your help on issue after issue, which will make it possible to educate your children, to find jobs for our citizens, to provide security for our older people, and to make this country the greatest country in the world, which it is, and which it must be if this world and country are going to remain free.

A number of years ago a great French soldier was talking to a gardener, and he said, "I'd like to get this tree planted," and the gardener said, "Don't plant it; it takes a hundred years to flower." He said, "In that case, plant it this afternoon!" Well, it's not going to take us a hundred years to flower in this country, but what we have to do we should do tonight, and all the nights until we make a determination in this State and country next November 6th that this country is going to say "yes," and Minnesota is going to be in the lead.

Thank you.

[Supplementary remarks to an overflow crowd in an adjoining room]

THIS must be the group that did not send Hubert Humphrey a Christmas present! Next year we'll put you all in the other room.

I do want to express my admiration for what I heard was the largest meeting of its kind in the history of this State. And I want you to know how much we all appreciate the effort you've made, the commitment you've made, to the Democratic Party.

We are, as you know, the oldest political party on earth, and I must say that I take the greatest pride and satisfaction in our inheritance from Jefferson, and Cleveland, and Andrew Jackson, and Wilson, and Roosevelt and Truman. I always think that the Democratic slogans of the 20th century—Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom," Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal," Harry Truman's "Fair Deal," and our "New Frontier"—seem to me to contrast very favorably to those slogans of Harding, and Hoover, and Dewey, and Nixon, and all those other candidates that they produced which I believe represent, as in 1962, a retreat, a method of sitting still.

So we ask your help in electing a great Governor in this State and Congressmen who can speak, as I said, for Minnesota, but even more importantly on those issues which so affect the welfare of our country—to speak for our country. We are the inheritors and

the beneficiaries of all that Franklin Roosevelt, and Truman and Woodrow Wilson did before us. Now it's our responsibility in 1962 to do those things and take those measures which will make it possible for those who come after us in 1970 and '80 to live at peace and live in freedom, and also enjoy a fruitful life. That is our objective, and we want your help in doing it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to Lieutenant Governor Karl F. Rolvaag, Democratic candidate for Governor of Minnesota, and U.S. Senators Eugene J. McCarthy and Hubert H. Humphrey, all of Minnesota. Later he referred to U.S. Representative John A. Blatnik of Minnesota; Donald Fraser, Democratic candidate for U.S. Representative for the Fifth District of Minnesota; U.S. Representative Joseph E. Karth of Minnesota; and David L. Graven, Conrad Hammar, Irving R. Keldsen, Alec G. Olson, and Harding C. Noblitt, Democratic candidates for U.S. Representative for the First, Second, Third, Sixth, and Seventh Districts, respectively, of Minnesota.

440 Remarks by Telephone to a Democratic Rally at St. Cloud, Minnesota. *October 7, 1962*

Fellow Democrats:

I want to express a very warm welcome to you all and to tell you how much I regret that it's not possible for us to be with you this morning, with Senator Humphrey, with all the other Democrats who have given leadership to this State and country. I'm particularly sorry because your district has been represented with great distinction by Congressman Fred Marshall. He was a colleague of mine a decade ago in the House of Representatives, and I have personal knowledge of how vigorously and long he has dedicated himself to the welfare of your district and your State, and our country.

I came to Minnesota this weekend because I believe the election of 1962, the election of Members of the House of Representatives, the election of a Democratic Governor, is vitally important to the programs which I believe this country needs if it's going to maintain its strength at home, which is the basis of its strength abroad. This country can only be a leader in the world, which it must be, if the forces of freedom are to be sustained over the next decade. This country can only be a leader abroad if it is strong at home. Chairman Khrushchev once said that the hinge of history would begin to move, worldwide, in the direction of the Communists when the Soviet Union was able to surpass the United States as a major

industrial power. He has predicted again and again that this passage will take place in this century, so that we concern ourselves with the forward movement of our country here in the United States, not only because this represents the means by which we can provide a better life for our people, greater security, and greater opportunity, but also because this great industrial strength and productivity at home also represents a standard of measurement for the people of the world as to which system offers the better hope. We believe our system does, and it's up to us to make our system work, to provide an opportunity for our young people, to make sure that those with talent have an opportunity to go to college, to make sure that those who seek work can find it, to make sure that those who work on our farms have an adequate income, to make sure that those of us who are older, our older citizens, can retire with dignity.

A matter of particular concern to this country must be the welfare of those who work on our farms. This is the most extraordinary miracle, this tremendous increase of our productivity since the end of World War II. It has been the most disastrous failure of the Communist system. Their effort to equal our productivity by a system of forced labor on their farms stands in very shining contrast to the tremendous

increases in productivity which we have seen in the last years. The difficulty, of course, is that we have increased our productivity nearly twice as fast as we've increased our population and, therefore, our farm income has declined, our surpluses have gone up, and this has represented one of the great challenges to the previous administration, a challenge which I think was unsuccessfully met by Ezra Taft Benson, and a challenge which I think we are successfully meeting, even though we still face serious problems under the leadership of your former Governor, Orville Freeman.

I think that you know very clearly that on January 20th of last year that there was no domestic challenge that we faced that was more serious than the challenge of American agriculture. Farm income was depressed, surpluses were piling up, too little food was going abroad, too many people, nearly six or seven million people, who were chronically unemployed lacked a proper diet. The amount of money that the taxpayers had to put into the program was increasing, and the Members of the Congress could not agree on any course to follow.

In 1960 I promised if elected to give the farm problem top priority in the opening weeks of my administration. And on January 21st, the first day in office, the first Executive order that I signed was to increase the quantity and the quality of foods distributed to needy families.

In 1961 the first major piece of legislation I signed was the emergency feed grain program which reduced surpluses by nearly 400 million bushels, while boosting farm income. The second pledge that I made in 1960 was to raise farm income immediately. Net farm income last year in the United States rose by more than \$1 billion, to an 8-year high, and this gain will be maintained in 1962 and in the future. This was an increase of 10 percent for the Nation, and a 15 percent average here in Minnesota.

Third, I promised to bring supply into balance with total demand. Now for the

first time the end of surpluses in wheat and feed grains is clearly in sight. By 1965, our supply of both of these crops should be about equal to the amount we need to keep on hand for stabilization and security. And the annual billion dollar cost of carrying farm surpluses will have been cut in half.

And, fourth, I promised in the 1960 campaign to make the fullest use of our agricultural abundance. In the last 20 months we have expanded school lunch programs to feed nearly one and a half million more children than ever in the past. We have expanded special milk programs to serve 4,000 more schools and institutions. We have launched a food stamp program and improved the quantity and the quality of food distributed to the needy. And through a full scale, full-time food for peace program we have shipped more food to hungry people abroad in the last 20 months than was shipped in the 10 years of the World War I relief operations.

We have promised to expand loans to farm families and they have been more than doubled. We promised to expand Federal crop insurance, and we have added three new crops and a hundred new countries. We promised tax laws our farm cooperatives could accept, and we've kept that promise. We have promised to expand the REA and it has been expanded. We promised to step up small watershed projects, and they have been stepped up 75 percent. We promised to increase funds for forest research, and they have been nearly doubled. And so I repeat, the Democratic Party has been true to the farmer and true to its word.

There is, however, much more to be done, and this is particularly true to help the hard-hit dairy farmers. The fact of the matter is that they have experienced a more difficult time than the farmers in any other commodity. When I came into office we increased the support price for dairy products, and the income of our dairy farmers expanded. Surpluses have been piling up in recent months, and I asked the Congress of the United States to extend the period of higher support prices so that we could write a new

and more effective dairy program.

Every Republican member of the House agricultural committee opposed this effort to assist our dairy farmers, and they were joined by a few Democratic Congressmen from nondairy areas who, together, prevented us from meeting our responsibilities to this most important agricultural group upon whom we all depend.

That's why this election is important. We want to go forward. There is no problem more complicated and more important than that of solving the tremendous problem of distributing our food production in an equitable way, with reasonable prices, and insuring our farmers of a better life.

We have shown in the last 18 to 19 months that this can be done. We've helped many areas of our country. But we still have major responsibilities and problems to meet, particularly in the area of dairying.

And that's why I think it vitally important that this district send a worthy successor to Fred Marshall, who can speak for the farmers and the city and the town people of this District and this country.

I know Alec Olson, and I know that he will serve this district with distinction. I hope you will support him. And send to the House of Representatives a man who will

labor not only for his district and State, but also for the country. Alec Olson in the 6th District, Harding Noblitt in the 7th District, can join John Blatnik and all the others who have given leadership to this State and the United States in very difficult and important days.

So I want to express my very warm greeting to all of you. I am here with Senator McCarthy. We are going back to Washington. We send very warm greetings to the Majority Whip, Hubert Humphrey; to your candidate for Governor who can make a great Governor and work in harmony with us for the best interests of Minnesota and the best interests of our country, for upon the strength of our country depends the strength of freedom.

Thank you and goodbye.

NOTE: The President spoke by telephone from the Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport. His trip to St. Cloud was canceled because of inclement weather.

In his remarks the President referred to U.S. Senator Hubert Humphrey and U.S. Representative Fred Marshall of Minnesota; Alec G. Olson and Harding Noblitt, Democratic candidates for U.S. Representative for the Sixth and Seventh Districts, respectively, of Minnesota; and to U.S. Representative John A. Blatnik and U.S. Senator Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota. He also referred to the Democratic candidate for Governor of Minnesota, Lieutenant Governor Karl F. Rolvaag.

441 Message to Prime Minister Obote on the Occasion of the Independence of Uganda. *October 8, 1962*

[Released October 8, 1962. Dated October 5, 1962]

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I congratulate you and your people upon Uganda's independence. The government and the people of the United States wish Uganda a prosperous future as a sovereign nation.

The principle of self-determination in Africa has in Uganda proved once more its truth and strength. This principle inspired our own people in their struggle for independence, and we therefore feel a special kinship and pride in welcoming Uganda to

the community of free nations.

A common devotion to the United Nations Charter will strongly bind our nations in the imperative task of building a just and peaceful world. Uganda's independence strengthens the forces working toward this goal.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[The Honorable A. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda, Kampala]

442 Remarks Upon Signing the Drug Reform Bill.
October 10, 1962

I AM PLEASED to approve this bill, which is designed to provide safer and more effective drugs to the American consumer. Enactment of this legislation will help give the American consumer the protection from unsafe and ineffective drugs. It will also insure that our pharmaceutical industry will be even better equipped to provide us with the best possible drugs to be found anywhere.

The Congress is to be congratulated in moving so quickly. Fortunately, prior to the revelation of the dangers posed by drugs like thalidomide, the foundation for legislative action on drugs had been laid down in exhaustive hearings conducted by Senator Kefauver and others who introduced the present bill in its first version and in a legislative proposal on drugs and factory inspection introduced in the House by Congressman Harris.

I believe that enactment of this legislation is a major step forward toward giving neces-

sary protection to the American consumer.

We are glad to have some of the members here who played a part in the enactment of this legislation from both the House and the Senate. As I say, we want to pay particular appreciation to Senator Kefauver for the long hearings which he held which permitted us to have very effective legislation on hand when this matter became of such strong public interest.

I understand that Congressman Harris, chairman of the House committee, is ill and cannot be with us today. I hope he is being treated with medication.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:45 a.m. in his office at the White House. During his remarks he referred to Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, member of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and Representative Oren Harris of Arkansas, Chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

The bill (S. 1552) as enacted is Public Law 87-781 (76 Stat. 780).

443 Remarks to a Group of United States Attorneys.
October 10, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

I want to welcome all of you to the White House and to tell you how much we appreciate all that you've done in the last 20 months.

I don't think that the people of this country are aware of what an extraordinary record in the war against crime here in the United States has been waged by the Federal attorneys, assistant Federal attorneys, with the aid of the local police, State police, and others, and, of course, the invaluable and constant assistance of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I have some statistics which I think indicate something of the nature of your work. You have carried on a very intensive campaign against all kinds of crime. The fact of the matter is that the betting on sporting

events has dropped to about 10 percent of what it was 2 years ago, and the head of the Royal Mounted Police in Canada stated that a good many bigtime gamblers and racketeers here in the United States have been moving across the border of Canada because of the pressure that we have been applying.

In the period from January 1962 to the end of June, there were 38 convictions of 167 defendants involving in most cases major crimes. During the period of July 1 to December 1, 1960, a comparable 6 months' period, there were 3 convictions involving 10 defendants.

Now the result of this has been, as I say, a major pressure on major criminals and racketeers in the United States. As a result of the seven pieces of legislation which were

passed, which is more legislation in the field of anticrime than has been passed since 1934, we have pretty well closed down in the United States the major wire services and have made the gambling infrastructure which has sustained the operation in the United States far less strong and far less attractive.

The fact of the matter is that you have spent a good deal more time before grand juries, you've brought a good deal more indictments which have resulted in convictions, you have moved with vigor in enforcement without regard to friendship or political affiliation, you have met your responsibilities in the carrying out of statutes which have not been altogether popular in every case in some parts of the country. And so we're very proud of the work you've done.

I think this has been one of the most effective areas of operation—the struggle against crime—that this administration has attempted to carry out. It's one of the least known. I'm hopeful that by various means, the major actions against racketeers and

criminals in the United States which have come about partly through the action of the Congress legislatively, partly through your action in its effective enforcement of the legislation on the books, and with the co-operation of the various police agencies of our country, we are really making effective progress on this struggle.

There was a good article which I read about 3 months ago, or a month ago, in *Sports Illustrated* on the pressure which had been put on gambling. One of the gamblers in Las Vegas said he hoped we were going to be as firm in Berlin as we were in Las Vegas. Well, we intend to be.

So we're glad to have you here. I want to express our great thanks. I hope you've had a chance to visit this house which belongs to everyone and in which we are temporary guests. We're glad to see you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The group of nearly 100 United States attorneys was in Washington for a 2-day conference on the problems of dealing with organized crime.

444 Remarks of Welcome to President Sékou Touré of Guinea at the Washington National Airport. *October 10, 1962*

MR. PRESIDENT, I am glad to have the opportunity to welcome you here to the United States. As President, I recall our meeting some years ago in California, and I am delighted to have this chance to meet with you on this occasion, as I regard the happy relations between the United States and your country as of vital importance to America and I hope of significance to the people of Guinea.

We are very well aware of the great role you played in the fight for independence for your country, and also in many ways the

more difficult and more significant role that you've played in maintaining its independence and building a better life for its people, and also the extraordinary effort you've made to provide for closer ties between all the people of Africa, particularly those bordering on the western side of Africa.

This is a very difficult time for us all, both in Africa and in the Western Hemisphere, and many grave and serious problems press upon us. It is the responsibility of both of our countries, the responsibility of those who occupy positions of leadership, to attempt to

guide our countries through this period, to maintain the peace, to maintain their vital interests, to maintain their security and provide in this environment a more prosperous and fruitful life for our individual citizens.

So, Mr. President, we recognize your commitment to this cause and to the life of your people, so that we're very proud to have you here, and I hope that you realize when you come to the United States on this occasion, you come to visit friends.

NOTE: In his response President Touré recalled his first meeting with the President in Los Angeles. "I believe," he said, "that the conversations we had on that occasion may have even further contributed to your excellent understanding of the question of Africa, of the efforts of the people of that continent fighting for their independence. This is something to which you have tremendously contributed, Mr. President, and we know that."

President Touré then referred to the gaining of independence by African nations as the end of the first phase in their development. The second phase—that of economic development—would require even more understanding and friendship on the part of the peoples and their governments. "As far as we are concerned, Mr. President," he stated, "I can only assure you of our will to go ahead. Will alone is not enough. Will is necessary, but so are means, means for action. We in our underdeveloped countries have many needs and few possibilities. That is why we are counting so much on the cooperation of the United States of America. That is why we are also so happy, so grateful for the cooperation which the people of Guinea have received from the United States hitherto, and which also other nations of Africa have received from the United States."

President Touré concluded by reiterating the will of the people and government of Guinea to cooperate with the President in maintaining peace, and by thanking him "for the help which you have so wonderfully given us in the past."

445 Telegram to the Governor of Mississippi Tendering Federal Assistance in Removing a Sunken Chlorine Barge. *October 10, 1962*

AS YOU requested, I have declared a "major disaster" under authority of Public Law 875¹ because of the potential hazard to health and safety in those areas of the State of Mississippi threatened by the liquid chlorine on the sunken barge approximately 7½ miles south of Natchez.

I have authorized the use of such Federal funds as are necessary to underwrite the expenses required for your use of appropriate elements of the Mississippi National Guard including its personnel and equipment as may be necessary to support the plan for protection of the civil population.

Despite the extreme care being exercised by all concerned in the removal of the barge and its cargo, I am informed by the Corps

of Engineers and Public Health Service that a very substantial hazard exists if a release of the gas should occur. For this reason I urge that the plan for the safety of the affected population be most carefully developed and reviewed to provide maximum protection. I am asking Mr. McDermott to work with you, your authorities and the Mayor of Natchez to this end.

Representatives of the Office of Emergency Planning will assist you in the execution of the necessary documents to effect the assistance authorized.

I sincerely hope that the entire operation proceeds safely and rapidly.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Honorable Ross R. Barnett, Governor of Mississippi, Jackson, Miss.]

¹ 64 Stat. 1109.

446 Remarks in Baltimore at the Fifth Regiment Armory.

October 10, 1962

Governor Tawes, Mayor Grady, Renegotiation Board Member D'Alesandro, ladies and gentlemen:

Never have so many Democratic candidates said so much in so little time, and I will join them. I'm delighted to come back here to Baltimore. As your distinguished Governor said, this State helped nominate me for the office of the Presidency. You gave me your support in November 1960, and I'm proud to come back to this city and State and ask your support in electing Democrats to State office and to the United States Senate and the House of Representatives—your distinguished Governor, Governor Tawes, who I'm sure will be reelected for another 4-year term, Comptroller Louis Goldstein and Attorney General Finan, and the other members of the State ticket.

The Constitution of the United States gives very great responsibilities to the President of the United States, especially in the field of foreign policy. But the Constitution of the United States very wisely also gives great responsibilities to the Congress of the United States, to the Members of the House and the Members of the Senate. And I believe it vitally important in the years 1963 and 1964 that this State and all the States of the Union be represented in the House and Senate by those Members who believe in progress, who believe in moving this country ahead.

This State is now represented in the United States Senate by two Republicans. I believe it vitally important for the interests of this State, so that this State will have someone to speak for it and for the country, to elect as your next United States Senator from the State of Maryland Congressman Danny Brewster, and I'm confident you're going to do it.

As Governor Tawes has said, the State of Maryland, because of your addition in population, now has an extra Congressman and,

therefore, an extra voice, and I'm hopeful this State will send as Congressman at Large, Carlton Sickles, to speak in the House of Representatives, and will reelect to the House of Representatives my former colleagues who're all with us tonight on this platform—Ed Garmatz and George Fallon, and Sam Friedel, and Dick Lankford, and former Congressman John Foley, and Congressman Tom Johnson. And they will be joined by a distinguished Member of the House, I'm confident, who'll speak for this State and country, Dr. Long. This is a great ticket.

Now this isn't just merely coming up here and participating in parades and bands. What we're talking about are those Members of the House and Senate who support those programs of minimum wage, and medical care for the aged, and urban renewal, and cleaning our rivers, and giving security to our older people, and educating our children, and giving jobs to our workers. That's the issue of this campaign, as it was in the campaign of 1960.

All the political cheers, all the political speeches, don't mean anything unless in the final analysis a party functions. What use is the success of any political party, Woodrow Wilson said, unless it serves a great national purpose. The strength of this Nation around the world helps maintain the freedom of dozens of countries. But the strength of this Nation around the world depends upon the strength of the United States here at home. And the people of this country, in this election in November, have a very clear choice between those members of the House and Senate who believe in sitting still, and those members who support those programs which make it possible for us to maintain the economic strength and vitality of our country. That's why I come to Baltimore tonight, to ask your help in that job.

The 87th Congress is coming to an end, but that 87th Congress, in spite of the close votes we had time after time, in spite of the votes we lost to permit a member of the Cabinet to come from our city areas, to permit medical care for our aged, to permit aid for higher education, in spite of those votes that we lost by 3, 4, and 5, we passed bill after bill: the Trade Expansion Act, which can mean more to this City and State which depends on exports than any bill passed in recent years, the bills which we passed to strengthen the military force of this country, to increase the number of combat divisions by five, to make a great national effort in the field of space—we're going to spend more this year than all the 8 years from 1953 to 1960 in the field of space. And by 1970 this country will be first.

Without this Congress, without the 87th Congress, thousands of Peace Corps volunteers who speak for the best of our country around the world would be at home. Without this Congress the largest Food for Peace program in the history of the world would not have been enacted in the last 20 months. Without this Congress we would not have had the most effective legislation against organized interstate gambling that's been passed since 1934. Without this Congress we would not have legislation to protect the housewives of this country from the sale of drugs, the kind of legislation which was passed in the 1920's for the protection of hogs and cattle, but remained for this year to be passed for the protection of the people of the United States by this Congress.

For the first time since 1938 the protection of the minimum wage law was extended to millions of workers who are not now covered. And even then, because we didn't have enough members, we couldn't cover laundry women who're paid an average of 70 or 75 cents an hour in some of the largest cities in the United States.

These are the issues in this campaign. One dollar and twenty-five cents minimum wage, and 85 percent of the Republicans voted against it. That's why I'm in Balti-

more tonight, to ask your support. For 6 years the Congress and the administration talked about doing something in areas of chronic unemployment, and you have them in western Maryland. For 6 years they talked about it. This Congress last year passed the area redevelopment bill, which makes it possible for loans to be made and new businesses to come into those areas where before 10, 15, and 20 percent of the people were out of work for 2, 3, and 4 years.

That's what this issue's about. We've helped, for the first time in the history of this country, to retrain unemployed workers, men who may be 40 or 50, and who know only one skill, and that skill isn't needed. For the first time in the history of the United States now we have a program to retrain them. As Democrats, we're proud of our tradition, and the inheritance of Wilson and Roosevelt and Truman. But we have our own responsibilities in the 1960's, and we want to meet them.

Do you know it took the 87th Congress to pass a bill to provide assistance to children of unemployed workers? Up until this year only children whose fathers had deserted their wives could receive assistance, and now, when they're chronically unemployed and on relief, now we give them some help. That's what all this is about tonight.

This is not merely just a great political cheering. We're talking about what kind of a Congress we're going to have in the next 2 years, and because those issues which mean so much to the people of this city and State, which mean so much to a strong and vital America, and a strong and vital America is essential to the freedom of the world, we want a strong country, and I believe that in this case, in this year, in these times, it calls for the election of men and women who believe in progress, and I believe in 1962 that is the function, that is the responsibility, and that is the promise of the Democratic Party. So I come here tonight, as I came in 1960, and ask your help in electing these men here in this State, under the leadership of your distinguished Governor. In the United

States Senate, someone will finally speak for Maryland, and in the House of Representatives they will speak as they've spoken in the past. We ask you to join us on November 6th in putting Maryland in the Democratic column.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to J. Millard Tawes, Governor of Maryland; J. Harold Grady, Mayor of Baltimore; and Thomas D'Alesandro, member of the Renegotiation Board. Later he

referred to State Comptroller Louis Goldstein; State Attorney General Thomas Finan; U.S. Representative Daniel Brewster, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator; Carlton R. Sickles, Democratic candidate for U.S. Representative at Large; U.S. Representatives Edward A. Garmatz, George H. Fallon, Samuel N. Friedel, and Richard E. Lankford; former U.S. Representative John R. Foley, Democratic candidate for U.S. Representative for Maryland's Sixth District; U.S. Representative Thomas F. Johnson; and Clarence D. Long, Democratic candidate for Maryland's Second District—all of Maryland.

447 Remarks Upon Signing the Postal Service and Federal Employees Salary Act of 1962. *October 11, 1962*

I AM delighted to approve H.R. 7927, which is a bill adjusting postal rates, reforming Federal white-collar statutory salary systems, and establishing a standard for adjusting annuities under the Civil Service Retirement Act.

The new postal rates will yield on an annual basis about \$600 million of new postal revenues. This is consistent with the fiscal principles I have advocated and is an important step toward a self-sustaining postal system and toward a substantial reduction in the postal deficit.

The new pay legislation is the most comprehensive and significant salary revision in nearly 40 years. It establishes for the first time a basic salary policy, a method for annual review and updating of salaries, coordination among major statutory salary systems, and broad reforms and increased flexibilities under the Classification Act.

It is not merely a salary-increase statute. It furnishes a foundation for adjusting and continuously maintaining Federal salaries comparable to levels of equal difficulty and responsibility in private enterprise. Ultimately it will permit us to prevent large scale attrition of Government employees due to more attractive private industry salaries. At the same time, it should not have an unsettling effect on private enterprise salary rates. By helping to reduce turnover, by

attracting more capable people into the Federal service, and by improving employee morale, this legislation will make an important contribution to increased productivity.

The provision of higher salaries for Federal employees and the plan to maintain these salaries at a level comparable to the salaries paid in the private economy places an added obligation upon Federal managers to make certain that the Government's business is carried on with the minimum number of personnel. To this end I am separately issuing to all Departments and agencies of the executive branch a memorandum which will set forth a program to achieve better manpower controls and utilization.

This legislation also establishes objective standards for adjusting annuities payable in the future under the Civil Service Retirement Act. This is a long overdue reform.

As Congress recognized in enacting this legislation, a number of items now require further attention and I am instructing the executive agencies to pursue these matters promptly. Of first priorities for the executive branch are completion of the partial adjustment in the top career salaries made by the Congress and the pay revision of the highest executive salaries, so that sound relationships among all pay levels are achieved. In this connection, I believe that corresponding reforms in salary structure are

desirable in the congressional and judicial branches of Government and should be accomplished early in the next Congress.

I want to express my appreciation to all the Members of the House and Senate who were involved. Some of those who were most active are here today. We are also glad to have represented today the leaders of many of the organizations which help serve the interests of the employees of the Federal Government. I think that because the power to strike is denied, quite properly, to Federal employees, I think it is most important that we recognize our responsibility, the Con-

gress and the Executive, to them.

As I said, as these salaries become more in keeping with the salaries in private industry, it is also important that we maintain a comparable rate of productivity increase possible to the extent that Government work permits. I hope that the statement we issue later in the day will stimulate action by responsible officials in the National Government.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:15 a.m. in his office at the White House. As enacted, H.R. 7927 is Public Law 87-793 (76 Stat. 832).

448 Memorandum on Manpower Controls and Utilization in the Executive Branch. *October 11, 1962*

Memorandum to the Heads of Departments and Agencies:

On several occasions I have emphasized the importance of actions to limit the number of Federal employees to the absolute minimum necessary to get the public business done. We can accomplish this objective only if strong efforts are made by every department and agency head to achieve increases in productivity and efficiency, to use better techniques of management, and to add staff only on the basis of demonstrated need to carry out essential activities.

Congress has now enacted legislation, along the lines of the proposal made to the Congress last January, to provide pay scales more nearly to the level of those prevailing in the private economy. I am confident that this will reduce turnover, attract more capable people into the Federal Service, and improve employee morale. It will thus make a direct and substantial contribution to increased productivity. An added obligation is therefore placed on the executive branch to make certain that essential programs are carried out with the minimum of personnel.

It is most important to recognize that responsibility for manpower control and utilization in the Federal Government rests

squarely on the top management of each agency. Without your continuing attention and support, it will not be possible to hold new requests for personnel to bedrock levels, to abolish marginal jobs, and to increase employee productivity. Where rules, regulations, or laws restrict you in carrying out this objective, I will expect you to make these facts known promptly and to suggest solutions.

Employment needs are decreased as productivity rises and as ongoing programs can be reduced or terminated. At the same time it is recognized that new programs or expansion of existing programs will result in increased employment, to the extent that increased manpower needs cannot be offset by greater productivity. It is essential that employment plans be scrutinized at every level to make sure that every opportunity for decreases is seized and increases, where necessary, are held to an absolute minimum. This is vital not only because civilian salaries account for a substantial part of the Federal budget, but equally important—especially in such fields as engineering, science, and medicine—because the Federal Government is competing for a scarce supply of manpower. The best utilization of manpower is there-

fore important not only to keep budget costs down but to maximize our national security and our economic growth.

I have recently completed a review of our present system for determining manpower requirements and for holding the number of Federal employees to a minimum. To strengthen the Government's manpower control program, I have directed that the following actions be taken:

1. Detailed employment plans as well as expenditure plans will be submitted by each Department and Agency in connection with the annual budget review.

2. Such plans will be expected to reflect increases in employee productivity—that is, it is to be expected that the same amount of work will be performed by increasingly fewer people, and the number of employees will not increase proportionately with increases in programs.

3. The Bureau of the Budget will give increased scrutiny to these employment plans and keep me informed. In addition, the Bureau will strengthen and update present instructions to the departments and agencies concerning the establishment of adequate machinery and methods to increase efficiency and hold down employment.

4. Each Department and Agency will be required to submit to the Bureau of the Budget for review at an early date its over-all program for manpower control and manpower utilization. I expect each department and agency head to give personal attention to this matter.

5. All agencies are requested to undertake increased efforts to search out and apply the most modern and effective means used in either Government or private industry to increase efficiency and output. There are many cases where such productivity has increased rapidly in recent years—the Internal Revenue Service, the Customs Bureau, the Census Bureau, the Passport Office, and many other parts of Government can be cited as good illustrations. I should like these efforts broadened and expanded. Central research to assist in this effort will be

conducted by the Bureau of the Budget and the Civil Service Commission. As an illustration, the Bureau has undertaken, in cooperation with several agencies, a research and demonstration project in five different units of Government to develop methods for measuring over-all agency productivity and for using such measures for improved manpower control.

6. The Bureau of the Budget, the Civil Service Commission, and the departments and agencies will undertake a systematic program of manpower inspections and reviews. The priority and scheduling of these inspections will be worked out under the leadership of the Bureau of the Budget, and will be carried out by staff of the Bureau, the Commission, and the agency concerned. The special inquiries into manpower utilization practices currently made by the Civil Service Commission will become a part of this new program. The inspections will be made on a selective basis which will give priority attention to areas where the most significant problems and potential savings exist. While every agency cannot be reviewed each year, it may be desirable to review certain agencies annually or more frequently. The inspections will be designed to test the effectiveness of agency systems for manpower analysis and control, and to assist the departments and agencies in discovering opportunities for better use of manpower resources that are available. The results of these reviews will be reported to the head of each agency promptly, for immediate attention and such action as is necessary. I have asked to be kept informed of the findings and recommendations that are made, and the action taken.

7. The Congress, in enacting the Postal Service and Federal Employee Salary Act of 1962, included a provision that "the departments, agencies, establishments, and corporations in the executive branch shall absorb the costs of the increases in basic compensation provided by this Act to the fullest extent possible without seriously affecting the immediate execution of essential functions."

It further provides that the "heads of the executive branch activities concerned are directed to review with meticulous care each vacancy resulting from voluntary resignations, retirement, or death, and to determine whether the duties of the position can be re-assigned to other employees or whether the position can be abolished without seriously affecting the execution of essential functions." I am in full agreement with this statement of policy and will look to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to advise me with respect to the observance of this policy in connection with any supplemental appropriations required to carry out that Act.

I regard the program outlined in this memorandum as of the highest importance to good management in the executive branch. If we carry it out firmly, I am confident that productivity in the Federal Government can continue to keep pace with the growth of productivity in the private sector of the economy. Such an accomplishment would translate into tens of thousands of Federal jobs that either could be eliminated or would not have to be added to the present numbers.

I am sure that these measures and objectives will have your strong personal support.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

449 Remarks Upon Signing the Trade Expansion Act. *October 11, 1962*

TODAY I am signing H.R. 11970, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

This is the most important international piece of legislation, I think, affecting economics since the passage of the Marshall plan. It marks a decisive point for the future of our economy, for our relations with our friends and allies, and for the prospects of free institutions and free societies everywhere.

This act recognizes, fully and completely, that we cannot protect our economy by stagnating behind tariff walls, but that the best protection possible is a mutual lowering of tariff barriers among friendly nations so that all may benefit from a free flow of goods. Increased economic activity resulting from increased trade will provide more job opportunities for our workers. Our industry, our agriculture, our mining will benefit from increased export opportunities as other nations agree to lower their tariffs. Increased exports and imports will benefit our ports, steamship lines, and airlines as they handle an increased amount of trade. Lowering of our tariffs will provide an increased flow of goods for our American consumers. Our industries will be stimulated by increased export opportunities and by freer

competition with the industries of other nations for an even greater effort to develop an efficient, economic, and productive system. The results can bring a dynamic new era of growth.

By means of agreements authorized by the act, we can move forward to partnership with the nations of the Atlantic Community. Together with the Common Market, we account for 90 percent of the free world's trade in industrial products. Together we make up—and I think this is most important in this vital period—the greatest aggregation of economic power in the history of the world. We now have the means to make certain that we build our strength together and that we can maintain this preeminence.

We shall also use the authority of the act to negotiate with our other great trading partners, Canada and Japan, and with the countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa—and we're particularly concerned that the countries of Latin America shall have an opportunity to participate in this period of economic growth particularly as it affects the Common Market as well as our own United States. We will use the specific authorities designed to widen markets for the raw materials and manufactures of the

less developed nations whose economic growth is so important to us all and to strengthen our efforts to end discriminatory and preferential arrangements which in the long run can only make everyone poorer and the free world less united.

A vital expanding economy in the free world is a strong counter to the threat of the world Communist movement. This act is, therefore, an important new weapon to advance the cause of freedom.

And I want to express my strong appreciation to the members of the Congress who were so greatly involved in the passage of this bill—Chairman Mills and members of the House Ways and Means Committee who reported it to the Floor and the members of the House of Representatives who passed it; Senator Byrd and the members of the Senate Finance Committee; Senator Kerr and others

who participated in the passage of this legislation; the leadership of the House and Senate and all those on both sides who made this legislation possible; citizens groups, Mr. Petersen and Mr. Gilbert; the labor organizations, Mr. George Meany, who's here today, who was of great importance to the passage of this bill which if administered as it must be and will be directly from the White House, with the cooperation of the Departments of State, Commerce, Agriculture, and Labor, can mean so much to this country.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in the Fish Room at the White House. In his closing remarks he referred to Howard C. Petersen, Special Assistant to the President for Trade Policy, Carl J. Gilbert, Chairman of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., and George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO.

As enacted, H.R. 11970 is Public Law 87-794 (76 Stat. 872).

450 Remarks at a Columbus Day Celebration in Newark, New Jersey. *October 12, 1962*

Governor Hughes, Senator Case, Senator Williams, Congressman Gallagher, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my great appreciation to all of you for your generous invitation to come here today. My grandfather, John F. Fitzgerald, who used to be the mayor of Boston, and was a Congressman, always used to claim that the Fitzgeralds were actually Italian, were descended from the Geraldinis, who came from Venice. I have never had the courage to make that claim, but I'll make it on Columbus Day here in this State of New Jersey today.

I'm glad to be here also, to be introduced by an old colleague of mine, Pete Rodino. He and your distinguished mayor came to the Congress in 1948, and we served together for a number of years. They spoke for their cities and they spoke for New Jersey, but most of all they spoke for the United States.

And I'm very proud that the people of his own city have selected Hugh Addonizio

to be the mayor, and continue to send to the Congress of the United States our valued friend, Pete Rodino.

We celebrate today Columbus Day. Of all the extraordinary feats, I think the first voyage of Columbus must go down as perhaps the most unusual, but I also think his second voyage with very little navigational equipment, to be able to do it twice, and then to come back again a third time, makes him the most extraordinary adventurer in the long annals of human history.

We have today our own frontiers, and our own challenges, in space, as Pete Rodino said, in the ocean. We are now able to have submarines navigate under the deep ice floes of the Arctic. We have the great challenges of trying to maintain the peace on this globe and trying to advance the interests of the human race. And we also have the most exciting adventure, I think, here in our own cities, and here in our own country, to make it possible for every American to live a rich and fruitful and productive and prosperous

life. That is a challenge which carries with it the greatest responsibility, the greatest burdens, and the greatest opportunities for us all.

So I think that on Columbus Day we do well to recall the past, the 40 million Americans of Italian extraction who followed Columbus. Four of our States now have Governors who are Americans of Italian descent. They serve in the Senate. They serve in the Cabinet—Secretary Celebrezze, of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. They serve as mayors, they serve as Congressmen, they serve as great defenders of our country in time of war, and they serve as distinguished citizens in time of peace. So I think that the long voyage of Columbus, back and out, I think, has been well repaid. And I hope that in 1962

we will meet our responsibilities in this city and country to bear our burdens of maintaining the peace, to contribute to the security of our country, to make it possible especially for the boys and girls of this country to be well educated and to develop their own resources and make their own contribution. I want to express my thanks to all of you for having been kind enough to invite, on this great day in this city, the President of the United States. I'm very glad to be here with all of you and I wish you every success.

NOTE: The President spoke from a grandstand in front of City Hall in Newark, N.J. His opening words referred to Governor Richard J. Hughes, U.S. Senators Clifford P. Case and Harrison A. Williams, Jr., and U.S. Representative Cornelius E. Gallagher, all of New Jersey. Later he referred to U.S. Representative Peter W. Rodino of New Jersey and Mayor Hugh Addonizio of Newark.

451 Remarks at a Rally in Aliquippa, Pennsylvania.

October 12, 1962

Congressman Frank Clark, Dick Dilworth, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen:

I come to this community not as a candidate for office, but I come here to this city, and district, and State, and country and ask the people of the United States, the people of Pennsylvania, the people of this district, the people of this city, to vote Democratic on November 6, 1962.

This election affects the security, the well-being, the opportunities, of everyone in this city or country. The Constitution of the United States makes it very clear that while it is the function of the President to execute the laws, it is the responsibility of the House and Senate to write them. And let me tell you something of what those laws would be like if we have a Republican majority in the House and Senate.

On our bill to provide a minimum wage of \$1.25, \$50 a week, 88 percent of the Republican Members of the House of Representatives in Washington voted against it—88 percent against a \$50-a-week minimum wage.

On a bill to provide national standards for the payment of unemployment compensation, 90 percent of the Republicans in the Senate voted against it.

On a bill to provide medical care for the aged under social security, seven-eighths of the Republicans in the Senate voted against it.

This country has many responsibilities which it carries all around the world, but we cannot possibly carry them unless we are strong and vital and progressive here at home. A strong, free world begins here in this State, begins here in the United States, and we cannot have a strong United States if we sit still, if we have men who oppose every action which is of benefit to the people of this country. This State knows this well.

When I became President of the United States in January 1961, this State had one of the largest numbers of unemployed in the whole country, nearly 500,000 people. That unemployment has been cut by nearly 40 percent, but there are still many, too many, people out of work in this city and State.

Can you tell me how we can put them back to work if we have Congressmen and Senators and Governors who oppose all the pieces of social legislation so vital to our country in the same way that their fathers opposed it in the thirties, when Franklin Roosevelt was President of the United States.

That's why we come here and ask your support in reelecting a great Congressman who is the author of legislation providing for retraining and public works, a dozen different bills which benefit this country and State, and I know you're going to reelect Frank Clark. And I know you're going to reelect to the Senate, Senator Joseph Clark, who speaks for Pennsylvania and speaks for the country.

Senator Clark is the author of a bill to provide assistance to those parts of this State and other States where there is long-term, chronic unemployment. For 6 years in the last administration the bill stayed around. We passed it, and we passed that bill which helps the unemployed workers of this State with 81 percent of the Republicans voting against it.

How can the people of Pennsylvania who live with this problem in the coal mines and the steel mills—how can they support a party which opposes progress in 1962?

So I come here today and ask your help in electing men and women in this State and in this country who will serve the people, who believe in progress, who believe that the National Government has a responsibility. And therefore I'm confident that this State, as so often in the past, will elect men and women to the House and the Senate, and

elect a distinguished Governor, Dick Dilworth, who can carry on and do the things that need to be done.

A marine in World War I, a marine at Guadalcanal in World War II, a district attorney, mayor of his city, he understands the problems of government, and I'm confident can make a distinguished Governor if you will give him your support on November 6th.

So I come here, talking about what may seem to be old political struggles, but these are the ways that this country can meet its responsibilities.

We had a bill before the House of Representatives a month ago. It was to provide assistance to higher education. That bill lost by 28 votes. Three-fourths of the Republicans voted against it. Education, medical care for the aged, job opportunities, equal rights—those are the things that this country stands for, and we can get those things only if we elect men who believe in them.

So I come today not as a candidate for office, but as one who, after 21 months as President, recognizes how important it is that this great country of ours be dynamic and progressive, and I ask your help in giving us men who believe in that great cause.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke from a stand in the municipal parking lot in Aliquippa, Pa. His opening words referred to Frank M. Clark, U.S. Representative from Pennsylvania; Richardson Dilworth, Democratic candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania; and Clarence Neisch, Mayor of Aliquippa. Later he also referred to U.S. Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania.

452 Remarks at Fitzgerald Field House, University of Pittsburgh. *October 12, 1962*

Governor Lawrence, Mr. Mayor, Dr. McClelland, Mrs. Walgren, Edward Cooke, ladies and gentlemen:

This afternoon someone showed me a letter written by a distinguished Republican who wanted to know why I did not confine

my appearances in Pennsylvania to those nonpartisan occasions when, as President of the United States, I could represent all the people. I am delighted to tell him why I'm here.

I am here because it is a responsibility of

the President of the United States—and some Republicans have not always had this view of the Presidential responsibility—it is the responsibility of a President of the United States to have a program and to fight for it, and I come to Pittsburgh tonight.

I do not believe that in this most critical and dangerous period in the life of our country that Presidents, or anyone else, should confine themselves to ceremonial occasions, ornamenting an office at a time when this country and this world needs all of the energy and the action and the commitment to progress that it can possibly have, and that is what I am doing tonight in Pittsburgh. A President of the United States, as Harry Truman has said, wears many hats, as Commander in Chief, as President, holding special responsibilities in the field of foreign policy. But he is also the leader of his party, and in this country both of our parties serve a function. Both of them have a point of view, and regardless of what speeches candidates may make in November or October of 1960 or '62, or '58 or '56, the record of a party is written over the years in the bills that are passed and the bills that are defeated. And the record of the Republican Party in the past 2 years, in the Congress of the United States, is written so large that all of the speeches that candidates can make in October of this year cannot wipe out that record of blind opposition to everything we've tried to do.

Now this is not a partisan statement. I'm sure that the Republicans who are dedicated to this country, who are just as patriotic as we are, but who have a different idea of its responsibilities and the responsibilities of the National Government—I'm sure that they will be proud to run on this record, and let me describe it to you.

The Housing Act of 1961—and if there's any place in the country that should know more and recognize better how important the passage of a great housing bill should be, it's this city—urban renewal, housing for the elderly, assistance for housing for middle-income groups, the most extraordinary

housing act passed since that of 1949—and 85 percent of the Republican Members of the House of Representatives voted against it. The area redevelopment bill, which was in the Congress for 6 years, and twice vetoed by the former administration, a bill especially designed, introduced, and guided through by Senator Clark from this State, especially designed to help those areas of the country, and Pennsylvania has about one-sixth of all of them, which have chronic unemployment, parts of Pennsylvania in coal and steel, parts of West Virginia, eastern Kentucky, parts of Ohio, southern Illinois, parts of Indiana.

The area redevelopment is an effort to bring in new industry. On this bill, 85 percent of the Members of the House of Representatives on the Republican side voted against it. That's the record they're running on, no matter what their speeches may be.

Our bill to provide \$1.25 minimum wage, and include in it four million people who are not today covered, not a very extraordinary amount of money, \$50 a week for anyone who works in interstate commerce, in a business which does an annual volume of \$1 million a year or more, \$50 a week—do you know what they did on that? Eighty-one percent of the Republican Members of the House of Representatives voted “no” on a \$50 a week for 40 hours minimum wage. That's the record.

And I come here tonight because the 87th Congress is going into its last days, and the 88th Congress will meet in January 1963, and the question the American people have to decide is, what kind of a Congress is it going to be?

It is an historical fact that only in 1934—in every other off-year election the party in power has lost seats. We won or lost vital measures by 4 or 5 votes. A change of one Senator in the United States Senate would have given us health care for the aged, one change of one vote. And yet since 1930 the party in power has lost an average of 39 seats. That's what history is against us. And if we sit down in October and early November of 1962, the 88th Congress will meet in January

and every proposal that we have, medical care for the aged, assistance to education, all of the proposals which can make a difference in rewriting our tax bills and the rest—we will be in the control of a dominant Republican-Conservative Democratic coalition that will defeat progress on every single one of these measures. And that's why I come here tonight and ask your help in electing a progressive Congress.

I submitted a bill to make it possible for those who live in our cities and suburbs to be represented in the Cabinet, this city and others like it, where 75 to 80 percent of our people live. Ninety-two percent of all the Republicans voted against it, and it was killed.

These are the issues. This is not a party or a political dispute. This is a question of what your view is of the responsibility of the United States in 1962. The fact of the matter is that unemployment in this State has dropped 30 or 35 percent in the last 20 months. But it's still much too high. It's still above the national average. Can you tell me what the Republican program is to do something about the distressed areas of this State? The first act I took on January 21st was to double the amount of food distributed to the millions of Americans who have no other means of support. That could have been done anytime. That's the difference between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party.

And we're meeting tonight in this distinguished university, all of us. I saw more children today, driving into this city—all of these children and all of those mothers and fathers will want those children to have an opportunity to attend this school or others like it. By 1970 we're going to have twice as many boys and girls trying to get into our colleges as were in 1960. That means that we have to build in the next 10 years as many college dormitories and buildings as we built in the whole 150 year history of our country. We had a bill to provide assistance in the construction of those buildings. It came to the House of Representa-

tives 1 month ago and was killed by 28 votes, and three-fourths of the Republicans voted against it. They are joined by some Democrats, a fourth of the party, which have also opposed the party ever since Franklin Roosevelt's day, and that coalition of an almost unanimous Republican Party and one-fourth of the Democrats, they defeat progress.

So I have fought in the last 2 years, and we have passed many bills. We passed that minimum wage, and we passed area redevelopment, and we passed a good drug bill, and we passed a good housing bill, and we came close in medical care, and we came close in higher education, and we came close in a good farm bill, but we lost some of them and won some of them—and now the question is, what is the 88th Congress going to be like?

This country had a recession in 1958; it had a recession in '60. Are we going to drift from recession to recession, or is this country going to commit itself to those programs in our time, as Franklin Roosevelt committed himself and the country to his programs in the thirties?

Elmer Holland, Congressman from this area, who was the author of one of the most important pieces of legislation, the manpower retraining, to make it possible to retrain workers who can't find jobs, he is tonight in the House of Representatives in Washington fighting for the passage of a public works bill which will make it possible for us to build in those areas where people are out of work. He and Bill Moorhead are both on the job working for this district and State, and I'm confident that the people of this State will elect Democratic Congressmen and elect Joe Clark again to speak for Pennsylvania and the country in the United States Senate.

This is a great and strong country. In the last 2 years we have strengthened the military forces to the highest point they've ever been in the peacetime United States. We have formed a Disarmament Agency. We have built the Alliance for Progress.

We have built the Peace Corps. But all these efforts to strengthen the United States abroad finally depend upon the strength of the United States here at home. If we move with high unemployment from recession to recession, without educating our children and giving opportunity to our workers, and security for our aged, what is our boast around the world?

This job of building freedom around the world begins here in this State and in this country, and I think the Democrats and the people of the State of Pennsylvania are fortunate in a candidate for the Governorship who understands the needs of this State, Dick Dilworth. This State, this country, I think must be committed to progress, and we can only do it by Members of the House, Members of the Senate, leaders in the States, who also comprehend our great needs. I'm proud to be a Democrat. I'm proud of the record that we have tried to make. I'm proud to be in the long line of succession as a leader of the oldest political party on earth, from Jefferson to Jackson to Truman and Roosevelt and Wilson.

And all those speeches, all those speeches that we hear about the Federal Government being too busy, they were the same speeches made in the 1930's, when they opposed social security and minimum wage, and the right of labor to organize, and all the rest. The things we now take for granted, the things which make it possible for us to maintain our position, all were more controversial in the thirties than the things we're talking about. Are we going to say in 1962 that Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman did their job and we're not going to do ours? I come to Pennsylvania and I ask you for your support in electing Democratic Congressmen who believe in progress, and Senators, and electing a great Governor.

The other day—this morning, as a matter

of fact—I read in the New York Times that during the world's series there were received by the New York Telephone Company about the world's series 365,000 telephone calls, and during that same period of time we registered in New York 110,000 people. Well, baseball is important, and I would not come to this city and question that. But I do think also that the right to vote, the necessity for registration, the commitment of yourselves and your families and your country to the forward movement of us all—that is the great issue of this election of 1962, and we want your help in it.

Dick Dilworth, Joe Clark, Elmer Holland, Bill Moorhead, Mrs. Walgren, Edward Cooke, Frank Clark and all the others—they're the ones who recognize where Pennsylvania must go.

During the Constitutional Convention there was, behind the picture of George Washington, a painting of a sun low on the horizon. At the conclusion Benjamin Franklin stood up and said, "Many of us wondered whether this was a rising or a setting sun. At the end of this Convention we now know that this is a rising sun, and the beginning of a great new day."

November 7th, the day after election, can be, in this State and in this country, a rising sun, and the beginning of a great new day.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to David L. Lawrence, Governor of Pennsylvania; Joseph M. Barr, Mayor of Pittsburgh; Dr. William D. McClelland, Chairman, Allegheny County (Pa.) Board of Commissioners; and to Mrs. Margaret Walgren and Edward Cooke, Democratic candidates for U.S. Representative for the 27th and 18th Districts, respectively, of Pennsylvania. Later he referred to U.S. Senator Joseph S. Clark; U.S. Representatives Elmer J. Holland and William S. Moorhead; Richardson Dilworth, Democratic candidate for Governor; and U.S. Representative Frank M. Clark—all of Pennsylvania.

453 Remarks at City Hall, McKeesport, Pennsylvania.

October 13, 1962

Senator Clark, Governor Lawrence, Dick Dilworth, Mrs. Elmer Holland, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen:

The first time I came to this city was in 1947, when Mr. Richard Nixon and I engaged in our first debate. He won that one, and we went on to other things. We came here on that occasion to debate the Taft-Hartley law, which he was for and which I was against. Since 1947, which was the first year of the 80th Congress, I have had an opportunity to examine with some care and some interest the record of the Republican Party, and I can tell you, in case you don't know it, that it is opposed, year in, year out, in the administration of Harry Truman in 1947, in the administration of Franklin Roosevelt in the 1930's, in the administration—in my administration.

In my administration, I can tell you they are still against progress, they are still against those pieces of legislation which make it possible for the average citizen to own his home, to be sure of his job, to educate his child, to have security in his old age. And that's why I am here in this community, 16 years later, still debating Mr. Nixon and his confreres on which party should hold office in 1962 and in this decade. So I come here and ask your help for the Democratic Party.

Now, as I said last night, in the last 21 months Pennsylvania was probably, with West Virginia, the hardest hit State from technological unemployment. Every generation and every presidential administration faces different problems. In the 1930's Franklin Roosevelt's problem was chronic, high unemployment, averaging nearly 9 million out of a relatively small working force. His great problem was how to put those people back to work.

Harry Truman had different problems: the postwar world. And where Franklin Roosevelt's primary concern in the thirties was here in the United States, President Tru-

man's responsibilities ran around the globe. In the 1950's, President Eisenhower had different responsibilities from those of President Truman.

In 1962 our responsibilities are entirely different than they were in the thirties, the forties, or the fifties. Where Franklin Roosevelt worked here at home in the thirties, where President Truman held office during a period of relative prosperity and during a time of nuclear superiority, where President Eisenhower held office at a period when nuclear majority and superiority began to change somewhat, we hold office with Latin America facing tremendous problems, with a wholly newly independent Africa, with the Communists on the move in Asia, with Western Europe beginning to build an entirely different kind of economy, with we in the United States facing the problem of how to keep our people at work during these periods of recurrent recession.

Every generation faces different problems and every generation must come up with new solutions. The question which I ask you, not as a partisan matter, but just as a question of what kind of a country you want, and what kind of actions you wish this country to take, and what you see as the responsibility of your National Government, which party, based not on what speeches I may make or other candidates may make of both parties, during a period of 4 or 5 weeks before election, but which party, day in and day out, year in and year out, for the past 30 years has stood for those things that make it possible for this country to be prosperous. I believe that the Democratic Party does, and I believe the Republican Party—that's what we have to decide.

Can you tell me one single piece of progressive legislation of benefit to the people of this country that the Republican Party has sponsored in 30 years? Because if you can't, I can tell you a hundred pieces of

legislation that they've opposed—from the beginning of the right of labor to organize, and social security and minimum wage, and housing legislation, and all the rest that make it possible for us to produce a better life for our people.

That's what this campaign is all about. It's not bands or balloons or cheering. It's a judgment as to what you want this country to do in 1962, because the kind of House and Senate you elect will hold office in 1963 and '64, and will make a judgment as to whether it will accept and support and pass legislation which we need for this State and country to go ahead.

And I think that in this case you have distinguished candidates in this State: Elmer Holland, who wrote one of the most important pieces of legislation in the last 10 years, and that is legislation to retrain men and women who have worked in one industry which has moved away, who are unemployed, who've exhausted their unemployment compensation, who can't find a new job—to make it possible for them to be retrained so that they can work. The Congressman from this district wrote this legislation and passed it, and I was proud to sign it. And he's on the job in Washington today, in the House of Representatives, Elmer Holland.

And Joe Clark, who drafted the Area Redevelopment Act and the Public Works Act, and who has stood on issue after issue of benefit to the people of this State and country. One month ago, just to indicate what I think is the very clear contrast, we had a bill before the Ways and Means Committee to provide supplemental unemployment compensation for the 100,000 people in this country who every month exhaust their unemployment compensation and can't find a job. That bill came up in the committee and every Republican on the committee, joined by 3 Democrats, voted against it and killed it by a vote of 13 to 12. That's what the issue is in this campaign, and I think Senator Clark believes in progress.

This State already has one Republican Senator. Can you tell me why it needs two Republican Senators to speak for Pennsylvania? So I'm confident you're going to elect Senator Clark to serve this State and country again.

And I hope that you're going to elect as a distinguished Governor, a former mayor of Philadelphia, a marine who served in World War I, and who served in Guadalcanal in World War II, who is the kind of progressive, experienced legislator that this State, one of our great industrial States, is going to need.

For example, in the last 10 years Pennsylvania, which used to be one of the great defense manufacturers in this country, found itself washed out, while all the new defense industry went to those parts of the country where industry and universities and government had worked to make it possible for them to secure contracts. Working with Governor Lawrence since 1960, we have increased by 50 percent the number of prime defense contracts that come to Pennsylvania, job retraining, cleaning our rivers, area redevelopment, increasing our food supplies for those on relief—all these measures which can be brought about with a progressive, Democratic Governor, working with all of us.

So I'm hopeful that you're going to elect in this State Dick Dilworth to be Governor of Pennsylvania.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to thank you for coming to a rally at 10:30 in the morning. There's a great myth around that all politicians love to go out and make speeches and to engage in politics. It isn't true at all; I come here not because I enjoy driving around the countryside and making speeches, but because I have lived for 21 months with a closely divided Congress, where we have lost measures like medical care under Social Security by a change of 1 vote in the Senate; where I've seen higher education defeated by 28 votes; where I almost saw a minimum wage bill defeated, where I almost saw a

housing bill defeated, where I saw a farm bill defeated by 3, 4, and 5 votes, and because I believe that this world will not be strong and free unless the United States is strong and free. And it cannot be strong and free unless the executive, and the President, and the Congress are committed to this kind of progress, and it involves your welfare and the welfare of your children, and most especially those who come after us.

We are the beneficiaries of the New Deal. I want to be sure in the 1970's that there are the people of this country who are the bene-

ficiaries of what we did on the New Frontiers of 1962.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. at a Democratic rally at City Hall in McKeesport, Pa. His opening words referred to Joseph S. Clark, U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania; David L. Lawrence, Governor of Pennsylvania; Richardson Dilworth, Democratic candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Holland, wife of U.S. Representative Elmer J. Holland of Pennsylvania; and Andrew Jakomas, Mayor of McKeesport. Later he also referred to Representative Holland.

454 Remarks at a Rally in Monessen, Pennsylvania.

October 13, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen, Governor Lawrence, Senator Clark, Dick Dilworth:

I must say that Pennsylvanian candidates for office make the shortest speeches of any candidates I've ever seen. I wish Senator Clark, who's a great speaker, and Dick Dilworth, would get up once more. They came up here and left so fast. I'm not running and they are. And they need your help. Senator Clark, Dick Dilworth—your next Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.

I came back here to express my thanks to you for your support in 1960. As a President who was elected, out of 70 million people voting, by 100,000, I'm very conscious of who voted for me and who didn't. And this town, I think, voted for us about 7500 to 1600. I don't know who those 1600 were, but we're going to get them next time, I hope.

I've come here to Pennsylvania to participate in this election. I know that there are some Republicans who think that it's not my business and that I ought to stay in Washington. I think it is the business of every citizen of the United States to make a judgment about what kind of a House of Representatives we're going to have and what kind of a Senate we're going to have, and what kind of a Governor we're going to

have in this State and all the other States of the Union.

It is all of our business, because there isn't any doubt that all of the things that can make a difference to this town and other towns which have been hard hit by all of the technological and industrial changes that have come in this country—all of these measures which are essential to action must finally depend upon a majority vote of the House of Representatives and the Senate, and, as I said last night, only twice in the last 100 years has the party in power, the party of the President, succeeded in picking up votes in the off year. Ever since 1930—1934, 1938, '42, '46, '50, '54, and '58—the party of the majority has lost an average of 39 seats in the House of Representatives.

We could have passed medical care for the aged by the addition of 1 vote in the United States Senate. Are we going to organize the Congress of the United States in January 1963, after losing 39 votes in the House? How can we possibly provide for the education of our children, jobs for our people, medical care for our older citizens, better housing, jobs, jobs, jobs, if we are going to lose 39 votes after we have won and lost bill after bill by 3, 4, or 5 votes?

That's why I come here. We're deciding

this month of October what we're going to be doing in January '63 and January '64. The President of the United States under the Constitution has great powers. He has particularly great powers in the field of foreign policy, but domestically he executes the laws. The laws must be passed by the Congress, by the House and the Senate, and I cannot believe that this country in 1962, after passing through a recession in 1958, after passing through a recession in 1960, after living as this State has lived, with unemployment, is going to decide that the destiny of this country should be turned over to the Republican Party, because I can tell you they are against progress, always have been, are now, and always will be.

I understand a Republican Congressman said that I was being highly unfair in recalling their record. I don't blame any Republican Congressman for objecting to my telling their record. When I say that 85 percent of the Republicans voted against the Housing Act, which included housing for the elderly, and urban renewal, 85 percent, I'm telling the truth, and I don't blame them for objecting to it.

When I say that 81 percent of them voted against \$1.25 an hour minimum wage—can you tell me how anyone can live on \$50 a

week?—and yet they objected, 81 percent of them, to a minimum wage of \$1.25 just as their intellectual forebears in the 1930's objected, 90 percent of them, to 25 cents an hour.

Now, you may think this election is not so important, but it is vital. The Congress of the United States makes the judgments, how much food we're going to produce, what kind of housing we're going to have, what kind of education we're going to have, what kind of assistance we're going to have. It makes the difference whether you have a country sitting still or whether you have a country moving. And I come to this town, which understands for 30 years the difference between Republicans and Democrats, to say this year we're going to elect Democratic Congressmen, a Democratic Senator, and a Democratic Governor for a great industrial State, and that in 1964 I'll come back again and talk to you about another candidate.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke in the A. & P. parking lot in Monessen, Pa. In his opening words he referred to David L. Lawrence, Governor of Pennsylvania; Joseph S. Clark, U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania; and Richardson Dilworth, Democratic candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania.

455 Remarks at the Court House, Washington, Pennsylvania.

October 13, 1962

Governor Lawrence, Senator Clark, Dick Dilworth, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express to you our very great pleasure for coming out on a Saturday morning. I think you probably know why we are here. We are here for the Democratic Party; we are here to elect Democratic candidates.

Your Congressman, Doc Morgan, who is in Washington where they hope to adjourn the 87th Congress at this noon, is there in Washington instead of here because he is working for the passage of a public works acceleration bill, which will provide jobs for

this State and country, and I think it is a good thing he is there because when this bill came up in the House of Representatives, 88 percent of the Republican Members of the House voted "no."

Can you tell me how any citizen of this State who has lived with unemployment, one-half million people out of work in this State, the highest rate, with the exception of West Virginia, in the country, can you tell me how they can elect Republican candidates who vote against public works, who vote in the Senate as they did against nationwide standards of unemployment compensation,

who vote against housing, who vote against minimum wages, who vote against area redevelopment—will you tell me what they are for?

I ask anyone in this State, after 30 years, to tell me one thing the Republican Party is for, one thing which they can point to and say, "This is a Republican program for the people." I can tell you all afternoon what they are against, but I have yet to see—and I was in the Congress for 14 years, and as President—one great program which serves the people, which they can say, "This is ours." They can tell you what they are against, but they can't tell you what they are for, and I think in 1962 we need a Democratic House and Senate who are for programs, not against them.

Doc Morgan is the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, one of the three or four most important positions in the country. In this last 2 years we passed the Peace Corps, the Disarmament Agency, the Alliance for Progress. We put our foreign aid on a long-term basis. All of these programs came out of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, led by your Congressman, a Congressman from this district, who speaks for the United States, and all people stretching around the world are affected beneficially or adversely by his good judgment. I hope you send him back because he is a distinguished Congressman and, more important than that, he is a distinguished American who stands for the best that is in this country. And I know that you are going to return him—we need him—and I hope the rest of them, Congressman Holland, who wrote the manpower retraining; Congressman Dent, and all the rest of these Democrats.

I know it is customary for Democratic Presidents to speak for Democratic candidates, but that is not just the issue this year. The issue is what kind of a Congress are we going to have in January 1963. Every program we send up in the next 2 years—are we going to lose as we lost the medical care for the aged, as we lost the department of urban affairs, as we almost lost minimum wage, as

we lost supplemental unemployment compensation, as we lost our agricultural bill, as we lost our higher education bill? Are we going to have vote after vote which this country needs defeated by 3, 4, or 5, or are we going to elect a Congress which is committed to progress, which this country so desperately needs in a difficult and dangerous world?

Senator Clark, who wrote the area redevelopment bill, who wrote the public works bill, who speaks for Pennsylvania and the country—you already have one Republican Senator from Pennsylvania and that is enough—I hope you reelect Senator Clark. Stand up. Here he is. You just send him back by a big vote.

I hope also you elect a distinguished Democratic Governor, a man who was mayor of Philadelphia twice, and district attorney, who served with the marines in World War I and World War II, who I think stands for the best that is in the Democratic Party, Dick Dilworth, who can make a great Governor of the great State of Pennsylvania. Will you stand up?

None of these candidates want to stand up. They just sit there and watch me work!

But I want you on November 6th to come out and vote for them, not just because we want Democrats or Republicans, but because the record shows, as it has shown for 30 years, that every time we try to do something for jobs, and for security, and for education, the Republicans vote "no," the Democrats vote "yes," and, therefore, we want your help.

Eighty-four percent of the Republicans against unemployment compensation, in a State which has had 500,000 people unemployed; 89 percent against a minimum wage of \$1.25; 88 percent against a housing bill. What kind of a party—what does that stand for in 1962? What kind of a country do you want in 1962 and 1963 and 1964?

There isn't anyone here who isn't the beneficiary of what Franklin Roosevelt did in the thirties. Now, what are we going to do in the sixties?

Ladies and gentlemen, I am glad to come

back here to this community. I am glad to come back to this State. And I am proud to stand here, although I am not a candidate for office, and in all good faith ask you to give us some people who in 1963 and '64 will build a strong America upon which the world depends.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to David L. Lawrence, Governor of Pennsylvania; Joseph S. Clark, U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania; and Richardson Dilworth, Democratic candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania. Later he referred to U.S. Representatives Thomas E. Morgan, Elmer J. Holland, and John H. Dent of Pennsylvania.

456 Remarks at the Indianapolis Airport.

October 13, 1962

Governor Welsh; Senator Hartke; distinguished Congressman Ray Madden; John Brademas; Winfield Denton; Ed Roush; our congressional candidates, Andy Jacobs and John Mitchell, John Pritchard and Elden Tipton, John Murray, Ron Ross; ladies and gentlemen:

I am delighted to come to Indiana because there isn't any State in the Union in this election that has the privilege of making a clearer choice, a clearer choice especially for the United States Senate. That record read out and understated by Birch Bayh—is that what Indiana wants in the United States Senate in 1962?

Now, there isn't any doubt that all Americans want this country to be strong and secure, and to meet our responsibilities around the world. Where we differ and what this election is all about is how that will be done. Now, let me say just one word about what we've done in the last 21 months, while others were making speeches, to make this country strong.

In the 87th Congress, which finished today, this Democratic Congress and Democratic administration increased our defense budget by \$8 billion. We doubled the Polaris submarine program. We increased our Minuteman missile program by 75 percent. We increased the number of bombers placed on alert by 50 percent, we increased our Armed Forces by five combat divisions, our antiguerrilla forces have been quadrupled, our airlift capacity substantially increased. That's what counts. Not all the

brave speeches made on or off the Senate Floor really count as much as whether you have the strength to match your commitments.

The fact of the matter is, when this administration came to power, in spite of the fact we had commitments around the globe, we had 11 divisions, 11 Army divisions, to meet responsibilities stretching from Viet-Nam to Berlin. Recognizing that to back this commitment we needed strength, we have made the greatest peacetime effort in the history of this country. In addition, recognizing the time had come to stop the decline in southeast Asia, we committed 15 times as many men to the defense of that area. Recognizing that there was no defeat that the United States had suffered that so vitally affected our prestige as the defeat we experienced in the fifties in the field of space, the United States, for the first time, committed itself to being first in 1961 and 1962. We are going to spend, this year, twice as much as was spent from 1953 to 1960 combined, in order to put us first.

So I think when we decide what the United States should do to be strong, there is the record. But we get this strength not to fight wars if we can help it, but to wage the peace, and all these other programs which Birch Bayh mentioned, the Peace Corps, the Disarmament Agency, the Alliance for Progress, our new trade bill which can mean so much to this State, the farmers of this State and the industry of this State, and so much in tying Western Europe and

the United States together. These are the programs vital to our interest and security, and where was the voice, the loud voice of Indiana, the senior Senator on that occasion? He was voting "no" when it was necessary for this country to vote "yes."

So let me say that I think the United States is stronger than it once was, and though our problems are constantly increasing, this is no time, in 1962, for rash talk which strengthens the claims of our adversaries. This is no time for confused and intemperate remarks on the part of those who have neither the facts nor the ultimate responsibility.

This is the time for a man who talks softly, but who'll also carry a big stick, and this is the kind of man you have. He has served as a private in this Nation's Army, and would do so again. But those self-appointed generals and admirals who want to send someone else's son to war and who consistently vote against the instruments of peace ought to be kept at home by the voters and replaced in Washington by someone who understands what the 20th century is all about.

This election is important because you are going to make a judgment of what kind of a House of Representatives and what kind of a Senate you want and the country wants. The President of the United States has clear responsibilities, but so does the Congress. I have the responsibility of seeing that the laws are executed, but the Congress of the United States, the House and the Senate, must first write those laws. And you in Indiana and the people of this country have to make up their minds what kind of a Congress you want.

Do you know that every Republican Member from the State of Indiana voted against the \$1.25 an hour minimum wage, \$50 a week, every one? Do you know that every Republican Congressman from this State voted against the Housing Act of 1961, housing for the elderly and urban renewal? Do you know that every single Congressman from this State voted against aid to depend-

ent children? Do you know that every single Congressman in this State voted against our feed grain bill, every Republican Congressman, which has helped increase the farm income on the average on every family farm in this State by 13 percent? This is the record of the Republican Party, and I come here asking your help in electing to the 88th Congress men and women in the House and in the Senate who will join in doing the things that must be done if this country is going to meet its responsibilities.

Seven-eighths of the Republican members of the Senate voted against medical care for the aged under Social Security. Eighty-five percent of the Republicans voted against assistance to higher education. Where are your sons and daughters going to go to college in the next 10 years? There're going to be twice as many trying to get into your schools as there are today. We had a program to assist those schools and colleges, and it was defeated by 28 votes.

Now these are the issues which affect the security of the people of this State and country. This is not a political jamboree. This is a decision which all of us must make on November 6th as to whether you want a Senator who votes "no," whether you want Congressmen who vote "no," or whether you will join with us in strengthening the military strength of this country, strengthening us in space, giving greater opportunity to every American, building homes, building our cities, giving some security to our farmers.

I read a survey the other day saying that some of the Indiana farmers were opposed to our farm program. Can you tell me what the Republican farm program is? I have waited for 22 months. I know what they're against. But what are they for? I can't believe the Indiana farmers want to go back to Ezra Taft Benson who left us with \$9 billion of surpluses and a steadily declining farm income, which has now moved up 13 percent, and for the first time we have surpluses under control. This is not an easy problem, and I'm sure there are as many

solutions as there are farmers. But we have two choices now—the Republican solution and the Democratic solution. Ours at least you can see. Theirs is mysterious and non-existent. And I hope the Indiana farmer will vote “yes” on November 6th and not go back to the days of Benson and low support prices.

So this is a decision which is yours. I’m not a candidate for office in 1962, but I do know how important it is, after serving for 21 months, when I’ve seen issue after issue on which we’ve won by 3 or 4 votes, or lost by 3 or 4 votes, how important it is that this vital, great State in the center of our country have a United States Senator who stands for a recognition of the great and complicated needs of the leader of the free world, and not one who is opposed to anything that is done which is new because it is new, in the same way that the Republicans opposed

everything that was done in the thirties, on which we so much depend, because once that was new.

So I hope you’ll come along in Indiana and send to the United States Senate Birch Bayh, and send these Congressmen from the top of the State to the bottom, who recognize that in 1962 there is only one way for the United States to go and that is forward.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at a rally at the airport in Indianapolis following remarks by Birch Bayh, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator from Indiana. In his opening remarks the President referred to Matthew E. Welsh, Governor of Indiana; Vance Hartke, U.S. Senator from Indiana; Ray J. Madden, John Brademas, Winfield K. Denton, and J. Edward Roush, U.S. Representatives from Indiana; and Andrew Jacobs, Jr., John E. Mitchell, John T. Pritchard, Elden C. Tipton, John J. Murray, and Ronald R. Ross, Democratic candidates for U.S. Representatives for the 11th, 10th, 9th, 7th, 2d, and 4th Districts, respectively, of Indiana.

457 Remarks Upon Arrival at Standiford Airport, Louisville, Kentucky. October 13, 1962

Lieutenant Governor—and I hope United States Senator—Wilson Wyatt; your present distinguished Congressman and an old colleague and friend of mine, Congressman Burke; Governor; ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my thanks to all of you for coming to this airport. I want you to know that we’re coming here to this city and State to elect Democrats to the United States Senate, and Congressmen, and I don’t think that any State could be served with more distinction than by electing Wilson Wyatt to the United States Senate.

This State already has one outstanding Republican Senator, John Cooper, and I believe that he and Wilson Wyatt can speak for Kentucky as it needs to be spoken for,

so I hope you’ll elect him, and Congressman Burke.

The 87th Congress just adjourned today, and I believe that the record that he and his colleagues made deserves to be endorsed by the people of this city, as I know it will be. So I come here without being a candidate because I want you to send us Members to the House and Senate who’ll speak for the United States and Kentucky and say “yes” in 1962.

Thank you.

NOTE: In his opening words the President referred to Lieutenant Governor Wilson W. Wyatt, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator; U.S. Representative Frank W. Burke; and Governor Bert T. Combs, all of Kentucky.

458 Remarks at the State Fairgrounds in Louisville.

October 13, 1962

Governor Combs; Lieutenant Governor Wilson Wyatt; Congressman Burke; a distinguished Congressman from our neighboring State of Indiana, Winfield Denton; my old colleague in the House of Representatives on the Labor and Education Committee, Carl Perkins, from this State; Congressmen who are returning from the 87th Congress, Frank Chelf, John Watts, Bill Natcher, and Frank Stubblefield; ladies and gentlemen:

I come here tonight for a very simple purpose, and that is to ask that you elect Frank Burke, Carl Perkins, Wilson Wyatt, and the rest of the Democratic Party to represent the State of Kentucky. Now, some may be wondering why on Saturday night the President of the United States hasn't got something better to do. I don't think there is anything better to do than to come to this State and go around the country and ask for Democrats.

I want to say a word, however, in defense of Wilson Wyatt's opponent. He has been criticized, unfairly, I think, because he has refused to put the word "Republican" on his signs, even though he was once chairman of the Republican Party. But I ask you: If you were a candidate for office in 1962, would you put the word "Republican" on your literature? What does it mean to elect the man? What does he stand for? What party is he a member of? What record has that party written? What does that party believe in 1962? What kind of an American do they want?

They believe, in my opinion, in progress, and, therefore, they must believe in the Democratic Party. Now, here's why they don't write "Republican" on their literature any more: Up in Michigan, the Republican candidate for Governor, you don't know what party he belongs to, "Vote For The Man." It's happening all over the United States, and for a very good reason.

In the last 2 years, in the 87th Congress,

we had a very good opportunity to see the difference between our two political parties. On the Housing Act of 1961, which provided for urban renewal, housing for the elderly, the widest and most comprehensive housing bill passed in this country in 13 years, 85 percent of the Republican Party in the Congress voted against it.

On the Area Redevelopment Act, which had been around the Congress for 6 years, twice vetoed by the President, written especially for eastern Kentucky and West Virginia, and parts of Pennsylvania, and southern Illinois, and parts of Indiana, 85 percent of the Republican Members of the House of Representatives voted against it.

On the Fair Labor Standards Act to make a minimum wage of \$1.25, that's \$50 a week, for anyone working in interstate commerce for a business which does a gross volume of a million dollars a year or more, \$50 a week—81 percent of the Republicans voted against it.

That's why the word "Republican" isn't on their literature any more.

On the Peace Corps, which speaks for the best of our country all over the world, 45 percent voted against it. On the urban affairs reorganization, 75 percent of our people live in the cities, they have transit, water, housing, and all the rest of their problems, and we wanted a Cabinet officer to speak for them, 92 percent of the Republicans voted against it. That's what this campaign is all about.

What kind of a Congress is the 88th Congress going to be? Every year since 1930, in the off years, the party in power has lost 39 seats, on the average. Franklin Roosevelt in 1938 lost 77. Every other year, with the exception of 1934, in this century, the party in power loses seats. We have won or lost issues by 4 or 5 votes in the House of Representatives. We lost medical care for the aged under social security, a change of

1 vote in the Senate. We lost aid for higher education. And by 1970 you're going to have twice as many people trying to be admitted to our colleges as in 1960, 7½ million students. And where are they going to go? We had a bill to assist building the colleges and the dormitories. That bill lost by 28 votes, and three-fourths of the Republicans voted against it. That's why I'm here tonight, because I don't want to see the 88th Congress stand still for 2 years in the most difficult and dangerous and also most promising time in the history of our country. That's the issue in this campaign.

The Trade Expansion Act, which makes it possible for this State as much as any State in the Union to sell its goods abroad, tobacco and all the rest, the farmers of this State as well as the manufacturers depend on our ability to move into the European market, 74 percent of the Republicans voted against the key amendments to recommit it to the committee. That's why this is not merely a political campaign. This is a time of decision for the people of this country. The President of the United States, especially on domestic matters, carries out the laws. He does not write them. It is up to the Congress to write them. And the question is: What kind of laws are going to be written? What are we going to do about education, and security for our older citizens, and jobs for our people, and development of our natural resources, and security for our agriculture?

Is this great country of ours, which moved from a recession in 1958 to a recession in '60, which has now too many people out of work—are we going to drift along with a majority of the Members of the Congress saying “no” to every proposal that we put forward, and having none of their own? Can you tell me one single piece of constructive legislation that has been suggested in the last 30 years by the Republican Party? Because I can't. I can tell you what they're against, but what are they for? Eighty-one percent of the Members of the House of Representatives on the Republican side voted

against aid for higher education.

So we won a good many fights and we lost some, and we're going to have some more. But I look at the history of this century and see what happens in off years, and I come here to this State with a great Democratic tradition, having sent great progressive Senators and Congressmen to the United States Congress, and ask you why Kentucky should be represented by two Republicans. You have a great Republican in John Sherman Cooper who represents the best of his party, and who votes with us when he thinks we're right. But the other Republican never votes with us. You have two Republicans who cancel out each other's vote. Well, I think it's time to send a Democratic Senator to speak for a Democratic State, to speak for a Democratic Congress in a Democratic administration, who can stand up and say, “These are the problems of Kentucky. These are the problems of the country.” And you have that man in Wilson Wyatt. So I'm asking you to vote for the man and the party, and vote for Wilson Wyatt and Frank Burke, and the rest of the Democratic members.

It is odd that this country, which was wholly founded in a long neutral tradition, and isolationist tradition, should, in 1962, as it has been since 1945, be the great and almost solitary hope for the maintenance of freedom around the world. Everything that we do to strengthen and develop our country means not only a better life for our own people, but also for those hundreds of millions who now stand and look to us and also look to the East.

I believe in a strong America as the greatest defender of freedom. But I have never believed that making strong speeches means a strong country. The fact of the matter is, since 1961 this administration and this Congress have done more in peacetime to strengthen the military and political and social strength of this country than any other administration in history. In the last 20 months we have doubled the number of Polaris submarines, we have added five com-

bat divisions, we have increased by 50 percent the American forces on the ready. We have done all these things. We have made a determined effort to be first in space.

We have done these things not to wage war, but to make it possible for us to maintain the peace. All these people who wave these weapons in the air, not recognizing the dangers through which we now move, they must realize that a strong and continually growing stronger America must build this strength in order to maintain our security, our vital interests, and the peace of the world in the most difficult and dangerous period in the life of our country.

I believe that this can be done. I believe that we can maintain the peace. But I also believe it vitally important that the United States itself continue to move forward. If we move from recession to recession, if we have people in your State who can't find jobs year after year, if we find the Soviet Union steadily increasing its economic growth, if we find Western Europe moving ahead of us at twice the rate of growth that we do, if we find that we have the largest number of unemployed people of any major industrialized country on earth, with the exception of Canada, if we find that we do not in this free society of ours have the secret of being able to maintain our economic vitality at a steadily continuing rate, are all those people who may live in Cyprus or in Latin America or Africa or Asia who must make a judgment as to where the future lies—are they going to decide with us, or are they going to decide that we do not have the answers? And I don't believe that Barry Goldwater or that wing of the Republican Party and those that he supports in 1962 have the answer to these questions.

You have thousands of people in the State of Kentucky who've been out of work for a long time. One month ago we attempted to secure for them supplemental unemployment compensation benefits. We lost that vote in the Ways and Means Committee by a vote of 13 to 12. Every Republican on the Ways and Means Committee voted against it. Area redevelopment, unemployment compensation, development of natural resources, support for agriculture—all these issues which can make the difference to this country, which can build this country stronger—that's why we're all here tonight.

I ask your support, the people of Kentucky, in electing a Democratic Senator, electing a Democratic Congress, and, together, moving the United States forward in 1962.

In the 1920's, a distinguished French general was talking to his gardener one day and he said, "I'd like to have you plant those trees." And the gardener said, "I wouldn't do that," he said, "it takes a hundred years for those trees to flower." The General said, "Well, in that case, plant them this afternoon."

Well, it's not going to take 100 years for this country to reach its full flower. It can be done in this decade, but if it's going to be done in this decade, it has to be done tonight. I ask your help.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke in Freedom Hall at the State Fairgrounds, Louisville, Ky. In his opening words he referred to Bert T. Combs, Governor of Kentucky; Wilson W. Wyatt, Lieutenant Governor of Kentucky and Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator; Frank W. Burke, U.S. Representative from Kentucky; Winfield K. Denton, U.S. Representative from Indiana; and Carl D. Perkins, Frank Chelf, John C. Watts, William H. Natcher, and Frank A. Stubblefield, U.S. Representatives from Kentucky.

459 Transcript of Interview With William Lawrence Recorded for
the Program "Politics—'62." *October 14, 1962*

WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE, American Broadcasting Company: Mr. President, as your campaign travel plans develop it's becoming clear that you will be about the most traveled President, if not the most traveled President, in any off year, midterm election.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, well that's right. I think that by November 6 we'll have traveled more than any President and almost as much as all of them in this century in an off year, but that's partly because of jet planes.

Mr. Lawrence: I was going to ask whether this was a calculated decision, or did the importunings of Democratic candidates just cause your schedule to grow like Topsy?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it's mostly—it's because one of the big problems we always face in an off year is, first, the party in power traditionally loses seats. From the off year elections of 1930 until, through the off year election of 1958, the party in power lost an average of 39 House seats. Well, if we lost 39 House seats it would make it impossible for us to put through any of the programs which I believe to be vitally important to strengthen the economy of the United States.

So, I think, while I recognize the limitations of Presidential campaigning, traditionally it has not been very successful, at least I think it may arouse some interest in this campaign and encourage the turnout. One of the alarming statistics which I've seen, Bill, has been the distribution of votes between the Republicans and the Democratic Party. Generally, we do pretty well on that, but then when they ask which percentage are going to vote, then we don't do so well. So, if we can arouse some interest and cause a bigger turnout then I'll feel I've done the job, even though history's against us.

Mr. Lawrence: Well, now, do you really enjoy campaigning at this brisk a pace, or do you find such a schedule as you have this weekend, for example, very tiring?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I guess this weekend we're going to six States. No, I don't enjoy it very much. I think one of the great myths in American life is that those who are in politics love to campaign. Well, maybe some do, but it's hard work making a lot of speeches, and I have a good many other things to do, but on the other hand the decision which is made in the next 30 days is going to decide what kind of a Congress we're going to have for the next 2 years. So I think that really there's no place that I ought to be in these weekends that is more important, at least to the things that I'm interested in.

If we can elect, if we can hold our own in the Congress it would be extremely important. You'll recall that we lost our bill for medical care for the aged, a change of 1 vote in the Senate; that we passed our farm bill finally by about 5 votes. We lost aid to higher education by about 27 votes. We won the Rules Committee fight, which is going to come up again in January, which decides whether all these bills should even come to the floor for a vote, we won that by only 5 votes. So that is why this Congress is so evenly balanced and the change of one or two seats one way or the other can make all the difference to very important programs.

Mr. Lawrence: I notice that former President Eisenhower is out campaigning and he charges that your bid to elect more Democrats to the Congress is really a demand for one-party rule and he says that people shouldn't let you make their decisions for them. What's your reaction to that, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the people are going to make their decisions on November 6. What has happened—and this has really been true for a great many years as these figures that I gave you indicate—that we have nearly total opposition by the Re-

publicans, about seven-eighths vote against all these programs and on the farm bill we only picked up one Republican. And at least five-, six-, seven-eighths of them vote against us on all those programs—domestic programs—which I've discussed. Now, they are joined by about a fourth of the Democrats and this has really been true since the midthirties.

We have a party which covers all parts of the country. We include in it Wayne Morse, and Strom Thurmond, and Harry Byrd, men who don't agree on a good many things, particularly on domestic matters. So I usually figure that we're going to lose one-fourth of the Democrats, they're going to vote with the Republicans and that's why all these votes are so close. We're not talking about one-party rule, we're talking about whether we'll win a majority, an effective, working, practical majority of 2, 3, or 4 votes and that's what we've gone through for the whole 2 years.

Mr. Lawrence: When you talk of electing more Democrats though, Mr. President, you're really talking about electing more from the North and from the West because you have just about solid Democratic representation from the South, anyway?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Those issues are all decided. Some of them don't agree with the program. Then, in addition, there are a good many one-party districts that the Republicans represent, that no one is going to do very much about. What we're talking about are these swing districts which can go either way, which went very close in 1960 and 1958. And the choices here are between those Democrats who support these programs and the Republicans who oppose them.

Now what is at issue, in my opinion, is whether this economy of ours can produce at full blast. We had a recession in 1958, we had a recession in 1960, the recovery of this year is not as good as we had hoped. We still have too many unemployed. We have still too much of our factory capacity which is unused. We're going to have to

develop monetary policies, fiscal policies, and all the rest which will help us give the same thrust to our economy that Western Europe does.

Now the fact is, and these men are all good men, this is not a personal matter, but the Republicans do not agree with this concept. I don't think that they recognize how serious is this challenge of building our strength at home in order to maintain it abroad. I think the Democrats that we are talking about in these districts which are in doubt now this November do.

Why should we not have a Department of Urban Affairs? I mean, 75 to 80 percent of our people live in our cities. Why shouldn't we have aid to higher education? Why shouldn't we have medical care for the aged? Why do we have difficulty passing a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour? That's \$50 a week. Yet 88 percent of the Republicans opposed a \$50 a week minimum wage. Well, you can't maintain a strong—who's going to buy our automobiles and refrigerators if people are getting less than \$50 a week? How do they live for less than \$50 a week?

So, these are some of the issues and that's why I am working so hard.

Mr. Lawrence: Well, Mr. President, you spoke a moment ago of Democratic disaffection, that is, the conservatives, mostly Southern, who vote against your major administration programs, or at least some of the key ones. Is this problem likely to be more difficult in the next Congress because of the recent events in Mississippi and the action that you had to take there to enforce the court order?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, you know, actually, a good many southerners vote with us. We get a good many from a number of the Southern States, Senators as well as Congressmen. The difficulty is that every issue the sides change a bit. Sometimes we don't get as many. In the case of the farm bill we lost some of the Democrats from the Northeast United States who opposed these farm programs, generally. So that what we really

have to figure is that for one reason or another we usually lose about a fourth of the Democrats. You combine that with total Republican opposition and instead of our having a clear majority in the House and Senate we have a very razor's edge.

I don't think, I think that what's happened in Oxford, Miss., has caused a good deal of concern. I think that most people in the South recognize my responsibility is to carry out the court order, my Constitutional responsibility. And I think that we will get support in the South for those measures which—in the same way as we did in the last 2 years.

What I want to emphasize is that the problem I'm talking about is the problem that goes back 30 years, that you're familiar with, coalition. And when you figure that we won the rules fight, which was the basic fight, in January '61, even with 19 Republicans voting with us in the House, only by 5 votes, and we don't get 19 Republicans any more, you can just see how closely divided the House and Senate is, even though the party labels give a different impression.

Mr. Lawrence: Well, you do not expect then any political repercussions from Oxford either in the North or in the South?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it's too early to tell about the political repercussions in November, I don't know. I would hope not, but I wouldn't predict on that. But I think beginning in January, I think the Members of the Congress will vote in accordance with their more traditional beliefs. I don't think there'll be that kind of reprisal because it really wouldn't make any sense. I had no choice but to carry out my responsibilities.

Mr. Lawrence: Well, Mr. President, these issues that you have just ticked off in your earlier answer: medicare, taxes, aid to education, the minimum wage, are these the ones that people talk to you about as you travel about the country?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, there's obviously a great interest in foreign policy, but I've at-

tempted and I think this has been true of General Eisenhower in his campaign speeches, neither one of us have attempted to make any partisan issue particularly out of foreign policy. There may be some areas of difference, but I think that those should be discussed as much as possible in a non-political way because they involve the security of our country—where we differ, where the Republicans and Democrats differ. But the points I am emphasizing are domestic and they're very important because Khrushchev once said that the hinge of history and the great struggle between the free world and the Communist world would move when the Communist world outproduced us. And therefore the degree of economic growth, and the degree of productive strength goes, in my opinion, basically to our ability to maintain our commitments abroad. And I don't think we can maintain our economic strength if we drift along on a plateau. And I think a recession in '58, a recession in '60, and the difficulties we've had this year should be an alarm bell to all of us.

This is not an easy problem. No party or group of people or single person has an answer to it, but what I feel is that at least we're aware of it and we're trying to work out solutions. And I think it's important that we have a Congress responsive to this need and I believe in this case that these Members of the House and Senate that I'm talking about are responsive to it and have demonstrated during the past 2 years.

Mr. Lawrence: Would you say then, Mr. President, that there are no foreign policy issues that are likely to affect a large number of votes in this campaign as between Democrats and Republicans?

THE PRESIDENT. There may well be, but at least I'm trying to emphasize it to the extent that's possible the problems that we have here in the United States. I think they're very important and I think they lend themselves to a very clear distinction between our two parties. Now, if anyone wants to discuss foreign policy or argue it I'll be delighted to, but at least I want to emphasize

a very important problem which I think is the rate of economic growth here in the United States.

Mr. Lawrence: Well now, some Republicans have been saying that Cuba is likely to be a big issue in this campaign. Have you had any reaction to this in your campaign travels?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I'm sure that the people are concerned about Cuba, and I am, too. I'm not sure it is a party issue. I think we're all concerned about Cuba and, as you know, we're taking a lot of steps to try to isolate Castro who we believe is going to eventually fall. But whether it's a party matter, after all Castro came in in 1958 and we have been unsuccessful in having Castro removed, but whether this is a matter of Republicans and Democrats rather than an American problem, I'm not so sure.

Mr. Lawrence: Would you say on the whole, Mr. President, whether the record of the 87th Congress was a definite campaign asset or liability to the Democrats?

THE PRESIDENT. No, definite asset. We failed on three or four very important measures, but this is always true of new bills. I hope we're going to pass them in the next session, but on these matters of trade expansion, of economic social security, minimum wage, and good drug bill, and all the rest, as I pointed out last night, this Congress—all sorts of things that people don't realize.

We passed in this Congress more bills setting up seashore parks in the United States, making this great national asset available to the public, than has ever been passed in all the Congresses in history. There's only a fraction of the land along the Atlantic and Pacific and Gulf Stream that the people themselves can go to; the rest is owned privately. We've built three great seashore parks: Cape Cod; Point Reyes, north of San Francisco; and Padre Island, down off Texas. That's more than were put together in all the Congresses in history.

We passed the strongest crime legislation

that's been passed in the history of the United States—seven bills which are comparatively unknown. Well, the record of this Congress is most unusual and I run on it with a good deal of satisfaction. But the difficulty is that every vote we either won or lost by 3 or 4 votes and if we suffer the usual midterm fate, which is the loss of 39 seats, you can see that we won't pass any legislation in the next 2 years of the kind that I think is so important.

Mr. Lawrence: And you will be back, of course, with the next Congress with recommendations for medicare and—

THE PRESIDENT. Right.

Mr. Lawrence: —Federal aid to education—

THE PRESIDENT. Right.

Mr. Lawrence: —and a stronger farm bill?

THE PRESIDENT. Correct, more effective one.

Mr. Lawrence: Mr. President, in considering the midterm elections and your part in them as President, I think you mentioned earlier that Presidents have not always been too effective in reversing the tide. Have you studied the attitudes of your predecessors as they approached such election tests?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I've seen, I've studied what they all did. Sometimes they did nothing and sometimes they did a lot. Fate usually didn't seem to be affected by what they did. President Eisenhower campaigned very hard in '58 and lost badly. President Roosevelt didn't do very much in '34 and won. He did a good deal in '38 and lost. So there's no magic—

Mr. Lawrence: I had heard a story that President Roosevelt took such a rigid public nonpartisan view that he in fact proposed that the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners that year be bipartisan.

THE PRESIDENT. That's correct. He said that he voted for a lot of Republicans in his life. He was very nonpartisan in 1934 and he picked up nine seats.

Mr. Lawrence: He was the only President who did.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, then, he was very partisan in '38 and he lost, what, 70 seats, I think?

Mr. Lawrence: That's right, but that was after the purge, of course.

THE PRESIDENT. That was after the purge. So I, but on the other hand, I've never believed that precedents really mean anything in politics. From my own personal experience as well as for other reasons just because it happened this way in the past doesn't mean anything. The question really is, can we interest enough people to understand how important the congressional election of 1962 is? And that is my function. They themselves will make a judgment finally, but at least I hope by November 6, 1962, as a result of General Eisenhower's campaigning as well as my own, at least everyone's going to know there is an important election on.

Mr. Lawrence: So you feel that General Eisenhower and you together are helping to get out a—

THE PRESIDENT. I think he's very helpful. Some of his speeches may not be so helpful, but at least the fact that he's working hard, I'm working hard, all this means that the people of the United States will realize how important the election of a Congress is.

I think when you read these shocking statistics of 30, 40, 50, 60 percent of people not voting, I think, well, then I think at least maybe we can move that up 5 or 10 percent. And if we do, it helps us.

Mr. Lawrence: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: The interview was video-taped in the President's Office at the White House on October 11 for use October 14 on the American Broadcasting Company television program "Politics—'62."

460 Remarks at the Municipal Airport, Niagara Falls, New York. October 14, 1962

Mr. Dent Lackey, Sheriff, fellow Democrats, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my thanks to all of you for coming out here and being kind enough to greet an itinerant traveling resident of Washington, D.C.

I've come here today for two reasons: first, to express my thanks to all of you for your generosity to me 2 years ago, and also to take part in the ceremony honoring Pulaski. I think that the anniversary which we celebrate today on his behalf has a particular significance to our country, because it reminds us for how long our country has been the great hope of people all over the world. I know that Americans sometimes become dissatisfied and discontented, but I think that, as citizens of this country, we should realize that the hope of the free world, the hope of the enslaved world, stretching all the way from northern Europe to southeast Asia, rests upon you, upon all of us, on 180 million Americans who've held

back the Communist advance for over 17 years, and who, today, stand watch and ward for freedom in 40 or 50 different countries.

That is a proud role which we did not seek, but from which we do not flinch. And I think it's most appropriate to remind ourselves when we salute Pulaski, who fought for our freedom, that we in this country maintain the freedom of hundreds of millions of people who without us would be permanently enslaved.

That's why I am proud to be an American. That's why I'm proud to be a citizen of this country in the great decade through which we're living. And that's why I'm grateful to all of you for coming out and saying "Hello."

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's opening words "Mr. Dent Lackey, Sheriff" referred to Dent Lackey, Democratic candidate for U.S. Representative for the 40th District of New York, and James K. Murphy, sheriff of Niagara County, N.Y.

461 Remarks at the Pulaski Day Parade, Buffalo, New York.

October 14, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Bob Morgenthau, my former colleague Thad Dulski, Mr. Mayor, Reverend Clergy, Mr. Crotty, former Congressmen, friends, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my thanks to all of you for being generous enough to invite me to come to an occasion which has significance to this city and this country, and the free world, because today, in remembering Pulaski, we remember all those millions from Poland and America and all around the globe who have fought and died, who fight now and live, in the cause of freedom. And that's what brings us here to this capital today.

Some years ago I visited Poland. I walked through the Cathedral of Czestochowa. I saw the Matka Bosca. I saw the sword of John Sobieski, who saved Christianity at the gates of Vienna. I saw a small scale, centuries-old model of a cathedral made by the hand of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who translated Polish commitment to liberty to assistance to our colonies. And I saw a small cross—the Cross of Pulaski.

One hundred and eighty-three years ago this month General Pulaski died. He was only 32. He was not an American. He had been on these shores for less than 2 years. He represented a different culture, a different language, a different way of life. But he had the same love of liberty as the people of this country, and, therefore, he was an American as much as he was a Pole.

This is the common theme that runs throughout our history—the millions of people who come to these shores to find freedom and who, as Americans, fight for freedom around the globe. Just a year ago I called attention to this commitment of freedom in a speech before the United Nations. Colonialism, then as now, was the key issue before that Assembly, and I said:

“There is no ignoring the fact that the tide of self-determination has not reached

the Communist empire where a population far larger than that officially called ‘dependent’ lives under governments installed by foreign troops instead of free institutions—under a system which knows only one party and one belief—which suppresses free debate, and free elections, and free newspapers, and free books, and free trade unions—and which builds a wall to keep the truth a stranger, and its own citizens prisoners. Let us debate colonialism in full—and apply the principle of free choice and a plebiscite to every corner of the globe, Eastern Europe as well as Africa.”

We pay tribute to Pulaski today because the truths for which he fought in 1779 are just as strong today. My own belief and observation shows me, and all of us, that there is no stronger reservoir of freedom in the world today than imprisoned Poland. They know the meaning of freedom as no one else can.

What policies can we pursue to permit what Thomas Jefferson called the disease of liberty to be catching behind the Iron Curtain? It's not enough to make speeches about liberations. Our Government must pursue those policies which hold out eventual promise of freedom for the people who live behind the Iron Curtain.

First, we need economic flexibility. Too often our hands are tied by rigid statutory perspectives of the Communist world. Everything is seen in terms of black and white. Either nations are for us or against us; either completely under Soviet domination or completely free. But this is not the case. There are varying shades even within the Communist world. We must be able to seize the initiative when the opportunity arises, in Poland in particular, and in other countries as time goes on, behind the Iron Curtain. We must be ready to gradually, carefully, and peacefully work for closer relations by nourishing the seeds of liberty.

It is for this reason that I was disappointed by the amendment to the trade bill which specifically discriminates against Polish goods. The Polish people press their government for independence. Our policy should be to hold out a helping hand to them and not to shut the door.

Secondly, we must recognize that Soviet domination of these areas is temporary. We must never, in statement, treaty, declaration, or any other manner, recognize Soviet domination of Eastern Europe as permanent. We must never. Twice—in 1961 and '62—I have issued proclamations endorsed by this Congress to that effect.

Third, we must strengthen the economic and cultural ties that bind Poland to the West. The Polish language population, all of you, can be most effective in the ties that you maintain with the people of Poland. I am gratified by the number of students, officials, technicians, going from the United States to Poland and coming from Poland here to the United States. More than three times as many Americans on more than twice as many projects are going to Poland than ever before. Twice as many Poles, on twice as many projects, come here to the United States. This gives us a chance to show that we still remember Poland, that we have not forgotten them. "I was in prison and you visited me," is the best advice for the United States in 1962 in regard to the people of Poland.

Fourth, all of the ties which make Poland so much a part of the Western World, a part

of the European World, must be strengthened. There is no easy solution to any of the problems which face us in Poland, in Asia, in Latin America, or around the world. But the people who count, the people who've been able to maintain their freedom, are the ones who have persevered, who have not gotten tired, who have not become fatigued, who have not given up. Poland, in its history, has been overrun, cut apart, occupied, partitioned, but it has remained free in the hearts of the Polish people, and as the old song says, "As long as you live, Poland lives"—"*Jeszcze Polska nie zginieła*." That is still true, as it was in the history of Poland.

Some years ago I visited the Polish cemetery near Cassino, where thousands of Polish soldiers died far from their country in World War II for the independence of their country, and on that cemetery are written these words: "These Polish soldiers, for your freedom and theirs, have given their bodies to the soil of Italy, their hearts to Poland, and their souls to God."

We give our hearts and our bodies to the cause of freedom here in the United States, in Poland, and all around the globe.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at City Hall in Buffalo, N.Y. In his opening words he referred to Henry Osinski, chairman of the Buffalo Pulaski Day celebration; Robert Morgenthau, Democratic candidate for Governor of New York; Thaddeus J. Dulski, U.S. Representative from New York and honorary chairman of the Buffalo Pulaski Day celebration; Chester Kowal, Mayor of Buffalo; and Peter J. Crotty, chairman of the Erie County (N.Y.) Democratic Committee.

462 Letter to Senator Pell Concerning Interurban Transportation Between Eastern Seaboard Cities. *October 15, 1962*

[Released October 15, 1962. Dated October 9, 1962]

Dear Senator Pell:

It is a pleasure to have your letter of October 3d indicating that you are seriously concerned about the state of passenger transportation services in the Northeast. I share

your concern. I agree with you that there is serious and urgent need for the development of improved surface passenger transportation along the heavily-populated and heavily-traveled eastern seaboard megalopolitan area,

Washington-Philadelphia-New York-Providence-Boston. The technical, financial, and operating aspects of the problem are plainly complex and difficult. The role, if any, which the Federal Government should eventually play is not at all clear. The proposed interstate compact may well be an important element in the solution of the problem. There are, as you correctly point out in your letter, many other aspects which must be carefully explored and for which alternative solutions must be developed if your imaginative and constructive idea is to be brought to successful fruition.

Accordingly, I have asked Mr. Feldman of my staff to direct the assembly of a task force within the Executive Branch, supplemented to the extent necessary by experts from the universities, the transportation industry and private research organizations, to conduct an exploratory study. The purpose

would be to survey available information, to identify issues and to estimate the time, expense and staff required to prepare such proposals as may be appropriate. I have asked Mr. Feldman to provide me with a preliminary evaluation by late November in time for consideration in connection with the budget and legislative program to be presented to the Congress in January. I have also asked Mr. Feldman to keep in touch with you in the course of his exploratory study.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Senator Pell's letter was released with the President's reply.

On December 11 the President released the task force report "Transportation in the Northeastern Megalopolitan Corridor," dated December 10, 1962 (36 pp., processed). The report was made available through the Bureau of the Budget.

463 Message to the Director of NASA Commending Commander Schirra and the Mercury Team. *October 15, 1962*

[Released October 15, 1962. Dated October 9, 1962]

ON the occasion when you are honoring Commander Walter Schirra for his exceptional achievement I would like to add my personal congratulations. The entire Mercury team is to be commended for its dedicated efforts to develop United States capabilities in space—to get our space program moving, from a position of second best to one of world leadership. That we are climbing back up the ladder is apparent in the matchless performance of our most recent flight. I am convinced that although we are still second in hardware, we bow to no one in the quality of our space team—that their

devoted and determined efforts will in this decade restore our leadership.

I am particularly proud of Commander Schirra for the great professional skill and personal courage he demonstrated in his magnificent flight. Would you please convey to him my warmest congratulations and the thanks of our Nation that men such as he devote their lives to its service.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Honorable James Webb, Director, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Washington, D.C.]

464 Remarks of Welcome to Prime Minister Ben Bella of Algeria on the South Lawn at the White House. *October 15, 1962*

Mr. Prime Minister:

It is with the greatest personal pleasure that I welcome you to the United States.

My interest in your country and its state goes back a number of years, and, therefore, I take particular pleasure in welcoming the

head of state of a new country which stretches back through history for thousands of years and which has a great place to play now not only in North Africa, but throughout all of the world.

I am particularly glad to have you here as a strong patriot who has given many indications under the most difficult circumstances of your devotion to your country and your love for freedom. So, Mr. Prime Minister, we are glad to have you and the members of your government.

We hope this visit here will give you an opportunity to make a judgment of the United States and its people and also recognize the hand of friendship which we extend to the people of Algeria in this common desire to maintain our national independence and the peace of the world.

Mr. Prime Minister, we are very proud to have you here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. Prime Minister Ahmed Ben Bella responded (through an interpreter) as follows:

"Mr. President:

"I want first of all to thank you for a kind word which you have addressed to me and in which you have spoken on my country.

"I would like to state it clearly that our country is devoted, our people are devoted to the values of friendship and of understanding among all of the peoples of the world. I would like also to take advantage of the opportunity which is offered to me here to express to you in the name of our country, in the name of our people, the warmest regard which we have for a clear and courageous stand you have taken many years ago already in favor of Algerian independence.

"I am certain, Mr. President, that you will continue to be the artisan of the task of building friendship and cooperation between our two peoples.

"In conclusion, Mr. President, I would like to thank you for the invitation you have extended to us, for the honor you have extended to us by receiving us here, and I wish to express the most sincere wish for the prosperity, for the happiness of our two peoples. Thank you."

Mr. Ben Bella was the first foreign chief of state to be accorded an official welcome at a ceremony on the South Lawn at the White House. Varicolored flags of the 50 States were arrayed on the lawn where the welcoming ceremony, including a 21-gun salute, was held.

465 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Ben Bella.

October 15, 1962

Gentlemen:

I want to express our very warm welcome to the Prime Minister and the members of his government. I think that all of us in this country, whatever our political views may be, respect courage. We have in the Prime Minister a man who was imprisoned over 5 years for his country, the Foreign Minister who was imprisoned 3 or 4 years, the Commandant who helped lead the guerrilla forces in the Sahara region, and other members of his government. We have the greatest respect for them. As one who has been especially interested in what they have done, and especially sympathetic to their efforts, it gives me the highest personal pleasure to welcome them here to the White House.

I don't suppose that anyone who lives

through a very revolutionary period recognizes how extraordinary it is. Here within the last 15 years we have had over 50 countries become independent. I don't think that really in the last 2,000 years have we had such an extraordinary series of events take place, which we take for granted, but which 100 years from now will be regarded as being unprecedented.

We're very glad to have you, Mr. Prime Minister. I regret to tell you that George Washington—who led our revolution, was regarded as first in war and first in peace, and was universally beloved and served two terms as President—could not wait to get back to his farm in Virginia. So I think that in spite of the extraordinary life you've led, and those of your ministers, the real danger is just beginning.

Mr. Prime Minister, as one who has strongly believed that the best solution for a good many of the difficulties of the world is individual liberty and national independence, I must say that I have the greatest hopes for what is to happen in Algeria, the strongest interest, and the strongest commitment.

I think that Algeria has a chance to prove that all those who wanted to hold back the tide of history were wrong. So I hope that all of you will join in drinking with me to the people of Algeria, to the guests who are here, all of whom merit the warmest welcome from the people of this country, and especially to the Prime Minister who has borne heavy burdens and bears them now with distinction.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House.

In his response (through an interpreter) Prime Minister Ben Bella expressed appreciation for the President's tribute to the courage of the Algerian people and of the members of the delegation. He pointed out, however, that political courage as well as physical courage was involved, and that Algeria's "solemn consecration to the international scene is something that we share with all who placed confidence in us. It is something to be shared with all of the politicians who assumed the courageous position and who forecast what would happen."

Mr. Ben Bella concluded his remarks by referring to the deeply human character of the experience through which Algeria was passing, and to the magnitude of the burden resting on the shoulders of the President of the United States. He expressed the hope that developments in both countries would "promote the cause of the great universal aim of mankind, mutual understanding, peace, welfare, and true brotherhood."

In the course of his remarks the President referred to Mohammed Khemisti, Foreign Minister of Algeria, and "Commandant" Ahmed Kaidi, a Member of the Algerian Parliament.

466 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Ben Bella. *October 15, 1962*

HIS EXCELLENCY Ahmed Ben Bella, Prime Minister of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and President Kennedy met for a discussion and lunch at the White House today.

The President took the occasion of Prime Minister Ben Bella's presence at the United Nations to invite him to be his guest so that they might become acquainted and review problems of common interest.

President Kennedy told the Prime Minister of his personal interest and that of the people of the United States in the future of an independent Algeria, and expressed best

wishes to the Prime Minister on Algeria's admission to the United Nations. He also explained the principles of United States foreign policy.

The Prime Minister discussed the problems of his country and explained the principles of Algeria's foreign policy. There was a useful and cordial exchange of views on aspects of the international situation. President Kennedy and the Prime Minister stated their hopes for a close and continuing friendship between the two countries.

NOTE: The White House also released the text of this statement in French.

467 Toasts of the President and Crown Prince Hasan of Libya. *October 16, 1962*

I WANT to express our very warm welcome to our distinguished guest who has been kind enough to come from his country to ours on his first visit to the United States.

He proceeds from here to San Francisco, and then to New York. No distinguished visitor to this country ever asks to go to Boston or Austin. The Vice President and I are get-

ting reconciled to that, with some difficulty.

Your Highness, though I suppose most of us here have not been to your country it has played a part in our history. The "Shores of Tripoli" are well known to all of us. And I think it's a source of historic interest that your country and people, which are probably the most ancient in the known world, should also be in a sense the oldest people and the youngest country.

The country of Libya and the United States have enjoyed the closest of relations. They've been very fast friends of ours. And I want Your Highness to know that in these very difficult days we're very appreciative to those who are our friends. The hospitality which you've shown my countrymen, those who serve in the military forces as well as those in civilian capacities, has been very—is well known here, and is warmly appreciated.

So we regard the visit of Your Highness as of both symbolic and real importance, symbolizing the friendship between Libya and the United States, and also giving us an opportunity to discuss those matters which concern both of our countries. Your Highness, we're very glad to welcome you here,

to welcome the Foreign Minister, the Minister of Development, other members of the government. We're particularly glad to have your Ambassador here, who has been a distinguished member of the diplomatic corps and who is highly regarded by us all.

I hope that all of you will join in drinking with me to the prosperity of the people of Libya, to our warm welcome to our distinguished guests, to His Highness, and to the good health of his majesty the King.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his response (through an interpreter) the Crown Prince assured the President that the relations between their countries were strong. "We hope," he added, "that as a result of my visit to your country these relations will be further strengthened and that the affection which exists between our people and your people as well as the cooperation which exists between them in the different and various fields of endeavor will continue to grow stronger."

He concluded by expressing hope that an exchange of views with the President would play a significant role in further establishing the principles of justice and peace throughout the world.

In his remarks the President referred to Wanis Qaddafi, Foreign Minister of Libya; Abdullah Sikta, Director General of the Development Council of Libya; and Mohieddine Fekini, Ambassador to the United States from Libya.

468 Statement by the President Upon Signing the Revenue Act.

October 16, 1962

I HAVE today signed H.R. 10650, the Revenue Act of 1962.

This is an important bill—one possessing many desirable features which will stimulate the economy and provide a greater measure of fairness in our tax system.

The bill provides an investment tax credit. In combination with the recently revised guidelines for depreciation of assets, this credit will provide added stimulus to investment in machinery and equipment, and give American firms tax treatment which compares favorably with their competitors in world markets.

It includes several provisions designed to reduce tax avoidance on incomes earned by

American companies and individuals at home and abroad. By limiting the opportunities to escape tax liability, it makes the distribution of tax burdens fairer and increases our total tax revenues from those sources.

Congress did not adopt the withholding system on interest and dividend income which I had recommended. However, as automatic data processing is installed by the Internal Revenue Service, the interest and dividend reporting requirements in the bill will be helpful in improving compliance with the tax laws on these sources of income.

In summary, this bill makes a good start on bringing our tax structure up to date and

provides a favorable context for the overall tax reform program I intend to propose to the next Congress.

NOTE: As enacted, H.R. 10650 is Public Law 87-834 (76 Stat. 960).

469 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Modifying the
Anti-Communist Oath Requirement for Student Loans.
October 17, 1962

[Released October 17, 1962. Dated October 16, 1962]

I HAVE given my approval to the action of the Congress eliminating from the National Science Foundation and National Defense Education Acts the section which required any scientist, teacher, or other student who applied for a loan or grant thereunder to execute an affidavit declaring that he does not believe in, belong to, or support any organization which believes in or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by an illegal method. It substitutes a provision making it illegal for anyone to apply for or receive any such loan or grant if he is a member of a Communist organization registered under the Subversive Activities Control Act. It also requires recipients of National Defense Education Act fellowships or of advanced foreign language training stipends and recipients of National Science Foundation scholarships or fellowships to furnish a list of their crimes and criminal

charges, pending against them, of a serious nature.

The affidavit requirement caused 32 of our colleges to refuse to participate in the National Defense Education Act student loan program. Many others who participated did so reluctantly. Representatives of many of our colleges testified that the affidavit discriminated against college students and was offensive to them.

It is highly unlikely that the affidavit requirement kept any Communist out of the programs. It did, however, keep out those who considered the disclaimer affidavit a bridle upon freedom of thought.

I am glad to approve the legislation.

NOTE: President Kennedy had originally introduced this legislation in the United States Senate in 1959 while serving as a Member of that body.

As enacted, the bill amending the National Science Foundation and the National Defense Education Acts (H.R. 8556) is Public Law 87-835 (76 Stat. 1069).

470 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Authorizing a
National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.
October 17, 1962

I AM delighted to approve the legislation authorizing the creation of a National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, elevating the present Division of General Medical Sciences to institute status, and continuing for three additional years the Health Research Facilities Construction Program.

The future health of our Nation rests on the care of our children and the development of our knowledge of the medical and biological sciences.

We will look to the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development for a concentrated attack on the unsolved health problems of children and of mother-infant

relationships. This legislation will encourage imaginative research into the complex processes of human development from conception to old age. It should permit major advances in the conquest of those chronic conditions such as mental retardation and other congenital defects which derive from aberrations in early development. For the first time, we will have an institute to promote studies directed at the entire life process rather than toward specific diseases or illnesses. Research in recent years has established beyond question that adult behavior, intelligence, and motivation are established by the experience and patterns of response developed in the formative years of life.

The creation of the National Institute of General Medical Sciences provides recogni-

tion for an existing program which supports, in the universities and medical research centers throughout our country and abroad, research into the sciences underlying specific medical and health activities.

The programs of both institutes will be broad and comprehensive and serve to complement the excellent programs of categorical institutes of the National Institutes of Health.

I take great pleasure in signing this bill, because I am confident it will contribute to the expansion of our knowledge in areas of science important to the advancement of health for all people.

NOTE: As enacted, the bill (H.R. 11099) is Public Law 87-838 (76 Stat. 1072).

471 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the Crown Prince of Libya. *October 17, 1962*

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS Crown Prince Hasan al-Rida al-Sanusi of the United Kingdom of Libya and President John F. Kennedy met at the White House yesterday in the course of the Crown Prince's official visit to the United States.

The visit and meeting provided an opportunity for President Kennedy to meet the Crown Prince of Libya and to enable His Royal Highness to become acquainted with the United States and to hold discussions with U.S. leaders.

The two leaders and their respective advisers reviewed the existing relations be-

tween the United States and Libya and exchanged views in complete frankness on problems of common interest relating to the area and on the current international situation.

The President expressed pleasure at the efforts being made by Libya toward the achievement of progress and prosperity for its people and indicated the interest and willingness of the United States to assist in those efforts by appropriate means.

Both parties expressed hope for continuing close and friendly relations between the United States and Libya.

472 Remarks at the Bridgeport Municipal Airport, Stratford, Connecticut. *October 17, 1962*

Governor Dempsey, Abe Ribicoff, Frank Lennon, Congressman John Monagan, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my thanks to all of you. I am delighted to come back to this State.

The State of Connecticut, under the leadership of Abe Ribicoff, was the first State of

the Union to support my candidacy for the Presidency. It was the State that placed us in nomination, and it was the first State to report its results in 1960.

I come back here in 1962 to ask your assistance in meeting the responsibilities which are so incumbent upon moving and

keeping moving this country ahead in 1962. The fact of the matter is that the great fight in 1962 is the same fight that we waged in 1960 and must be waged in this decade, and that is to provide employment for our people, education for our children, and security for our older citizens. And that job, in my opinion, can only be done by the Democratic Party.

The fact of the matter is in this city—nearby—of Bridgeport, since January 1961, unemployment has been reduced by 45 percent, and what is true of Bridgeport is true of the State of Connecticut. All these programs, however, whether they're minimum wage, whether they're development of our space program, whether they're development of our national defense, whether they are the development of our cities and towns—all these programs need the effective commitment, of men in the House and Senate.

As Abe Ribicoff knows, we lost fight after fight, on issue after issue in the House and Senate by 1, 2, 3, or 4 votes. And we won fight after fight in the House and Senate by 1, 2, 3, or 4 votes. We lost, as Abe knows, medical care for the aged by a change of 1 vote in the United States Senate, and that is the reason why I believe it vitally important that this State send to Washington to serve with your distinguished Senator Tom Dodd, another great Democrat, Abe Ribicoff; and reelect as Governor an old friend who has served this State with distinction, Governor Dempsey, who speaks for this State and speaks for the country; and send as Congressman, John Monagan, send him back to Congress; and send a new Congressman with him in Frank Lennon.

These men fight for your interests. This country of ours does not go on its own momentum. It requires the dedicated work

of those in the State House, those in the State Legislature, people working in towns and cities and in the National Capital together who are committed to progressive government. That is the choice that we have in 1962, and I'm sure that you recognize that all of the things which we wish to do, which I believe important in order to strengthen this country here at home, none of these things can be done without the support of Members of the House and Senate.

The President of the United States executes the laws, but the House and Senate write the laws. And if the House and Senate are controlled by those who wish to sit still, if they are controlled by a coalition of Republicans and Democrats who are opposed to progress, then this country sits still.

Eighty-five percent of the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted against a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour. That's \$50 a week. The average wage in the State of Connecticut moved from \$91 a week to \$103 a week in the last 20 months, and yet 85 percent of the Republicans voted against \$50 a week.

That's the issue of this campaign: medical care for the aged, housing, education for our children, and jobs and progress. And I believe the Democratic Party in 1962, just as in 1960, just as in the forties, just as in the thirties—I believe the Democratic Party is committed to progress. And I come here and ask you to support them.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to Governor John N. Dempsey; Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator; Francis X. Lennon, Democratic candidate for U.S. Representative for the Fourth District; and U.S. Representative John S. Monagan—all of Connecticut. Later he referred to U.S. Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut.

473 Remarks on the New Haven Green.

October 17, 1962

Governor Dempsey; Mayor Lee; Abe Ribicoff; Bernie Grabowski—who's going to be the next Congressman at Large from the State of Connecticut; the distinguished Congressman from this district whom I know you're going to reelect, Bob Giaimo—who I know is going to have another term to serve this State, to serve this country; members of the State ticket; ladies and gentlemen:

I have come to this center of learning in order to come back to my college—Yale—and I have enjoyed that warm reception I've gotten from my fellow Elis as I drove into this city—[laughter]—but they will learn, as this country has learned, that the Democratic Party is best for them as it is for the country.

Now, why do we say that? Why do we say that? Well, I'll tell you. I'll tell you what this administration has done in the last 22 months which I think makes a difference in the life of everyone in the State of Connecticut. When we assumed responsibility for office in January 1961, unemployment in the State of Connecticut was over 8 percent. That unemployment today in the State of Connecticut is down to 4 percent and I believe should go lower.

This administration in the last 21 months—the average corporate profit in the United States, which may be of particular interest to some, has gone up 23 percent in the last 22 months. Personal savings have gone up 12 percent. The gross national product has gone up over 11 percent. Farm income is the highest it's been in 10 years.

That is the record of this administration on which we run in October 1962. This country will spend more on its space program this year than all the 8 years from 1953 to 1960. This administration and Congress have strengthened the military forces of the United States, have increased the combat divisions of the Army by five, the number of Polaris submarines by 50 percent, the number of bombers on the 15-minute alert

by 50 percent, and have given the United States the strongest peacetime posture it has ever had, in the last 21 months.

This administration and this Congress have passed the most comprehensive Housing Act for the elderly since 1949, have increased the minimum wage to \$1.25 an hour, have lowered social security retirement from 65 to 62, have given aid to dependent children, have passed the most comprehensive Trade Expansion Act in the history of this country, and that's why we're here tonight to ask your help.

Now, while we were doing this, what is the record of the Republicans? On a bill to provide medical care for the aged under a system of social security, seven-eighths of the Republicans voted against it, and a change of 1 vote would have meant its passage. On a bill to provide a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour, that's \$50 a week, 89 percent of the Republicans voted against it—\$1.25 an hour, \$50 a week—just as 90 percent of the Republicans in the thirties voted against 25 cents an hour. That's why I'm a Democrat.

On a bill to permit the cities of the United States, where 75 percent of our people live, to have representation at the Cabinet table, 90 percent of the Republicans voted against it. They are against anything new because it's new, anything good because it's progressive, and that's why we're here tonight to ask your support for the Democratic Party.

On a bill to provide assistance to areas of this country which have chronic unemployment—1, 2, or 3 years, people out of work—15 or 20 percent—on a bill to provide area redevelopment, 82 percent of the Republicans voted against it. That's why we're Democrats, and that's why this State is going to elect Governor Dempsey in November. That's why this State is going to send Abe Ribicoff to the United States Senate in November. That's why this district is

going to elect Bob Giaimo for another term, and they're going to elect a Congressman at Large who can serve Connecticut and this country in Bernie Grabowski.

That's what is going to happen on November 6th, and when they do that, on all these programs which make it possible for this country to maintain its economic vitality instead of limping from recession to recession, in 1958 and 1960, we're going to do the job. So I come here tonight and ask the voters of New Haven, the voters of Connecticut, the voters of the United States, to support the Democratic Party in the House, in the Senate, and in the Governors' mansions November 6th.

Ladies and gentlemen, this election in its own way is just as important, as it decides the makeup of the House and the Senate, just as important as a presidential election. Under the Constitution, the powers given to

the Members of the House and Senate to write the laws, to determine the fiscal policy of the United States, are almost complete. The power of the President in domestic affairs is confined to executing the laws. He also has a responsibility, however, to recommend a program, and I recommend in 1962 a program of progress for this country, and I hope we'll have a Democratic House and Senate that is so committed. And that's what we're meeting for tonight, and that's why we're going to be successful.

Thank you.

NOTE: In his opening words the President referred to John N. Dempsey, Governor of Connecticut; Richard C. Lee, Mayor of New Haven; Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator from Connecticut; Bernard F. Grabowski, Democratic candidate for U.S. Representative at Large from Connecticut; and Robert N. Giaimo, U.S. Representative from Connecticut.

474 Remarks on the Green in Waterbury, Connecticut.

October 17, 1962

Mayor Bergin, Governor Dempsey, Senator Dodd, Congressman John Monagan, the next Congressman at Large Bernard Grabowski, members of the State ticket, ladies and gentlemen:

I must say, having been here at 3 o'clock, and now it's 6:30, that Waterbury is either the easiest city in the United States to get a crowd in, or it has the best Democrats in the United States. In any case, our meeting here 2 years ago at 3 o'clock in the morning was the high point of the 1960 campaign, and we will meet at 3 o'clock in the morning the last week of the 1964 campaign and see what's going to happen then.

All of the effort which we make all depends, of course, upon what function a political party is serving, and I come here to Connecticut and I come here to Waterbury to ask your support for the election of Democrats for the House of Representatives, John Monagan, your Congressman, Bernie Grabowski, who is running as Congressman

at Large, Abe Ribicoff, who's running for the United States Senate, and John Dempsey, who's running for Governor of the State of Connecticut. I do that not merely because I am a Democrat, but because I believe the Democratic Party has a great function to fulfill for the State of Connecticut and the United States.

When I became President of the United States in January 1961, 1 out of every 10 workers in this city was out of work. That has been cut by 50 percent, and it's still too much, but it indicates what can be done. The average wage in this city a year and one-half ago was \$91 a week. Now it's \$105.

This country must go forward, and it only can go forward if we have a House, a Senate, a President, and a Governor all committed to progress as they are in this State and country. So I want to urge our Democrats here and all around to go out and do the job on November 6th, to provide education for our children, to provide jobs for our

workers, to provide security for our older citizens. All these things can and must be done in this great country of ours, but they can only be done by a political party which recognizes the challenge of our times and is willing to do something about it, and that's what the Democratic Party is willing to do in 1962.

I hope that all of you over there and all around this city and all around this State will elect a great Democrat as United States Senator, a former Governor, a former member of the Cabinet of the United States, and who has recognized, rightly, that these fights are won or lost in the Senate of the United States and in the House of Representatives—Abe Ribicoff, who will be the next United States Senator.

Every year in this country's history in the last 50 years the party in power of the majority has lost seats in the off year. Too many times I have seen fights won and lost by 1, 2, or 3 votes, on housing and medical care for the aged, and education, and farming, and all the rest, and I don't want to see

the next 2 years spent with a Congress in the control of the Republicans and an Executive in control of the Democrats, and nothing being done which must be done if this country's going to move ahead.

This city, this State, this country can only find work for its people and a better chance and a stronger America by our moving together on November 6th to elect the Democrats who are candidates in this State for office. I ask your help for all of them. I want all of them to stand up now with you and commit ourselves on November 6th to vote "yes" for the United States, and "yes" for Connecticut.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In his opening words the President referred to Edward Bergin, Mayor of Waterbury; John N. Dempsey, Governor of Connecticut; Thomas J. Dodd, U.S. Senator, and John S. Monagan, U.S. Representative, from Connecticut; and Bernard F. Grabowski, Democratic candidate for U.S. Representative at Large from Connecticut. Later he referred to Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator from Connecticut.

475 Remarks on Presenting the Harmon Trophies.

October 18, 1962

I WANT to express my very warm welcome to all those who are the winners of this year's awards; also those who were previous winners, as well as the young boys and girls who are here today and who represent our great hopes. I want to especially express our great admiration for the work which was done in 1961.

Miss Cochran, who, as was stated, has won this trophy six times, which is an extraordinary record, and as was stated, I'm the fourth President to present her with an award, and I'm sure that my successors will be fulfilling the same happy function in other years. So we're delighted to have you here.

Then we want to congratulate the distinguished pilot who, following Colonel Lindbergh's route, traveled it in one-tenth the time, and in the short space of 35 years

we have so cut down time and space, and the world is becoming so small, so intimate, that we hope friendship will result from it.

Then we want to congratulate those who went so high as well as those who went so fast. The feat of taking this balloon to over 110,000 feet, of winning these great honors for our country, we want to congratulate those who accomplished that.

We're particularly glad to have Mrs. Prather here again. It was my pleasure to present her with the Distinguished Flying Cross for her husband, and I'm sure she knows how proud we are of her and her family. We're glad to have the mother of her late husband here also, and the children who have come, who're bound to be outstanding.

So we're glad to have all of you here. This

award is the outstanding award of its kind in our country. I'm sure that all my predecessors took the same satisfaction out of presenting it that I do. We have some of the previous winners. Colonel Lindbergh is one of these, Bernt Balchen, Major de Seversky, Mr. Sikorsky, and others. And all those who travel this great ocean of space have our admiration.

NOTE: The ceremony was held at 9:30 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The winners of the awards were: Lt. Col. William R. Payne "for

piloting a B-58 bomber to two international supersonic speed records"; Jacqueline Cochran "for establishing eight world class records with a T-38 supersonic jet, and for flying an F-104 jet fighter twice the speed of sound"; and Comdr. Malcolm D. Ross and Lt. Comdr. Victor A. Prather, Jr. for "attaining an altitude of 113,739.8 feet in a balloon flight over the Gulf of Mexico, being the highest altitude ever attained by a manned balloon." Mrs. Prather accepted the award honoring her husband who drowned while being picked up by helicopter upon completion of the flight.

The citations were read by William E. Schramek, a member of the board of trustees of the Harmon International Trophies.

476 Letter to the Incorporators of the Communications Satellite Corporation. *October 18, 1962*

[Released October 18, 1962. Dated October 15, 1962]

Dear _____:

The Senate in its closing days was unable to act on your nomination as an incorporator of the Communications Satellite Corporation. Consequently, I am by this letter appointing you on a recess basis.

On the occasion of your appointment, I would like to take this opportunity to set forth some observations and suggestions that may be of assistance to you and the other incorporators as you assume your duties.

Although the incorporators are not officers or employees of the United States, they will, I know, find it necessary and desirable to maintain close contacts with various agencies of the Government, including the Department of Justice, the Department of State, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Federal Communications Commission, the National Aeronautics and Space Council, and the Director of Telecommunications Management. To facilitate these contacts, the incorporators should consider the Director of the Bureau of the Budget as their chief point of liaison with the Government until such time as the corporation is established. In this interim period, I shall look to the Director to be the focal point within the Government for matters relating to the Com-

munications Satellite Corporation, to coordinate the interests of the various agencies, to report to me periodically on the progress of the incorporators' work, and to provide such assistance as may be required in financing the work of the incorporators. In the early stages, the Government would be willing to provide office space, meeting rooms, and secretarial help. I have asked the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to be of assistance to the incorporators in connection with these administrative arrangements. I have asked Mr. Philip Graham to serve as chairman of the incorporators (ad interim) until such time as the group can adopt its own rules of procedure and make its own choice of a chairman.

The first task of the incorporators is to effect the incorporation of the new enterprise under District of Columbia law. The Department of Justice has reserved the name "Communications Satellite Corporation" at the Office of the D.C. Superintendent of Corporations and will transfer the right to its use to the incorporators, who may use this name or select another at their discretion.

While the incorporators may wish to retain private counsel to perform the principal work incident to the establishment of the corpora-

tion, attorneys of the Department of Justice and lawyers of other agencies will be available to assist in this task. Since the Act requires the approval of the President before the articles of incorporation can be filed, I suggest that private counsel and designated Government attorneys work together closely.

The flotation of common stock will clearly be a matter of priority. The determination of the amount of the initial offering will undoubtedly depend upon scientific considerations as well as financial factors. Prime consideration of the incorporators with respect to the flotation of stock will be to ensure the widest possible ownership by private investors.

I fully expect that the work which you and

the other incorporators will perform in connection with the Communications Satellite Corporation will be in the highest tradition of the public service.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to each of the following appointees: John T. Connor of New Jersey, George Feldman of New York, Beardsley Graham of Kentucky, Sam Harris of New York, Edgar F. Kaiser of California, David M. Kennedy of Illinois, George L. Killion of California, A. Byrne Litschgi of Florida, Leonard Marks of the District of Columbia, Bruce G. Sundlun of Rhode Island, Sidney J. Weinberg of New York, and Leonard Woodcock of Michigan. On the same day the President sent a similar letter to Philip L. Graham of the District of Columbia designating him Chairman of the Incorporators (ad interim).

477 Message to the Prime Minister of Canada on International Trade. *October 19, 1962*

[Released October 19, 1962. Dated October 18, 1962]

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you for your letter on the occasion of my signature of the Trade Expansion Act. I am pleased to know that the Canadian Government welcomes this most significant development in the trade policy of the United States.

Ever since World War II, Canada and the United States have been partners in a determined search for a non-discriminatory trading world which affords to all countries of the Free World the best opportunities for economic growth and expansion. Your letter makes clear that we continue to share these common objectives, and I am gratified to have your pledge of close cooperation in moving toward a wider acceptance of our convictions.

I would like to take full advantage of the authority which the Trade Expansion Act confers upon me and I am eager to explore with other like-minded nations as soon as possible the problems and prospects for a new approach to the reduction of obstacles to

world trade. In this connection the recent discussions in Ottawa between officials of our two Governments have been most useful. I have been thinking that, after some of the preliminary work has been done and a consensus reached among the principal participants, a ministerial meeting early in 1963 of the Contracting Parties of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade might well be the most suitable way to enlist the participation and support of like-minded nations.

On the basis of your proposal for an international meeting, perhaps we might join forces in recommending a special meeting of the Contracting Parties at the ministerial level, to be held possibly as early as February or March of 1963. I should be interested in your reactions to this suggestion.

I am encouraged by the improvement in Canada's reserve position and welcome the first step you have just taken in the process of removing the special surcharges on imports in response to this improvement. I look forward to your being able to remove the

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remaining surcharges. This would help us all move forward in our attack on trade barriers.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[The Right Honorable John G. Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, Ottawa]

NOTE: Prime Minister Diefenbaker's letter, dated October 11, was released with the President's reply.

478 Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Relating to the World Food Congress. *October 19, 1962*

UNDER the authority of S. 3679, which I have just signed, the United States will be the host nation, June 4-18, 1963, to the World Food Congress of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

At the World Food Congress, the more than 100 member countries of FAO and the United Nations will be invited to report their progress in the current world-wide Freedom From Hunger Campaign of the FAO, and to plan for further improvement of the food and nutrition of the peoples of the world for the years ahead.

The World Food Congress will also commemorate the 20th anniversary of the founding of FAO at Hot Springs, Virginia, in 1943. The United States, which initiated the founding meeting, is a charter member of FAO, and will arrange special ceremonies for this observance.

Under the American system of agriculture, our farmers produce an abundance which is a marvelous technical achievement, and at the same time a mighty weapon in the war against hunger.

The United States has used this abundance to combat hunger abroad, and to provide nations striving to develop their economies with the means of improving the health and vigor of their citizens.

The Food for Peace program is the dramatic and tangible expression of our belief that permanent economic progress is possible—that through voluntary cooperation every country in the free world can achieve a self-supporting economy that provides a decent standard of living for each citizen.

NOTE: As enacted, S. 3679, approved October 18, 1962, is Public Law 87-841 (76 Stat. 1078).

479 Memorandum of Disapproval of Bill Concerning Indecent Publications in the District of Columbia. *October 19, 1962*

[Released October 19, 1962. Dated October 18, 1962]

I AM withholding my approval of H.R. 4670, a bill "To amend the law relating to indecent publications in the District of Columbia."

Although I am in complete accord with the Congress that the people of the District of Columbia should adequately be protected against the dissemination of indecent and obscene publications and articles, there are grave constitutional and other considerations which have been called to my attention

which compel me to withhold my approval of the legislation.

Among other things, my attention has been directed to the 1961 Supreme Court decision in *Marcus v. Search Warrant*, reported at page 717 of volume 367 of the United States Reports, which seems clearly to make the search and seizure provisions of this bill unconstitutional.

The 88th Congress will convene in less than three months and I am convinced it is

desirable that the considerations which have been brought to my attention should be brought to its attention. Such a brief delay in the enactment of this legislation seems a

small price to pay in order to obtain an enforceable law which will achieve the worthy objectives which prompted the bill before me.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

480 Remarks in the Public Square, Cleveland, Ohio.

October 19, 1962

Governor DiSalle, Senator Lausche, Senator Young, Congressman Mike Feighan, Congressman Charlie Vanik, Grant Keys, Senator Ocasek, fellow Democrats—and Republicans who are passing through the Square for lunch:

I want to express my pleasure in coming back to Cleveland and to say that—well, I don't know about the rest of Ohio—Cleveland has always been extremely generous to me, and I'm delighted to come back here on this occasion to take part in the campaign of November 1962.

I hope that all of you understand, as I'm sure you do, that it is most appropriate and important that a President of the United States who is not a candidate take part in this campaign for the House, for the Senate, and for the various gubernatorial candidates in this State. Now the reason I do that is very simple. The President of the United States does not write the Nation's laws. Those laws are written by the House and by the Senate. Under the Constitution of the United States the President has the responsibility of executing the laws. So as I am most concerned about the passage of those laws which I believe to be essential for the progress of the United States, I come to Ohio and I come to other parts of the country, and I ask for support for Democratic candidates.

I know that there are those who feel that the best thing the Government can do is do nothing, that the real function of the Government is not to govern, and that if we withdraw our efforts from the national and State arenas, that the country will move along. But I don't hold that view at all. The fact of the matter is that there isn't one

person in this square, be they Republicans or Democrats or Independents, who have not been directly affected by the actions that the National Government has taken in the last 30 years. You don't buy a house which isn't guaranteed by the FHA or the Veterans Administration. Every deposit that you have in a bank is guaranteed by the National Government. If you work in a retail store as a clerk, you are covered by the national minimum wage. If your child is in vocational school, the National Government contributes to that.

In this effort by the city of Cleveland to provide for urban renewal, the National Government has been the stimulator of that program. In your effort to cleanse the Ohio River, the National Government's water pollution program, with the partnership of the State, plays a part in it. You may say that everything the Government has to do has been done, but do you know that seven-eighths of the research done on diseases in this country is done by programs sponsored by the National Government? Do you know that every hospital in your home town is built in part by funds provided by the National Government?

Now the question is whether these programs which were once regarded as so radical, whether they should be matched by programs in the sixties. And that's why I'm here, because I believe they should. I believe, for example, that the best way to take care of 17 million Americans over 65 who may have overwhelming hospital bills is through medical care under social security. Let's say you're not 65 but you're 45, and you're supporting a child or two children

in school, and you have a middle income bracket, and your mother or father gets sick. In 1 month or 2 months they can eat up 1, 2, 3, or 4 thousand dollars. If you have no money or if you're very rich, you can get taken care of. But if you're in a middle income group or a lower middle income group, you have to put your house on the market to pay the bills if your mother or father gets sick at the time you're educating your child. For 25 cents a week under social security—and both of the Senators from this State supported it, Frank Lausche and Steve Young—we can do something about that problem.

You want to send your child to college. By 1970 there'll be 7,500,000 boys and girls trying to get into our colleges, twice as many as today. We had a program to assist our colleges. It lost by 28 votes. That's why this election is important, and that's why the election of Democratic Senators and Democratic Congressmen and a Democratic Governor is important, because these programs must be passed.

Do you know today in the United States, that 3 percent of the children in this country are born and grow up mentally retarded? Do you know how many there are in Sweden? One percent. Because they have better care before the child is born. They grow up under better circumstances. They have teachers specially trained. Do you imagine that 2 percent of our children live in mental retardation who could be saved if we had the programs and the recognition of the need? And your Governor is the Chairman of the Governor's committee on this program, and those of us who have seen children live in the shadows know that a

country as rich as ours can't possibly justify this neglect.

So these are the issues of this campaign—housing, jobs, the kind of tax program we write in the coming session, the kind of assistance we provide for education, the kind of assistance for health, the kind of jobs we provide. When I assumed the office of Presidency in January 1961, over 8 percent of the people of the State of Ohio were out of work. Now it's under 5 percent and it's still too high. But that's my answer to those who say that this election is not important, that there are no longer any major issues, that everything that had to be done was done in the thirties or the forties or the fifties, and that it's our job in the 1960's to sit still. I don't believe it at all.

Therefore, I come to this city and I come to this State, and I ask for the election of a distinguished Governor, Mike DiSalle, who recognizes the problems of this State and country, and wants to do something about it; and of Frank Lausche, your candidate for the United States Senate who has served as Governor of this State; and of your Congressman. In fact, ladies and gentlemen—and I hate to break the news to some of the people standing in this Square—there is no question but that the right decision in 1962, and as it was, if I may say so, the right decision, is Democratic.

Thank you.

NOTE: In his opening words the President referred to Governor Michael V. DiSalle; U.S. Senators Frank J. Lausche and Stephen M. Young; U.S. Representatives Michael A. Feighan and Charles A. Vanik; Grant Keys, Democratic candidate for U.S. Representative for the 13th District; and State Senator Oliver Ocasek, Democratic candidate for U.S. Representative for the 14th District—all of Ohio.

481 Remarks at the State Fairgrounds, Springfield, Illinois.

October 19, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

I carried Illinois by the overwhelming margin of 8,000 votes, and you're all here

today, and I'm glad to see you! I hope that you're going to be available in 1964. We may need you all over again.

Governor Kerner; my old colleague, Senator Douglas; ladies and gentlemen:

You're very brief with your candidates, and I'd like to have some of them stand up, particularly those who are running this year in the State, particularly those who're running for the Congress: your great Congressman, an old colleague and friend of mine, Peter Mack. I'd like to have him stand up. Now he is a great Congressman. I know everybody always refers to Congressmen as great Congressmen, but he *is* a great Congressman.

You have some others here. One of them is here with us today, Mel Price, who's been one of the leaders in the fight for a strong defense. And George Shipley, and Ken Gray. He's downstate, but he's with us in spirit anyway. And we have some candidates here: Bob Wilson, who's a candidate for the Congress; and Don Laughlin. Well, I'll wave for him.

And what does all that have to do with all of us, and also with me as President, and with you as citizens of the United States? Well, I think it has a good deal to do with all things that we're most interested in. All of us, I think, as Americans, recognize the great responsibility which history, fate, and our own courage has placed upon us around the world, and I think we know also that that great responsibility cannot be met unless the United States of America is itself a strong and vital country.

I think this year when we elect a complete House of Representatives, when we elect one-third of the Senate, when we elect State representatives and Governors, and State senators, we have an opportunity to make a judgment as citizens, not as Republicans or Democrats, but on November 6th as citizens, as to what kind of a party we want to place in responsibility. In short, what kind of a country we want. I don't believe that citizens should pay too much attention to what candidates say in the last 4 weeks of election. I believe the old Emersonian advice that what you are speaks far louder than what

you say is the best possible advice in judging a political campaign.

Now, the Democrats in the earlier days used to have it very easy because they used to run against the record that the Republicans made in the thirties. I don't know whether you recall the bitterness that came up in the 1930's over the program which Franklin Roosevelt and the Democratic Party helped write, but there isn't a citizen here, there isn't a citizen in the United States who is not the direct beneficiary of those fights, whether you are a farmer who finds his agriculture now supported; whether you buy a house under a Government guarantee; whether you buy stocks under the protection of the Securities and Exchange Commission; whether you put your money in the bank and find it guaranteed by the Government; whether you work and are paid a minimum wage; whether you go to a hospital which is built in part by Government funds; whether you have a child who is educated in part by vocational training supported by the Government; whether you're on assistance; whether you're blind; whether you're dependent; whether you have a child who's dependent; whether you are sick and depend upon your cure on new discoveries which come by the action of the National Government working together as a people—these are the things that the Democratic Party has stood for, for 30 years.

The Democrats used to talk about 90 percent of the Republicans in the thirties voting against a 25-cent minimum wage. But we don't have to talk about that. We know that in 1961, 89 percent of the Republicans voted against a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour, \$50 a week. That's the record in 1961, not 1935. When a bill came up to enable us to assist the colleges and universities of this country to prepare for the 7½ million of your sons and daughters who are going to college in 1970 as opposed to 3 million in 1960, that bill lost by 28 votes, and three-fourths of the Republicans voted against it. When we had a bill to assist southern Illinois, the area

redevelopment bill, which for 6 years had been around the Congress, opposed in the Congress, vetoed by a President, when we finally passed it, 85 percent of the Republicans voted against it.

Can you tell me one single program that is identified in the last 30 years of benefit to the people that's identified with the Republican Party or its leaders? The Housing Act of 1961—everyone in this country benefits one way or another, whether it's because they work in housing, whether they live in houses, whether they're older and need assistance, whether they're in urban renewal. We have the most comprehensive Housing Act in 13 years. Eighty-two percent of the Republicans voted against it. That's the record. That's what the problem is in 1962, and they're joined by some Democrats, a fourth of them, perhaps, in the House and in the Senate, and the combination enables us to win by 3 or 4 votes, or to lose by 4 or 5 votes. We lost medical care for the aged, and if you're not aged it is even more important to you. If you have a mother or a father who's sick and you're in your forties and have children to educate and they're sick, and you have any money in the bank, can you guess how quickly that can run out in 2, 3, or 4 months? Medical care for the aged under social security, a change of 1 vote in the United States Senate would have passed it, and only one Senator from Illinois voted for it. So I come here and ask you to send Sid Yates to the United States Senate.

This is the best 8,000 votes I've ever seen collected here. I think you can do it. I think it's time to have a Senator in the United States Senate who you know where he stands, what he's for, what he's against, to speak up, to speak down, but to tell you what he's going to do and what the country ought to do, and that's what we're running for.

Now this State depends upon the farmer. And I read a survey the other day saying the farmers aren't too happy with the Democrats. Well, let me just say one word about that. I know that there're a good many solutions for the farm problems. I've heard some of

them. Every farmer has a slightly different one, and I can understand. It's a complicated problem. But the farmer does not have 8 million choices. He has a choice between the Democratic solution and the Republican solution, two solutions. Now, let's see which one the farmers of Illinois and the country want.

In the last 21 months we have not, by any means, solved the farm problem. But we have achieved the best 2-year advance in farm income of any 2 years since the depression. Net farm income rose by \$1 billion last year for an 8-year high, and this gain will be maintained in 1962. In fact, the average Illinois farmer had a net income 35 percent higher than he did under Ezra Taft Benson. At the same time, we reduced our wheat and feed grain surpluses by 700 million bushels. Now that is the record. There's no perfect solution, obviously. It costs us a good deal of money as a country, but we at least have a program which makes sense, which is at least raising the farmer's income, which is doing something about the surpluses; and the alternate course of action is to go back to Mr. Benson with his lower support prices and his ever-expanding surpluses and higher cost for the taxpayer. Those are the two choices. I ask the farmers of Illinois not to pursue some ideal plan, but to choose between the Republicans and the Democrats, which is the choice they're offered in November 1962, and come with us.

I've been trying to find out the farm program of the Republicans, and I've finally found out what it was. I don't know whether you recall recently a letter from Martin Sorkin, who was one of Ezra Taft Benson's assistants. He recently wrote a letter that was put in a hearing in the Congress: "The Republican National Committee Chairman, Congressman Miller, and Senator Goldwater, and the Chairman of the House Congressional Committee, Congressman Wilson, and I held a secret meeting. The objective of this meeting was to develop the basis for a continuing attack on the administration's efforts on the farm

front. It was agreed," and I quote Mr. Sorkin, "that it was not the responsibility of the Republicans to propose solutions, but to criticize the administration wherever possible"—that's a great farm program. That will really make you plant corn and have a farm income. It is not "the responsibility of the Republicans to propose solutions, but to criticize the administration wherever possible." I hope every farmer in this State reads it. He makes a judgment of his last 8 years and this last year and this year. He makes a judgment between the record of the Democratic Party in agriculture for 30 years, and the record of the last 8 years from 1953 to 1960. And any farmer who looks at the true alternatives that stare him in the face in November 1962 must come with the Democratic Party, must come with the Democratic Party.

Ladies and gentlemen, I come here again to Illinois because in the last 20 months we won and lost so many fights which I think go to the very welfare of the people of this country, their employment, the education of

their children, their security in old age, their strength as a nation, their vitality as a nation, their opportunity as a nation. We have won and lost so many fights by 3, 4, and 5 votes that I ask you as citizens of the State of Illinois this November 6th to give us Congressmen like the men you see here on this platform, Members of the House of Representatives who've spoken for their districts and speak for their country, and to send to the United States Senate a man to stand with Paul Douglas and move this country forward.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Coliseum on the State Fairgrounds in Springfield, Ill. His opening words referred to Governor Otto Kerner and U.S. Senator Paul H. Douglas, both of Illinois. Later he referred to U.S. Representatives Peter F. Mack, Jr., Melvin Price, George E. Shipley, and Kenneth J. Gray; Bob Wilson and Donald M. Laughlin, Democratic candidates for the 22d and 17th Districts, respectively; and to U.S. Representative Sidney R. Yates, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator—all of Illinois.

482 Remarks in Chicago to Democratic Precinct Workers.

October 19, 1962

Ladies and gentlemen:

I'm not sure this trio is quite as good as the one you just heard, but we'll do our best! Maybe if you could just put out that spot here [*indicating*] so I can see what 3,000 precinct committeemen look like—I just want to see who did it last November 1960, and here they are. They said terrible things about you, but I never believed it. I hope that you will do the same for Congressman Sid Yates, who's an old colleague of mine, who has my unqualified support, and I know has yours, and I know will have that of the people of Illinois next November 6th, so let's elect him.

I understand Mayor Daley plans to keep you locked up here until November 6th and then turn you loose. Well, all of us who hold office are the beneficiaries of your effort,

and I'm sure that you feel that your effort is rewarded in this party of which we are members. I must say that it's a source of pride to me to be a Democrat. We are members of the oldest political party in the world. We trace our inheritance back to Thomas Jefferson, and Jackson, and Cleveland, and Wilson, and Roosevelt, and Truman, and I must say I contrast that inheritance to McKinley, to Taft, to Dewey, to Harding, and a few other candidates I could name.

So, ladies and gentlemen, we're doing the best we can to demonstrate that your confidence 2 years ago was not in vain. We'll continue to do the best we can. I must say I think we can meet the responsibilities that face us here at home much, much better if you just pick yourselves up next November 6th and elect a Democratic ticket from

top to bottom, starting with Sid Yates and all those Congressmen who are nominated here.

Artemas Ward, who was a citizen of my State, once said, "I'm not a politician, and my other habits are good also." Well, we are politicians in the best sense of the word,

and we're going to prove it November 6th. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at McCormick Place in Chicago, Ill. During his remarks he referred to U.S. Representative Sidney R. Yates, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator from Illinois, and to Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago.

483 Remarks at a Dinner of the Democratic Party of Cook County.

October 19, 1962

Mr. Mayor, my old friend Mayor Daley; Assessor Cullerton; Governor Kerner; Senator Douglas; Members of the Congress; Reverend Clergy; ladies and gentlemen:

I'm delighted to come back to Illinois from whence I came, in a sense, and to express my warm regards for all of you. Those of us who move from political occasion to political occasion, and being the leader of a political party is one of the traditional responsibilities of the Presidency, a responsibility from which I do not shrink, though on occasion others have—but I come here tonight not merely because this is an outstanding political occasion sponsored by the Mayor, but because we're here on most serious business, which affects the welfare of our country. We are here tonight to elect Members to the House, to the Senate, to the State offices. We are here as Democrats because we believe that the Democratic Party has a function to fulfill in the most difficult and promising time in the life of our country.

Woodrow Wilson once said, "What good is a political party unless it's being used by the Nation for a great occasion?" What is the great occasion for which the Nation will use the Democratic Party in 1962? Why should they choose us and not the Republicans? The Republicans are equally patriotic, are equally devoted to our country, are equally anxious to see it move ahead. What makes this election important in 1962 is that the two parties have clear and distinct differences in their approach as to how they should move this country ahead, or, indeed, whether the country should just sit down and rest.

So I come here in 1962 as President of the United States, as one anxious to see the United States fulfill its promise in the next 2 years, and because I realize that it will depend in the final analysis upon the Members of the House and Senate as to how strong and vigorous this country really is.

It has been said so often that we are in a period of competition with the Soviet Union. Of course it's true. We can meet that competition in part by making ourselves militarily strong, by being first in space, which this administration has decided to do with the country's support, but it is also important to remember what Mr. Khrushchev once said, and that is that the day that the Soviet Union begins to outproduce the United States, the greatest productive power in the world, the United States, the day the Communists are able to come from behind and catch us and pass us, then, he said, "the hinge of history would begin to move."

So we come in 1962 to debate not merely old slogans and clichés and old charges, but to debate which political party best meets the needs of the United States in 1963 and 1964, to educate our children, to provide jobs for our citizens, to provide a better standard of life for our people, to provide better opportunities for all of them, and provide security when they're older.

Which country can do this better? I believe our country can. And which political party can lead our country in doing it? The Democratic Party, as it has so often in the past. When I see the things which are written in some of our great newspapers about

the program of our party, I barely recognize them. But I recall the same things that were written in the 1930's against the programs of Franklin Roosevelt, and there isn't a person in this country today who does not benefit from these programs. In the 1970's, it is my hope that the people of the United States will benefit from what we did.

The fact of the matter is the Republicans opposed all those basic programs in the thirties as they do in the sixties. And that's why I come here in all good faith and ask you to elect Democrats to the House and Senate who recognize the needs of our time and are willing to act. And we have some of them here tonight—Congressmen Bill Dawson and Barratt O'Hara; and John Kluczynski, and Tom O'Brien, and Roland Libonati, and Dan Rostenkowski, Roman Pucinski, and Ed Finnegan—these men on issue after issue which affects not only the welfare of their district, but the vitality of the United States, they have stood up and voted "aye," and they are the kind of men who in the 1930's did the same. So I hope that you're going to elect them and those who are running with them who are here tonight: John Kennedy, Richard Friedman, Joe Salerno—who are candidates for the Congress.

And with three more Congressmen, all the fights that we lost that we could have won, and all the fights that will be coming up in the next 2 years that we can win, if Illinois will support the Democratic Party in 1962.

Now I have been examining objectively the campaign for the United States Senate. I wanted to find out, as I'm sure you do, which candidate the people of Illinois will support, and I've found, after examining the record of the two candidates, that there is only one candidate in this race who supported our efforts to expand the coverage and increase the amount of a minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour, one candidate voted "yes" and the other voted "no" against the \$50 a week for somebody working in a business which does a gross volume of a million dol-

lars a year or more. There is only one candidate in this race for the Senate who supported the efforts of Paul Douglas to pass the Area Redevelopment Act, which was specifically drafted to assist the chronically unemployed areas of southern Illinois, as well as parts of Indiana and West Virginia, and eastern Kentucky and parts of Pennsylvania, where we have had people out of work for 2, 3, and 4 years, 30 percent of the population—a bill drafted to assist those communities—one candidate in the Senate voted "aye" and the other against it.

There is one candidate in the Senate race who voted to assist education, secondary education, and to pay our teachers better, and higher education. This State has more children in it that I saw today and most of them will want to go to college in 1970. Where're they going to go? We're going to have to build in the years from 1960 to 1970 as many college buildings in this country to send our sons and daughters to college as we built in 150 years. We're going to double the population of our colleges in 10 years, and if we don't, we fall behind. They are our greatest resource.

We had a bill to assist those collegés, to build those dormitories and laboratories and engineering establishments. It failed, finally, in the House by 28 votes. One candidate is for it; one candidate is against it. There is only one candidate in this race who has supported effective civil rights, who has fought the filibuster in an effort to provide equal rights for all Americans, to which they are entitled by the Constitution and the laws of morality, and there is only one candidate in this race who supported an effective drug control bill before it became a national scandal, and there's only one candidate in this race who supported medical care for the aged under social security, and make no mistake about it, this bill does not affect primarily those who are old and destitute, because they will have some kind of care. It affects those and their families who must contribute to supporting an older parent who is sick, who can find their savings eaten

alive, and who must at the same time educate their children. For 25 cents a week under social security we can give security to those who're older and also to their children who must meet their obligations.

And there's only one candidate in this race, and that candidate is Sid Yates, and that's why I hope he'll be in the United States Senate. You may say that you're not old, and you are getting more than \$1.25 minimum wage, and you're not going to be out of a job, so you don't need unemployment compensation, you don't need job retraining, you don't live in southern Illinois, you live in the city, but you don't live in a project where urban renewal is important, but the fact of the matter is that no one in this country can be prosperous, regardless of what his method of earning a living may be, unless the entire country is prosperous. No one in this country can be prosperous if farm income declines.

Last year farm income for the average farm family in Illinois was up 30 percent of what it was the year before under Ezra Taft Benson. How can Illinois be prosperous if the people who make farm implements and automobiles and all the rest can't find anyone to sell it to? How can we be prosperous if we move from a recession in '58 and one in '60? Unless we can maintain the forward thrust of our economy there isn't anyone in the country whose interests aren't adversely affected.

That's what this election is about—which party and which candidates, based not on speeches they may make for 40 days before an election, but which party and which candidate, based on the last 50 years, best understands the domestic needs of this country; which party has said, “yes,” and which party has said “no.”

That's why I think the Democrats are going to win in November of 1962. The choice is clear. The Illinois Republican delegation—82 percent voted against the Housing Act of 1961, urban renewal, housing for the elderly, middle income housing, the Area Redevelopment; 100 percent of the Repub-

licans from this State voted against area redevelopment after all those speeches about assisting the depressed areas and mining areas of southern Illinois. When we tried to do something about cleaning up the water, which is necessary for new industry, 65 percent of the Republicans from this State voted “no.” On our space authorization to make this country first, 50 percent of the Republicans in this State voted “no.”

On our emergency feed grain program which has increased the income of the farmers of this State, 100 percent voted “no.”

Now, these are the issues. On urban affairs reorganization, to give our cities somebody sitting at the Cabinet on transportation, housing, all the rest, where 75 to 80 percent of our people live in the cities and have no voice, 100 percent of the Republicans from the State of Illinois voted “no.” Therefore, I come out here bearing a responsibility which falls upon both the Congress and the President. We propose these programs which are of assistance to the economy and the people of this country and the Congress votes them up or down, and they have voted them up by 3 or 4 votes, and they have voted them down by 3 or 4 votes.

So I come to Illinois and ask your help in electing Sid Yates to the Senate, sending these Congressmen back, and committing Illinois and the country to moving forward in 1963 and 1964. This is a great and rich country. It is in the center of the stage. It sits in a most conspicuous position. Everything we do here is marked around the world in the great struggle which is reaching its climax in this decade. Everything we do for good and for bad. And I believe that we can do those things that can make this country not only the leader of the free world, but also a leader in whom all can have a sense of pride and a sense of participation and a sense of mutual progress. I come to Illinois and ask your help, not as part merely of a political campaign, but as part of a national movement to commit this country once and for all to progress.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at McCormick Place in Chicago. His opening words referred to Richard J. Daley, Mayor of Chicago; P. J. Cullerton, Assessor of Cook County, Ill.; Otto Kerner, Governor of Illinois; Paul H. Douglas, U.S. Senator from Illinois; and the Reverend Michael J. Conway, the Reverend Dr. William L. Rest, and Rabbi Maurice I. Kliers. Later he referred to William L. Dawson, Barratt O'Hara, John C. Kluczynski, Thomas J. O'Brien,

Roland V. Libonati, Dan Rostenkowski, Roman C. Pucinski, and Edward R. Finnegan, U.S. Representatives; John Kennedy, Richard Friedman, and Joseph Salerno, Democratic candidates for U.S. Representative from the 13th, 4th, and 10th Districts, respectively; and Sidney R. Yates, U.S. Representative and Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate—all of Illinois.

484 Memorandum of Disapproval of Bill To Amend the Tariff Classification of Lightweight Bicycles. *October 22, 1962*

I AM withholding my approval from H.R. 8938, "To provide a more definitive tariff classification description for lightweight bicycles."

The new tariff classification description for lightweight bicycles would include a description of the frame. By this means, it would double the import duties on certain types of bicycles being imported.

Bicycles are provided for in paragraph 371 of the Tariff Act of 1930 and were originally subject to duty at 30 percent ad valorem. A tariff concession on bicycles was first granted to the United Kingdom in a bilateral trade agreement effective January 1, 1939. Under that agreement the framework of the existing tariff classification based upon diameter of the wheel was established. That classification provided for separate categories of duties: bicycles with or without tires having wheels in diameter over 25 inches; over 19 but not over 25 inches; and not over 19 inches.

That classification and duty treatment were continued following a concession granted by the United States in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade effective January 1, 1948, with one exception. The exception provided that the rate of duty on bicycles with or without tires having wheels in diameter over 25 inches and weighing less than 36 pounds complete without accessories and not designed for use with tires having a cross sectional diameter exceeding $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches was to be reduced to \$1.25 each but not less than $7\frac{1}{2}$ percent nor more than 15 percent ad valorem. All other classifications were

dutiable at specific rates but not less than 15 percent nor more than 30 percent ad valorem.

The present duty on lightweight bicycles is the result of a renegotiation which took place in February 1961. This renegotiation, in effect, re-established an escape clause rate increase which had been invalidated by a previous court decision.

The practical effect of this legislation would be to increase the duty on imported bicycles having a cantilever or curved frame, weighing less than 36 pounds from the present duty of \$1.875 each, but not less than $11\frac{1}{4}$ percent nor more than $22\frac{1}{2}$ percent ad valorem to a new rate of \$3.75 each, but not less than $22\frac{1}{2}$ percent nor more than 30 percent ad valorem. I am informed that approximately one-half of current imports of bicycles that are imported under the lightweight classification are those with cantilever or curved frames, and would be subject to this approximate 100 percent increase in duty.

The enactment of this legislation within a short time after the 1961 negotiations and following the opening of new opportunities for trade expansion under the recently approved Trade Expansion Act would hamper our efforts to improve the position of American industry in foreign markets.

Under the Trade Expansion Act, a wider variety of relief is available to assist American firms suffering from imports. Should the American bicycle industry demonstrate the need for this relief, it should be provided.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

485 Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Soviet Arms Buildup in Cuba. *October 22, 1962*

[Delivered from the President's Office at 7 p.m.]

Good evening, my fellow citizens:

This Government, as promised, has maintained the closest surveillance of the Soviet military buildup on the island of Cuba. Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island. The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere.

Upon receiving the first preliminary hard information of this nature last Tuesday morning at 9 a.m., I directed that our surveillance be stepped up. And having now confirmed and completed our evaluation of the evidence and our decision on a course of action, this Government feels obliged to report this new crisis to you in fullest detail.

The characteristics of these new missile sites indicate two distinct types of installations. Several of them include medium range ballistic missiles, capable of carrying a nuclear warhead for a distance of more than 1,000 nautical miles. Each of these missiles, in short, is capable of striking Washington, D.C., the Panama Canal, Cape Canaveral, Mexico City, or any other city in the southeastern part of the United States, in Central America, or in the Caribbean area.

Additional sites not yet completed appear to be designed for intermediate range ballistic missiles—capable of traveling more than twice as far—and thus capable of striking most of the major cities in the Western Hemisphere, ranging as far north as Hudson Bay, Canada, and as far south as Lima, Peru. In addition, jet bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons, are now being uncased and assembled in Cuba, while the necessary air bases are being prepared.

This urgent transformation of Cuba into an important strategic base—by the presence

of these large, long-range, and clearly offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction—constitutes an explicit threat to the peace and security of all the Americas, in flagrant and deliberate defiance of the Rio Pact of 1947, the traditions of this Nation and hemisphere, the joint resolution of the 87th Congress, the Charter of the United Nations, and my own public warnings to the Soviets on September 4 and 13. This action also contradicts the repeated assurances of Soviet spokesmen, both publicly and privately delivered, that the arms buildup in Cuba would retain its original defensive character, and that the Soviet Union had no need or desire to station strategic missiles on the territory of any other nation.

The size of this undertaking makes clear that it has been planned for some months. Yet only last month, after I had made clear the distinction between any introduction of ground-to-ground missiles and the existence of defensive antiaircraft missiles, the Soviet Government publicly stated on September 11 that, and I quote, “the armaments and military equipment sent to Cuba are designed exclusively for defensive purposes,” that, and I quote the Soviet Government, “there is no need for the Soviet Government to shift its weapons . . . for a retaliatory blow to any other country, for instance Cuba,” and that, and I quote their government, “the Soviet Union has so powerful rockets to carry these nuclear warheads that there is no need to search for sites for them beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union.” That statement was false.

Only last Thursday, as evidence of this rapid offensive buildup was already in my hand, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko told me in my office that he was instructed to make it clear once again, as he said his government had already done, that Soviet as-

sistance to Cuba, and I quote, "pursued solely the purpose of contributing to the defense capabilities of Cuba," that, and I quote him, "training by Soviet specialists of Cuban nationals in handling defensive armaments was by no means offensive, and if it were otherwise," Mr. Gromyko went on, "the Soviet Government would never become involved in rendering such assistance." That statement also was false.

Neither the United States of America nor the world community of nations can tolerate deliberate deception and offensive threats on the part of any nation, large or small. We no longer live in a world where only the actual firing of weapons represents a sufficient challenge to a nation's security to constitute maximum peril. Nuclear weapons are so destructive and ballistic missiles are so swift, that any substantially increased possibility of their use or any sudden change in their deployment may well be regarded as a definite threat to peace.

For many years, both the Soviet Union and the United States, recognizing this fact, have deployed strategic nuclear weapons with great care, never upsetting the precarious status quo which insured that these weapons would not be used in the absence of some vital challenge. Our own strategic missiles have never been transferred to the territory of any other nation under a cloak of secrecy and deception; and our history—unlike that of the Soviets since the end of World War II—demonstrates that we have no desire to dominate or conquer any other nation or impose our system upon its people. Nevertheless, American citizens have become adjusted to living daily on the bull's-eye of Soviet missiles located inside the U.S.S.R. or in submarines.

In that sense, missiles in Cuba add to an already clear and present danger—although it should be noted the nations of Latin America have never previously been subjected to a potential nuclear threat.

But this secret, swift, and extraordinary buildup of Communist missiles—in an area

well known to have a special and historical relationship to the United States and the nations of the Western Hemisphere, in violation of Soviet assurances, and in defiance of American and hemispheric policy—this sudden, clandestine decision to station strategic weapons for the first time outside of Soviet soil—is a deliberately provocative and unjustified change in the status quo which cannot be accepted by this country, if our courage and our commitments are ever to be trusted again by either friend or foe.

The 1930's taught us a clear lesson: aggressive conduct, if allowed to go unchecked and unchallenged, ultimately leads to war. This nation is opposed to war. We are also true to our word. Our unswerving objective, therefore, must be to prevent the use of these missiles against this or any other country, and to secure their withdrawal or elimination from the Western Hemisphere.

Our policy has been one of patience and restraint, as befits a peaceful and powerful nation, which leads a worldwide alliance. We have been determined not to be diverted from our central concerns by mere irritants and fanatics. But now further action is required—and it is under way; and these actions may only be the beginning. We will not prematurely or unnecessarily risk the costs of worldwide nuclear war in which even the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth—but neither will we shrink from that risk at any time it must be faced.

Acting, therefore, in the defense of our own security and of the entire Western Hemisphere, and under the authority entrusted to me by the Constitution as endorsed by the resolution of the Congress, I have directed that the following *initial* steps be taken immediately:

First: To halt this offensive buildup, a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated. All ships of any kind bound for Cuba from whatever nation or port will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back. This quarantine will

be extended, if needed, to other types of cargo and carriers. We are not at this time, however, denying the necessities of life as the Soviets attempted to do in their Berlin blockade of 1948.

Second: I have directed the continued and increased close surveillance of Cuba and its military buildup. The foreign ministers of the OAS, in their communique of October 6, rejected secrecy on such matters in this hemisphere. Should these offensive military preparations continue, thus increasing the threat to the hemisphere, further action will be justified. I have directed the Armed Forces to prepare for any eventualities; and I trust that in the interest of both the Cuban people and the Soviet technicians at the sites, the hazards to all concerned of continuing this threat will be recognized.

Third: It shall be the policy of this Nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.

Fourth: As a necessary military precaution, I have reinforced our base at Guantanamo, evacuated today the dependents of our personnel there, and ordered additional military units to be on a standby alert basis.

Fifth: We are calling tonight for an immediate meeting of the Organ of Consultation under the Organization of American States, to consider this threat to hemispheric security and to invoke articles 6 and 8 of the Rio Treaty in support of all necessary action. The United Nations Charter allows for regional security arrangements—and the nations of this hemisphere decided long ago against the military presence of outside powers. Our other allies around the world have also been alerted.

Sixth: Under the Charter of the United Nations, we are asking tonight that an emergency meeting of the Security Council be convoked without delay to take action against this latest Soviet threat to world peace. Our resolution will call for the prompt dismantling and withdrawal of all

offensive weapons in Cuba, under the supervision of U.N. observers, before the quarantine can be lifted.

Seventh and finally: I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless, and provocative threat to world peace and to stable relations between our two nations. I call upon him further to abandon this course of world domination, and to join in an historic effort to end the perilous arms race and to transform the history of man. He has an opportunity now to move the world back from the abyss of destruction—by returning to his government's own words that it had no need to station missiles outside its own territory, and withdrawing these weapons from Cuba—by refraining from any action which will widen or deepen the present crisis—and then by participating in a search for peaceful and permanent solutions.

This Nation is prepared to present its case against the Soviet threat to peace, and our own proposals for a peaceful world, at any time and in any forum—in the OAS, in the United Nations, or in any other meeting that could be useful—without limiting our freedom of action. We have in the past made strenuous efforts to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. We have proposed the elimination of all arms and military bases in a fair and effective disarmament treaty. We are prepared to discuss new proposals for the removal of tensions on both sides—including the possibilities of a genuinely independent Cuba, free to determine its own destiny. We have no wish to war with the Soviet Union—for we are a peaceful people who desire to live in peace with all other peoples.

But it is difficult to settle or even discuss these problems in an atmosphere of intimidation. That is why this latest Soviet threat—or any other threat which is made either independently or in response to our actions this week—must and will be met with determination. Any hostile move anywhere in the world against the safety and freedom of peoples to whom we are committed—including in particular the brave

people of West Berlin—will be met by whatever action is needed.

Finally, I want to say a few words to the captive people of Cuba, to whom this speech is being directly carried by special radio facilities. I speak to you as a friend, as one who knows of your deep attachment to your fatherland, as one who shares your aspirations for liberty and justice for all. And I have watched and the American people have watched with deep sorrow how your nationalist revolution was betrayed—and how your fatherland fell under foreign domination. Now your leaders are no longer Cuban leaders inspired by Cuban ideals. They are puppets and agents of an international conspiracy which has turned Cuba against your friends and neighbors in the Americas—and turned it into the first Latin American country to become a target for nuclear war—the first Latin American country to have these weapons on its soil.

These new weapons are not in your interest. They contribute nothing to your peace and well-being. They can only undermine it. But this country has no wish to cause you to suffer or to impose any system upon you. We know that your lives and land are being used as pawns by those who deny your freedom.

Many times in the past, the Cuban people have risen to throw out tyrants who destroyed their liberty. And I have no doubt that most Cubans today look forward to the time when they will be truly free—free from

foreign domination, free to choose their own leaders, free to select their own system, free to own their own land, free to speak and write and worship without fear or degradation. And then shall Cuba be welcomed back to the society of free nations and to the associations of this hemisphere.

My fellow citizens: let no one doubt that this is a difficult and dangerous effort on which we have set out. No one can foresee precisely what course it will take or what costs or casualties will be incurred. Many months of sacrifice and self-discipline lie ahead—months in which both our patience and our will will be tested—months in which many threats and denunciations will keep us aware of our dangers. But the greatest danger of all would be to do nothing.

The path we have chosen for the present is full of hazards, as all paths are—but it is the one most consistent with our character and courage as a nation and our commitments around the world. The cost of freedom is always high—but Americans have always paid it. And one path we shall never choose, and that is the path of surrender or submission.

Our goal is not the victory of might, but the vindication of right—not peace at the expense of freedom, but both peace *and* freedom, here in this hemisphere, and, we hope, around the world. God willing, that goal will be achieved.

Thank you and good night.

486 Proclamation 3504: Interdiction of the Delivery of Offensive Weapons to Cuba. *October 23, 1962*

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation:

WHEREAS the peace of the world and the security of the United States and of all American States are endangered by reason of the establishment by the Sino-Soviet powers of an offensive military capability in Cuba, including bases for ballistic missiles with a potential range covering most of

North and South America;

WHEREAS by a Joint Resolution passed by the Congress of the United States and approved on October 3, 1962, it was declared that the United States is determined to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending, by force or the threat of force, its aggressive or

subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere, and to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States; and

WHEREAS the Organ of Consultation of the American Republics meeting in Washington on October 23, 1962, recommended that the Member States, in accordance with Articles 6 and 8 of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, take all measures, individually and collectively, including the use of armed force, which they may deem necessary to ensure that the Government of Cuba cannot continue to receive from the Sino-Soviet powers military material and related supplies which may threaten the peace and security of the Continent and to prevent the missiles in Cuba with offensive capability from ever becoming an active threat to the peace and security of the Continent:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, JOHN F. KENNEDY, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority conferred upon me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, in accordance with the aforementioned resolutions of the United States Congress and of the Organ of Consultation of the American Republics, and to defend the security of the United States, do hereby proclaim that the forces under my command are ordered, beginning at 2:00 p.m. Greenwich time October 24, 1962, to interdict, subject to the instructions herein contained, the delivery of offensive weapons and associated materiel to Cuba.

For the purposes of this Proclamation, the following are declared to be prohibited materiel:

Surface-to-surface missiles; bomber aircraft; bombs, air-to-surface rockets and guided missiles; warheads for any of the above weapons; mechanical or electronic equipment to support or operate the above items; and any other classes of materiel hereafter designated by the Secretary of Defense for the purpose of effectuating this Proclamation.

To enforce this order, the Secretary of Defense shall take appropriate measures to prevent the delivery of prohibited materiel to Cuba, employing the land, sea and air forces of the United States in cooperation with any forces that may be made available by other American States.

The Secretary of Defense may make such regulations and issue such directives as he deems necessary to ensure the effectiveness of this order, including the designation, within a reasonable distance of Cuba, of prohibited or restricted zones and of prescribed routes.

Any vessel or craft which may be proceeding toward Cuba may be intercepted and may be directed to identify itself, its cargo, equipment and stores and its ports of call, to stop, to lie to, to submit to visit and search, or to proceed as directed. Any vessel or craft which fails or refuses to respond to or comply with directions shall be subject to being taken into custody. Any vessel or craft which it is believed is en route to Cuba and may be carrying prohibited materiel or may itself constitute such materiel shall, wherever possible, be directed to proceed to another destination of its own choice and shall be taken into custody if it fails or refuses to obey such directions. All vessels or craft taken into custody shall be sent into a port of the United States for appropriate disposition.

In carrying out this order, force shall not be used except in case of failure or refusal to comply with directions, or with regulations or directives of the Secretary of Defense issued hereunder, after reasonable efforts have been made to communicate them to the vessel or craft, or in case of self-defense. In any case, force shall be used only to the extent necessary.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and cause the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE in the City of Washington this twenty-third day of October in the [SEAL] year of our Lord, nineteen hundred and sixty-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America

the one hundred and eighty-seventh.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

By the President:

DEAN RUSK
Secretary of State

NOTE: On the same day the President issued Executive Order 11058 "Assigning authority with respect to ordering persons and units in the Ready Reserve to active duty and with respect to extension of enlistments and other periods of service in the Armed Forces" (27 F.R. 10403).

487 Letter to Secretary Hodges Allocating Funds for the Acceleration of Public Works. *October 24, 1962*

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Pursuant to the authority contained in the Public Works Appropriation Act, 1963, I hereby allocate from the appropriation for "Public Works Acceleration,"

<i>To</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Department of Agriculture.....	\$15,000,000
Department of Commerce.....	9,000,000
Department of Defense (Civil Functions)	9,000,000
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.....	40,000,000
Department of the Interior.....	12,000,000
Housing and Home Finance Agency.	80,000,000
Total	\$165,000,000

to be expended by said agencies for the initia-

tion or acceleration of public works projects as authorized by Public Law 87-658, approved September 14, 1962, and as set forth in your letter to me of October 24, 1962. The funds hereby allocated shall be available only for project expenses. Allocations for necessary administrative expenses of the agencies will be considered at a later date.

Will you please arrange for the necessary transfer of funds and advise the various agencies when this has been accomplished.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Secretary Hodges' letter of October 24, 1962, was released with the President's reply.

488 Message to the Acting Secretary General of the United Nations. *October 25, 1962*

Excellency:

I deeply appreciate the spirit which prompted your message of yesterday.

As we made clear in the Security Council, the existing threat was created by the secret introduction of offensive weapons into Cuba, and the answer lies in the removal of such weapons.

In your message and your statement to the Security Council last night, you have made certain suggestions and have invited preliminary talks to determine whether satisfactory arrangements can be assured.

Ambassador Stevenson is ready to discuss these arrangements with you.

I can assure you of our desire to reach a satisfactory and peaceful solution of the matter.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[His Excellency U Thant, Acting Secretary General of the United Nations]

NOTE: In his message the Acting Secretary General stated that he had been asked by the permanent representatives of a large number of the member governments of the United Nations to appeal to the President in the critical situation. They felt, he said, that in the interest of international peace and security all concerned should refrain from any action which might aggravate the situation and bring about a risk of war. In their view it was important, he further stated, that time should be given to the parties concerned to get together with a view to

peacefully resolving the crisis. This would involve a voluntary suspension of all arms shipments to Cuba on the one hand, he said, and a voluntary suspension of the quarantine measures involving Cuban-bound ships on the other. He believed a 2 or 3 weeks' suspension period would greatly ease the situation and give time for the parties to meet and discuss the problem. He also stated that he had sent an

identical message to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. Mr. Thant's message, dated October 24, is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 47, p. 740).

For the U.S. statement before the Security Council, referred to by the President, see the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 47, p. 723).

489 White House Statement on the Soviet Missile Sites in Cuba.

October 26, 1962

THE DEVELOPMENT of ballistic missile sites in Cuba continues at a rapid pace. Through the process of continued surveillance directed by the President, additional evidence has been acquired which clearly reflects that as of Thursday, October 25, definite buildup in these offensive missile sites continued to be made. The activity at these sites apparently is directed at achieving a full operational capability as soon as possible.

There is evidence that as of yesterday, October 25, considerable construction activity was being engaged in at the Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile sites. Bulldozers and cranes were observed as late as Thursday actively clearing new areas within the sites and improving the approach roads to the launch pads.

Since Tuesday October 23 missile related

activities have continued at the Medium Range Ballistic Missile sites resulting in progressive refinements at these facilities. For example, missiles were observed parked in the open on October 23. Surveillance on October 25 revealed that some of these same missiles have now been moved from their original parked positions. Cabling can be seen running from the missile-ready tents to power generators nearby.

In summary, there is no evidence to date indicating that there is any intention to dismantle or discontinue work on these missile sites. On the contrary the Soviets are rapidly continuing their construction of missile support and launch facilities, and serious attempts are under way to camouflage their efforts.

490 Message to President Goulart Requesting Postponement of a Scheduled Visit to Brazil. *October 26, 1962*

[Released October 26, 1962. Dated October 24, 1962]

Dear Mr. President:

In view of the disappointment Mrs. Kennedy and I experienced last July in having to postpone our visit to Brazil, we have been especially anxious that nothing should again require us to defer the pleasure of visiting for the first time your great country and becoming acquainted with its people. Unfortunately, the recent challenge to the peace and security of this hemisphere posed by the Soviet offensive military buildup in Cuba requires my presence in the United States and

compels me to request your concurrence in a postponement once again of our visit to Brazil. If you agree, I suggest that we consult after the first of the coming year to agree upon the new date on which Mrs. Kennedy and I would visit Brazil.

Mrs. Kennedy and I are looking forward particularly to visiting Brazil because of the long-standing friendship and cooperation between the governments and peoples of our two countries in the pursuit of peace and a happier world society. I also recall with

pleasure, Mr. President, the personal friendship established with you during your visit to the United States last April, and I am anxious to renew and deepen our personal relations.

I should like to take advantage of this occasion to congratulate the people of Brazil on your recent elections which I have followed with great interest. The peaceful and orderly process by which some fifteen million Brazilian voters went to the polls on

October 7 to choose their legislators and state executives was to me a demonstration of the strength and vitality of democratic government in your country.

With best wishes,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[H. E. João Belchior Goulart, President of the Republic of the United States of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro]

NOTE: President Goulart's reply was released with President Kennedy's letter.

491 White House Statement on Soviet Proposals Relating to International Security. *October 27, 1962*

SEVERAL inconsistent and conflicting proposals have been made by the U.S.S.R. within the last twenty-four hours, including the one just made public in Moscow. The proposal broadcast this morning involves the security of nations outside the Western Hemisphere. But it is the Western Hemisphere countries and they alone that are subject to the threat that has produced the current crisis—the action of the Soviet Government in secretly introducing offensive weapons into Cuba. Work on these offensive weapons is still proceeding at a rapid pace. The first imperative must be to deal with this immediate threat, under which no sensible negotiation can proceed.

It is therefore the position of the United States that as an urgent preliminary to consideration of any proposals work on the Cuban bases must stop; offensive weapons

must be rendered inoperable; and further shipment of offensive weapons to Cuba must cease—all under effective international verification.

As to proposals concerning the security of nations outside this Hemisphere, the United States and its allies have long taken the lead in seeking properly inspected arms limitation, on both sides. These efforts can continue as soon as the present Soviet-created threat is ended.

NOTE: An unofficial translation of Chairman Khrushchev's message of October 27 is published in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 47, p. 741). Stating that he had studied the President's reply to Mr. U Thant "with great satisfaction," Mr. Khrushchev proposed the removal of missiles from both Cuba and Turkey under U.N. supervision. He further proposed that the Soviet Government give a solemn pledge to respect the frontiers and sovereignty of Turkey, and that the U.S. Government make a similar statement with regard to Cuba.

492 Message to Chairman Khrushchev Calling for Removal of Soviet Missiles From Cuba. *October 27, 1962*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have read your letter of October 26th with great care and welcomed the statement of your desire to seek a prompt solution to the problem. The first thing that needs to be done, however, is for work to cease on offensive missile bases in Cuba and for all

weapons systems in Cuba capable of offensive use to be rendered inoperable, under effective United Nations arrangements.

Assuming this is done promptly, I have given my representatives in New York instructions that will permit them to work out this weekend—in cooperation with the Act-

ing Secretary General and your representative—an arrangement for a permanent solution to the Cuban problem along the lines suggested in your letter of October 26th. As I read your letter, the key elements of your proposals—which seem generally acceptable as I understand them—are as follows:

1. You would agree to remove these weapons systems from Cuba under appropriate United Nations observation and supervision; and undertake, with suitable safeguards, to halt the further introduction of such weapons systems into Cuba.

2. We, on our part, would agree—upon the establishment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations to ensure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments—(a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect and (b) to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba. I am confident that other nations of the Western Hemisphere would be prepared to do likewise.

If you will give your representative similar instructions, there is no reason why we should not be able to complete these arrangements and announce them to the world within a couple of days. The effect of such a settlement on easing world tensions would

enable us to work toward a more general arrangement regarding “other armaments,” as proposed in your second letter which you made public. I would like to say again that the United States is very much interested in reducing tensions and halting the arms race; and if your letter signifies that you are prepared to discuss a detente affecting NATO and the Warsaw Pact, we are quite prepared to consider with our allies any useful proposals.

But the first ingredient, let me emphasize, is the cessation of work on missile sites in Cuba and measures to render such weapons inoperable, under effective international guarantees. The continuation of this threat, or a prolonging of this discussion concerning Cuba by linking these problems to the broader questions of European and world security, would surely lead to an intensification of the Cuban crisis and a grave risk to the peace of the world. For this reason I hope we can quickly agree along the lines outlined in this letter and in your letter of October 26th.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: Chairman Khrushchev's letter of October 26 was not released by the White House.

493 Message in Reply to a Broadcast by Chairman Khrushchev on the Cuban Crisis. *October 28, 1962*

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am replying at once to your broadcast message of October twenty-eight, even though the official text has not yet reached me, because of the great importance I attach to moving forward promptly to the settlement of the Cuban crisis. I think that you and I, with our heavy responsibilities for the maintenance of peace, were aware that developments were approaching a point where events could have become unmanageable. So I welcome this message and consider it an important contribution to peace.

The distinguished efforts of Acting Secretary General U Thant have greatly facilitated both our tasks. I consider my letter to you of October twenty-seventh and your reply of today as firm undertakings on the part of both our governments which should be promptly carried out. I hope that the necessary measures can at once be taken through the United Nations, as your message says, so that the United States in turn will be able to remove the quarantine measures now in effect. I have already made arrangements to report all these matters to the Organization of American States, whose members share a

deep interest in a genuine peace in the Caribbean area.

You referred in your letter to a violation of your frontier by an American aircraft in the area of the Chukotskiy Peninsula. I have learned that this plane, without arms or photographic equipment, was engaged in an air sampling mission in connection with your nuclear tests. Its course was direct from Eielson Air Force Base in Alaska to the North Pole and return. In turning south, the pilot made a serious navigational error which carried him over Soviet territory. He immediately made an emergency call on open radio for navigational assistance and was guided back to his home base by the most direct route. I regret this incident and will see to it that every precaution is taken to prevent recurrence.

Mr. Chairman, both of our countries have great unfinished tasks and I know that your people as well as those of the United States can ask for nothing better than to pursue them free from the fear of war. Modern science and technology have given us the possibility of making labor fruitful beyond anything that could have been dreamed of a few decades ago.

I agree with you that we must devote urgent attention to the problem of disarmament, as it relates to the whole world and also to critical areas. Perhaps now, as we

step back from danger, we can together make real progress in this vital field. I think we should give priority to questions relating to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, on earth and in outer space, and to the great effort for a nuclear test ban. But we should also work hard to see if wider measures of disarmament can be agreed and put into operation at an early date. The United States Government will be prepared to discuss these questions urgently, and in a constructive spirit, at Geneva or elsewhere.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: For the President's letter of October 27, see Item 492. An unofficial translation of Mr. Khrushchev's reply is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 47, p. 743). He expressed satisfaction with the President's message of October 27 and stated his understanding of U.S. concern in connection with the weapons "you regard as offensive." The Chairman added that the Soviet Government had ordered that the weapons be dismantled, crated, and returned to Russia, and he stated that "we are prepared to reach agreement to enable U.N. representatives to verify the dismantling of these means."

Mr. Khrushchev further stated that the Soviet weapons were defensive in character and had been sent to Cuba because the Cuban people were under "continuous threat of invasion." Referring to violations of Soviet and Cuban airspace by American planes as dangerous, he concluded by affirming his belief that "reason will triumph, that war will not be unleashed, and [that] peace and the security of the peoples will be insured."

494 Statement by the President Following the Soviet Decision To Withdraw Missiles From Cuba. *October 28, 1962*

I WELCOME Chairman Khrushchev's statesmanlike decision to stop building bases in Cuba, dismantling offensive weapons and returning them to the Soviet Union under United Nations verification. This is an important and constructive contribution to peace.

We shall be in touch with the Secretary General of the United Nations with respect to reciprocal measures to assure peace in the Caribbean area.

It is my earnest hope that the governments of the world can, with a solution of the Cuban crisis, turn their urgent attention to the compelling necessity for ending the arms race and reducing world tensions. This applies to the military confrontation between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries as well as to other situations in other parts of the world where tensions lead to the wasteful diversion of resources to weapons of war.

495 Message to the Emergency Conference on Pacific Northwest
Timber Damage. *October 29, 1962*

ON OCTOBER 18th, I directed the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce and Interior to call the technical conference which begins today, and to invite the Governors and other State and local officials and Congressional delegations of the affected areas of California, Oregon and Washington, and representatives of the forest products industry. The conference will assess the damage, the rehabilitation measures necessary, and the economic impact of the rehabilitation measures.

I have directed the Secretary of Commerce to maintain the closest surveillance over market conditions, and asked him to recommend any special programs deemed necessary to assure orderly marketing of the salvage timber taking into account the in-

terests of producers in other parts of the United States, and the impact of imports. Canadian officials have been invited to participate as observers.

I have also asked the Secretary of Agriculture to give particular attention to the problems of the smaller private owners of timber who suffered damage in the recent storm. Anything less than the best conservation course could have a dismaying impact upon a vital industry and the conference calls for the best effort of the Federal, State and local governments and the private owners. I send to you my best wishes.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Mr. John A. Carver, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Department of Interior Auditorium, Portland, Oreg.]

496 Remarks to Students and Members of the Faculty of the
Brazilian Escola Superior de Guerra. *October 30, 1962*

Gentlemen:

I want to express a very warm and somewhat damp welcome to all of you to the White House.

I was not able to visit your country because of reasons beyond my control and therefore this represents, in a sense, an opportunity for me to at least visit with Brazilians.

I hope, and I'm sure all of you do, as a result of your visit, if not before, I hope you know how strongly we in this country value our relations with Brazil and the other countries of the hemisphere. Nature has tied us together. In a sense we are all the objects or the subjects of a most extraordinary historic experience, and we are, it seems to me, bound together essentially today in the preservation of the freedom of our hemisphere.

This is a matter of the first and greatest priority to the people of this country, and

it has been the most substantial source of satisfaction to me that this view of the necessity for working together in the defense of freedom has been so universal among our sister republics in the last days.

I want to emphasize what I think is our common view: that we in this hemisphere are not merely against something; we are strongly for something, and that is the opportunity to provide, through freedom, a better life for our people. So that as long as we are free, as long as we are able to maintain that freedom, we have to use that freedom, and use it to provide internally a more equitable and more fruitful life for the people in all the hemisphere. That is our object—the object of the people of Brazil and the object of the people of the United States.

So I'm very proud to have you here. We are most indebted to Brazil. It was a great

ally of ours in World War II. It has been a source of strength to us in recent days. I'm hopeful that Brazil and the United States will continue to walk together, we hope in peace, to walk together in any case in providing at a very crucial moment in the history of the world for the defense of freedom in our hemisphere, and by so doing, the defense of freedom around the world.

Mrs. Kennedy and I look forward to seeing all of you gentlemen in Brazil on some sunny day soon.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

497 Remarks at the Graduation Exercises of the FBI National Academy. *October 31, 1962*

Gentlemen, Mr. Hoover, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. McKelway:

Gentlemen, I was anxious to come here this morning for several reasons. First, because of a long knowledge of the FBI, a long acquaintanceship with its personnel, and the greatest respect for its Director, Mr. Hoover, who is one of the most distinguished public servants who have occupied positions of high responsibility in the long history of this republic, and also because of the extraordinary men who have rallied to the standard of the FBI over the years and have served the public interest.

I don't think that our citizens are as aware as they should be, as I have come to be, of the thousands of dedicated men and women who serve our country, who serve the public interest, in organizations such as the FBI, the Secret Service, dozens of other governmental agencies, who day in and day out maintain the strength of our society. And their dedication is matched by the thousands of men and women who serve in our Armed Forces and who are rather ignored in ordinary times, but who provide us the security which permits us to follow our private lives.

This is also true of those of you who serve in police work, whether it's in the FBI, whether it's in the various States or, the communities or the counties, or those of you who represent the police forces of countries abroad. Most of the time your work is unheralded; you're frequently subject to

criticism. When there is a failure to solve a crime, your failures are broadcast.

What I want to emphasize this morning is the great obligation which all of our people owe to you and those like you who serve the great interest of our people in maintaining our society as we know it, in permitting it to function. Your work protects the family. Your work protects private property, which is the basis of our social life and our family life. Your work permits us to meet our responsibilities as a Nation.

I want to say, as President of the United States, that we have the greatest debt to all of you. I'm glad you're here at this Academy. This is extremely difficult and sophisticated work. It involves the most detailed modern communications, the kind of information on great movements of crime throughout the world as well as throughout the country. It requires sophisticated law enforcement. It requires a great knowledge and feeling for civil liberties, the rights of those who are accused as well as the rights of those who are innocent.

All of this means that this great Academy, with its long tradition, fulfills a great public need. I want to express our thanks to all of you, those who are here at this Academy, those who serve and direct our police work around the country, the policemen on the beat—because they are the men, and the women who serve with them, who make this country function, who make it what it is, who serve the public interest, who are fre-

quently ill-paid, who frequently travel with hazard and danger, but who make it possible for all of us to carry out our private lives.

The obligation of the 180 million Americans to you and those like you in dozens of pursuits is unlimited. I think particularly at this time of crisis for our country, particularly crises outside of our country, I want to be sure that we focus our attention on the enemies within and on what you are

doing to meet them, overcome them, and protect us.

I thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in the Departmental Auditorium in Washington. In his opening words he referred to J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation; Robert F. Kennedy, the Attorney General; and Benjamin M. McKelway, president of the Associated Press and vice president and editor of the Washington Evening Star, who also addressed the graduating class.

498 Statement Commending Judge Philip C. Jessup, Member of the International Court of Justice. *November 1, 1962*

IT IS an honor to join in the dedication of this issue of the Columbia Law Review to one of our finest legal scholars—a man who embodies the ideals and the realities of international law—Judge Philip C. Jessup. Judge Jessup's career, crowned last year by his election to the International Court of Justice, has embraced the world of international law and international diplomacy.

His reputation and influence as a teacher have extended far beyond Columbia University. His former students and assistants are among the leaders of the international bar. Judge Jessup's scholarship has enriched his field. In his books "A Modern Law of Nations" and "Transnational Law," he has combined the learning of the scholar, the craftsmanship of the lawyer and the idealism of what may be called the "internationalist American." His involvement in the actual practice of international law has lent particular realism to his theoretical work in the field.

As a diplomat, Judge Jessup's record was outstanding. He served the United States well as Deputy United States Representative

on the Security Council of the United Nations, and his skillful handling of the Berlin dispute of more than a decade ago is a model for diplomacy now.

Judge Jessup has come to the International Court of Justice with the understanding that a regime of international law must be achieved by the efforts of men engaged in the daily work of regulating practical relations among states. He teaches us to see international law not as a series of abstract rules, but as the product of experience in operating actual institutions of the international community.

The fact that he sits on the International Court of Justice with the unique twin heritage of the American common lawyer and the international lawyer holds out to all of us the promise that he will contribute strongly to the effectiveness of that institution.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The statement, which appeared in the November 1962 issue of the Columbia Law Review, is reprinted through the courtesy of the Columbia Law Review Association, Inc.

499 Remarks at the Signing of a Contract To Aid Electrification of Underdeveloped Countries. *November 1, 1962*

I AM pleased to witness the signing of the contract between the Agency for International Development and the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, which will

enable us to assist underdeveloped countries in realizing the benefits of widespread electrification.

One of the dramatic stories of this Na-

tion's development is the sweeping electrification of our Nation's farms and rural communities undertaken on a national basis in the 1930's. Increased farm productivity and a higher standard of living were the inevitable twin benefits of electric power lines which moved to our farms, our remote mountain areas, and, in fact, almost literally throughout the entire country. Although much of the credit for this tremendous expansion must go to the statesmen of the thirties, exemplified by George W. Norris, we know that it could not have been achieved without the industry and initiative of those strong individuals of rural America who formed together in cooperatives under the encouragement and guidance of the Rural Electrification Administration.

One of the most significant contributions that we can make to the underdeveloped countries is to pass on to them the techniques which we in this country have developed and used successfully. It seems to me, therefore, that the contract signed today holds special promise for those countries which have realized only a small fraction of their energy potential. I understand that the countries which will participate in this program initially are Latin American nations through the Alliance for Progress, and I know that I express the hope of all that the results of the contract will be an improved standard of living for millions of people.

I congratulate the people of AID and of the NRECA for having developed this agreement.

I think that we take the REA so much for granted that we ignore the extraordinary and really revolutionary increase in the electrification of American farms which occurred in almost a decade. Some of the veterans of that period know the statistics, to go from a handful of electrified farms to having 90 percent of the farms electrified, and do that all in 10 or 15 years indicates the advantage of cooperative action, the National Government working with the individuals who joined together and did it on their own.

What we have done can be done in a

great many other countries with this organizational arrangement and with stimulation from both their national governments and their local communities. I don't think there is any program which I think will help the Alliance for Progress, will help the AID agency, more than this association between the REA and the AID agency and the countries that are involved. I'm hopeful that the United States Government and the AID agency will follow this up immediately, and will particularly concentrate their first efforts, as I've said, on Latin America, will concentrate their attention there on several countries to show other countries what can be done. If we in a year or two years can make significant progress in several countries, that example will spread. That really is the experience of REA. When some saw what could be done, then all wanted to do it.

So I think this can be very important, in fact one of the most significant actions taken by the AID agency. I want to express my appreciation to those from the REA, with their long experience. I hope that today's action is only the beginning of a very concentrated cooperative effort.

In other words, we've done a good deal here. While the job isn't finished in the United States, at least it's on its way. I hope that they will, therefore, release some of their natural energies to the electrification of other countries which need it so desperately. So I'm glad to take part in this.

Maybe you can explain how we're going to function on this matter in the next few months.

Fowler Hamilton [Administrator, Agency for International Development]: I will, Mr. President.

What this does, Mr. President, is to set up really a framework of the relationship between the Agency for International Development and the NRECA, focused primarily on the Alliance for Progress. The first countries that these gentlemen are going into are Nicaragua, Colombia, and Northeastern Brazil. They had a request just the other day from Ecuador. They plan to do just

exactly what you said, to get this thing going in some of these countries and then it will spread through the contagion of example, because what these gentlemen and ladies are going to take down to Latin America in their heads is going to be a lot more important than what Government bureaucrats carry in their pockets, in our view, as far as developing these countries is concerned.

THE PRESIDENT. What are the figures on what we did here in the United States since the thirties? I was wondering what was the situation when REA went in.

Clyde T. Ellis [General Manager, National Rural Electric Cooperative Association]: About 10 percent, in 1935.

THE PRESIDENT. Ten percent of our farms. And then how long a period was it before an appreciable change?

Mr. Ellis: Well, most of the work was done after the war. Before we were really started in a big way we were in the war. Most of the work was done from 1946 until

1960—1962; we are still at it. You were right, generally, in your figures a while ago. We electrified most of America's farms in a period of a little more than a decade.

THE PRESIDENT. And what percentage is now electrified?

Mr. Ellis: About 97 percent.

THE PRESIDENT. I think that figure, to go from 10 percent to 97 percent, as a result of this cooperative effort by the National Government and the REA, and the local communities, and private industry, should be encouraging to countries which have even less than 10 percent today. It shows it can be done. I think this is going to be very helpful.

Mr. Hamilton: Thank you very much, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:30 a.m. in his office at the White House following the signing of the contract by Mr. Fowler, Mr. Ellis, and R. A. Yarbrough, President of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association.

500 Message to the President of the Inter-Parliamentary Council.

November 1, 1962

Dear Mr. Codacci-Pisanelli:

I have received with appreciation your letter enclosing the text of a resolution adopted by the 51st Inter-Parliamentary Conference at Brasilia concerning threats to world peace arising out of the Cuban situation and the Sino-Indian conflict.

My country and its people would suffer perhaps more than any others in the event of a major breach of world peace. Hence, we have as great an incentive as any state to do all in our power to preserve this peace. To that end we have moved together with our sister republics in this hemisphere, through the OAS, as well as in the United Nations, to bring an end to the new and serious threat to peace created by the rapid and secret introduction of offensive weapon systems with nuclear capability into Cuba by the Soviet government. We are gratified that Chairman Khrushchev has agreed to withdraw these weapons from this hemi-

sphere. The actions now being taken to implement this decision may, if successful, lead to the liquidation of this threat as well as the possibility of steps to abate other tensions endangering world peace.

With regard to the conflict on the Sino-Indian frontier, I deplore this further instance of armed aggression by Communist China and hope that that state can be persuaded to abandon its flagrant violation of the territorial integrity of its neighbors.

I would appreciate your reading this message to the plenary session of the IPU Conference.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Mr. Giuseppe Codacci-Pisanelli, President, Inter-Parliamentary Council, Brasilia, Brazil]

NOTE: Mr. Codacci-Pisanelli's letter, dated October 26, 1962, was released with the President's reply. The resolution referred to in the first paragraph of the President's message is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 47, p. 784).

501 Radio and Television Remarks on the Dismantling of Soviet Missile Bases in Cuba. *November 2, 1962*

[Broadcast at 5:30 p.m. from the Fish Room at the White House]

My fellow citizens:

I want to take this opportunity to report on the conclusions which this Government has reached on the basis of yesterday's aerial photographs which will be made available tomorrow, as well as other indications, namely, that the Soviet missile bases in Cuba are being dismantled, their missiles and related equipment are being crated, and the fixed installations at these sites are being destroyed.

The United States intends to follow closely the completion of this work through a variety of means, including aerial surveillance, until such time as an equally satisfactory international means of verification is effected.

While the quarantine remains in effect, we are hopeful that adequate procedures can be developed for international inspection of

Cuba-bound cargoes. The International Committee of the Red Cross, in our view, would be an appropriate agent in this matter.

The continuation of these measures in air and sea, until the threat to peace posed by these offensive weapons is gone, is in keeping with our pledge to secure their withdrawal or elimination from this hemisphere. It is in keeping with the resolution of the OAS, and it is in keeping with the exchange of letters with Chairman Khrushchev of October 27th and 28th.

Progress is now being made towards the restoration of peace in the Caribbean, and it is our firm hope and purpose that this progress shall go forward. We will continue to keep the American people informed on this vital matter.

Thank you.

502 Statement by the President Urging Citizens To Vote on Election Day. *November 3, 1962*

My fellow citizens:

In these difficult days in the life of our country, I know that every American asks what he can do. All of us cannot serve in our Armed Forces or in the Government, but there is one thing that each of us can do, and that is to take part in our democracy, to participate in it, and we can do that on Tuesday, November 6th, which is Election Day.

People all over the world who desire freedom look to the United States. The best

evidence that we can give of how strongly we believe in freedom is by voting on Tuesday, November 6th, for the candidate and the party of our choice. This is the way that we can show how strongly we believe in our country, how strongly we work for it, how strong we want it to be—by voting on Tuesday, November 6th.

NOTE: The statement was recorded for broadcast over radio and television under the auspices of the American Heritage Foundation.

503 Statement by the President on the Conclusion of Atmospheric Nuclear Tests in the Pacific. *November 4, 1962*

THE MEDIUM altitude shot fired this morning off Johnston Island concludes our present atmospheric test series in the Pacific. Underground nuclear weapons tests, free

from fall-out, are continuing in Nevada.

I hope that in the next months we can conclude an effective test ban treaty, so that the world can be free from all testing.

Agreement in this area would be an important first step toward our continuing goal of workable disarmament arrangements which can cut down the threat of war. Last March 2 I offered to stop further nuclear

tests, if the Soviet Union would accept an effectively verified test ban treaty. This offer still stands. We shall devote our best efforts to conclude such a treaty and hope all others will do the same.

504 Proclamation 3505: Thanksgiving Day. *November 7, 1962*

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation:

Over three centuries ago in Plymouth, on Massachusetts Bay, the Pilgrims established the custom of gathering together each year to express their gratitude to God for the preservation of their community and for the harvests their labors brought forth in the new land. Joining with their neighbors, they shared together and worshipped together in a common giving of thanks. Thanksgiving Day has ever since been part of the fabric which has united Americans with their past, with each other and with the future of all mankind.

It is fitting that we observe this year our own day of thanksgiving. It is fitting that we give our thanks for the safety of our land, for the fertility of our harvests, for the strength of our liberties, for the health of our people. We do so in no spirit of self-righteousness. We recognize that we are the beneficiaries of the toil and devotion of our fathers and that we can pass their legacy on to our children only by equal toil and equal devotion. We recognize too that we live in a world of peril and change—and in so uncertain a time we are all the more grateful for the indestructible gifts of hope and love, which sustain us in adversity and inspire us to labor unceasingly for a more perfect community within this nation and around the earth.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, JOHN F. KENNEDY, President of the United States of America, in accord with the joint resolution of Congress, approved December 26, 1941, which designates the fourth Thursday in November

of each year as Thanksgiving Day, do hereby proclaim Thursday, the twenty-second day of November of this year, as a day of national thanksgiving.

I urge that all observe this day with reverence and with humility.

Let us renew the spirit of the Pilgrims at the first Thanksgiving, lonely in an inscrutable wilderness, facing the dark unknown with a faith borne of their dedication to God and a fortitude drawn from their sense that all men were brothers.

Let us renew that spirit by offering our thanks for uncovenanted mercies, beyond our desert or merit, and by resolving to meet the responsibilities placed upon us.

Let us renew that spirit by sharing the abundance of this day with those less fortunate, in our own land and abroad. Let us renew that spirit by seeking always to establish larger communities of brotherhood.

Let us renew that spirit by preparing our souls for the incertitudes ahead—by being always ready to confront crisis with steadfastness and achievement with grace and modesty.

Let us renew that spirit by concerting our energy and our hope with men and women everywhere that the world may move more rapidly toward the time when Thanksgiving may be a day of universal celebration.

Let us renew that spirit by expressing our acceptance of the limitations of human striving and by affirming our duty to strive nonetheless, as Providence may direct us, toward a better world for all mankind.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the

United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 7th day of November, in the year of [SEAL] our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-two, and of the Independence

of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-seventh.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

By the President:

DEAN RUSK

Secretary of State

505 Statement by the President on the Death of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. *November 7, 1962*

ONE of the great ladies in the history of this country has passed from the scene. Her loss will be deeply felt by all those who admired her tireless idealism or benefited from her good works and wise counsel.

Since the day I entered this office, she has been both an inspiration and a friend, and my wife and I always looked forward to her visits to the White House, to which she always lent such grace and vitality.

Our condolences go to all the members of her family, whose grief at the death of this extraordinary woman can be tempered by the knowledge that her memory and spirit will long endure among those who labor for great causes around the world.

NOTE: In addition to the foregoing statement, the President issued Executive Order 11061 (27 F.R. 10927), which provided that as a mark of respect to the memory of Mrs. Roosevelt, the flag of the United States should be flown at half-staff on all

Government buildings, military facilities, and naval vessels and stations until interment.

On November 14 the President announced that, at the request of the family of Mrs. Roosevelt, he had appointed a committee to study methods of perpetuating the major interests to which she had dedicated her life, particularly the securing and protection of human rights and the improvement of living conditions among the underprivileged. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson was appointed chairman of the committee.

The President also announced on November 14 that no replacement would be made for Mrs. Roosevelt as chairman of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. "Under her far-sighted leadership," he stated, "the framework, policies, and the direction of the Commission has been established. What remains to be done is to complete the task which she has so well begun." The President added that he had asked Dr. Richard Lester, Vice Chairman of the Commission, and Mrs. Esther Peterson, Executive Vice Chairman, to guide the Commission along the course charted by Mrs. Roosevelt.

506 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to Chancellor Adenauer of Germany. *November 14, 1962*

Chancellor:

It is a great honor to welcome you and the members of your government back here to the United States once again. You have, on many occasions, made this long journey, and on each occasion I think it has resulted in stronger ties between the Federal Republic and the United States of America.

As in the case of no other statesman, certainly in the modern history of the world, you have the benefit of a long perspective

and a long view of our times, stretching all the way from happier days, as Mayor of your native city in the years before the first war, to being Chancellor of your country in a period of great trial, of great difficulty, and also of great opportunity.

During this period, particularly as Chancellor of your country, you have held to a view of a greater Europe, a greater free Europe, opening up unlimited opportunities, not only to the people of your own country,

not only to the people of Europe, but also to all free people; and also a great vision of a greater Europe linked in a greater Atlantic partnership to Canada and the United States and Great Britain.

So, Chancellor, because of that view, which is approaching, we believe, fulfillment, your place in the history of your country and the free world is assured. And we are particularly glad to welcome you at this time when there are so many matters of concern to your country and to us, and to all the countries of the free world, as we move into a climactic period. Chancellor, we are very proud to have you with us again.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:45 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was given a formal welcome with full military honors. Chancellor Adenauer responded as follows:

Mr. President:

I thank you very cordially for the particularly friendly words you have just addressed to me, and through me to the German people. I am also very happy and very grateful, indeed, for having this new opportunity to be in Washington, and every time I am here I am thinking back to the first visit to Washington after World War II, this city where the power of the free world is concentrated.

It is true this is my eleventh visit, Mr. President,

and it is certainly true that after each visit I left very happy and very satisfied about the results of our discussions. That applies to my meetings with President Truman, with President Eisenhower, and now with President Kennedy.

I believe that more than ever in the last 10 years, we are confronted today with great dangers. But there are also ahead of us more promising prospects for all those who are of good will.

Mr. President, in the last few weeks you had to make very difficult decisions. Events were developing very quickly, and the life of many millions of people might possibly have been at stake, but let me also emphasize this: liberty and freedom was also at stake.

The American Nation supported you and backed you in your decision. The American Nation was ready to accept this challenge to uphold and defend their convictions. Thus, the American people have rendered an invaluable service to their friends, to the cause of freedom in the world.

The measures you have taken, Mr. President, were welcomed right from the beginning and without any qualification whatsoever by the German people, by the German Government, and by myself. We know that the United States of America is the leader of the free world, and we are fully aware that without the leadership of the United States of America, the cause of freedom and liberty all over the world would be lost.

Let me emphasize in conclusion, Mr. President, that we are firmly standing by your side, Mr. President, and by the side of the American people, and we are standing for the cause of liberty and freedom.

Thank you, Mr. President.

507 Toasts of the President and Chancellor Adenauer. *November 14, 1962*

Chancellor:

I want to express in behalf of all the members of the Government who are here and all Americans our very warm welcome to you, to the Foreign Minister, to the members of your Government, and to tell you how pleased we are that you are visiting us once again.

I think that the instinctive judgment of my predecessors and the members of their Government after the Second War in realizing how essential it was to the security of the West, of the free world, that there should be a strong and independent Germany was matched by the instinctive judgment of the

German people that their future lay in a free and expanding and growing Europe. This sense of the future which dominated the political thinking of both of our peoples and their leaders in those days I think will go down as one of the significant decisions in the history of the modern world.

It is our responsibility, Chancellor, that decision having been made, to build upon it and to attempt to move from an increasingly strong and powerful Europe and Atlantic community to an increasingly strong and powerful free world. It seems to me that both the United States and the Federal Republic, and Europe, and, indeed, the whole

Atlantic partnership, have a great role to play in the maintenance of freedom all around the globe.

We are very proud to have you here, Chancellor, as one of the architects of this relationship. We had one in Mr. Acheson, who played a most significant role during those days. And those of us who have followed in this country want to assure you that we still regard the close and intimate ties between the Federal Republic and the United States as the strongest possible insurance for the defense of Europe, which is essential to the defense of the United States, and we still believe that this is the base from which those actions must spring which will provide a protection for our vital interests, and, if we are determined to be strong enough, the peace of the world. We welcome you here during a time of very great change in the world, both in the West and in the East. It will be our task, Chancellor, to make those judgments today which will serve the future as well as the judgments which were made and in which you participated a decade or more ago which have so served us at present.

Chancellor, we welcome you here at an important turning point, possibly, in the history of the relations between East and West, and in any case we welcome you as an old, valued and courageous friend.

Ladies and gentlemen, I hope you will join in drinking with me to the Chancellor, to the members of his Government, to the German people, and to the President of the Federal Republic.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House.

In his response Chancellor Adenauer recalled the collapse of Germany in 1945 and the bonds created by the helpful hand that the victor had extended to the vanquished. "It was not only the material aid and assistance," he continued, "but it was, above all, the human attitude, the human aspect, the human spirit in which this was done which established these inseparable bonds between our two countries."

Noting that he had been in politics only since 1945, Chancellor Adenauer stated that his political memory was still very fresh "because in this connection it is not age that counts but it is the years which you have spent in a political career." He added that in looking back on these years he thought of President Truman and Secretary Acheson "who were the first to take the moves, the initiatives, to establish the close relationships with Germany," and of President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles. After paying his respects to them he expressed heartfelt thanks to President Kennedy and his associates for having followed the tradition established by President Truman.

The Chancellor stated that he had never judged political discussions by the communiques issued after the meetings "because in most cases the communique is put on the table right at the beginning of the negotiations." Instead, he said, he judged them by the content of the conversations. In applying this criterion to the conversations already held, he stated that he could say it was going to be a very good meeting, one which was urgently needed "in this very critical situation in which we find ourselves today."

He concluded by congratulating the President and the United States for the firm stand taken on the Cuban question. "I feel," he said, "that this was a very great success for the United States of America, and it was a failure for Mr. Khrushchev. The world once again has seen Mr. Khrushchev as he really is."

In his opening remarks the President referred to Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, German Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs.

508 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Chancellor Adenauer. *November 15, 1962*

PRESIDENT Kennedy and Chancellor Adenauer held conversations in Washington on November 14 and 15 in which Secretary of State Rusk and the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. Schroeder participated.

The conversations were conducted in a relaxed and friendly spirit which has become

traditional in the relations between the two governments. The President and the Chancellor reviewed recent international developments and examined the opportunities which might arise in the future to clarify unresolved questions and to better ensure peace. They were in agreement that both Govern-

ments will collaborate closely and confidently in examining and utilizing such opportunities.

The exchange of views between President Kennedy and Chancellor Adenauer dealt in particular with the events relating to Cuba and their effect both on the general situation and the problems of special interest to the two countries.

Among other important international problems discussed by the President and the Chancellor were Germany including Berlin; Western Alliance contingency planning for the maintenance of the freedom and security of West Berlin; East-West relations; political and military matters pertaining to NATO; developments relating to the economic and political integration of Europe.

It was agreed that a solution of the Ger-

man question can be found only in the preservation of the right of self-determination and that the freedom and viability of Berlin will be preserved in all circumstances and with all means.

The President and Chancellor Adenauer were agreed that the North Atlantic Alliance continues to be the basis for the maintenance of freedom and that for the future every appropriate means must be employed to strengthen the Alliance and to promote the cooperation of its members.

The conversations have shown that both Governments are in full agreement in their assessment of the international situation. The meeting has reaffirmed the very close cooperation, based on the friendship of the two peoples, which exists between the two Governments.

509 Remarks at the Signing of a Joint Statement on Fair Employment Practices. *November 15, 1962*

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Secretary, Mr. Meany, friends:

I want to express my warm welcome to you to this historic room, and to express my great appreciation to you for your effort in joining together to commit ourselves once again to the goal of equal opportunities for all.

This is a cause which you understand very well. The labor movement, after all, was originated by those who were being denied their equal opportunity. Whether it was because they were working 12 hours a day, 6 or 7 days a week, whether it was because they were immigrants, whether it was because of one reason or another, the labor movement began as a union of those who were the least privileged in our society.

So it seems to me very natural that those who took into their ranks and, indeed, built their ranks upon the immigrants, upon women who were exploited, upon men who worked too long, upon young people who were put to work under adverse conditions, old people who were dismissed when they were too old to sustain the burdens of long

employment, that the labor movement would be, as it has been for the last 30 years, the natural center and core of the effort to provide better opportunity for all of our fellow citizens. Whatever their racial descent, whatever their religion, whatever their color, whatever region of the country they come from, this is a cause to which labor has been associated for 50 years.

So we asked you here together today not to invite you to participate in something new, but to join together with you in attempting to make more realistic, more active, the promises of the National Government, the promises of the labor movement, the promises of the American Constitution, the promises of the whole concept of our country. So I don't think that I need speak to you on this matter at all.

I want to commend the Vice President for his long efforts with all of the people of our country in making this cause more successful, and the labor movement, itself, the Secretary of Labor. This is something you know all about. This is something you're

doing. This is something we can all do better on. This is something I know you will do everything you can to improve.

The work of the labor movement isn't done. When the work of the labor movement is done, then all of you might just as well go home and stay in bed. The work of the labor movement goes on. It's wholly unfinished.

There are too many areas of our country where there isn't equal opportunity, where people aren't adequately paid, where they work too long, where their rights are not guaranteed. And as long as that's true, there's a need for the American labor movement.

So that I ask you today to join in an old cause and a new one, and that is to make sure that in the ranks of labor, labor itself practices what it preaches. This is true of labor; it must be true of all of us. It must be true of the National Government. We must make sure that in our employment practices in the National Government, in all grades, that we practice what we preach, that we make it possible not only to permit equal opportunity, but also to encourage it, to

not merely treat all those who apply to use equally, but to make sure that we invite and encourage and stimulate equal opportunities. That requires some work.

So I welcome you all here today. I'm glad to know that the labor movement is true to its great ideals. To tell what you are doing is very important to our country, and it's important to the labor movement.

This is a good cause which merits your support. And I know from long experience that you'll be in the front ranks, not only in committing yourselves to it, but, what's more important, implementing your commitments.

We're glad to have you today. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke in the East Room at the White House. His opening words referred to Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, and George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO.

The Joint Statement on Union Program for Fair Practices was signed by the Vice President and by the president of each of the several labor unions present.

510 Statement by the President on Announcing the Appointment of Christian Herter as Special U.S. Representative for Trade Negotiations. *November 15, 1962*

THE Trade Expansion Act of 1962 has had the high priority, the nonpartisan support, and the unqualified commitment which must be provided legislation which affects the vital security interests of the United States both here and abroad. The Congress provided authority not only to pursue agreements on trade and tariffs which would accommodate our national needs for expanding markets and thereby contribute to our economic strength and growth, but also to create entirely new reciprocal trading arrangements which would measurably contribute to the economic, political, and military strength and solidarity of the free world.

Thus, the importance of this task and the scope of interest and endeavor of the Special Representative goes beyond the immediate particulars of negotiations on trade and tariff matters. This work goes to the very heart of the many policies and programs, domestic and foreign, which will help to shape the world environment in which the United States must maintain initiative, command respect, and provide leadership. To this end, the Special Representative will necessarily be accorded a central role in the formulation of trade policy. He will be directly responsible for preparing the proposed objectives and strategies for negotiations and for directing those negotiations

while they are in process. In a broader sense, he will become, along with the Secretaries of State and Commerce, one of the top policy officials of the United States Government in shaping and achieving our international objectives in the commercial, trade and economic fields.

NOTE: The position of Special U.S. Representative for Trade Negotiations was established by the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. Prior to Mr. Herter's appointment, Howard C. Petersen served as Special

Assistant to the President for Trade Policy from August 15, 1961, through November 21, 1962.

On accepting Mr. Petersen's resignation the President referred to his invaluable help in developing the new trade act, in explaining its implications to both the Members of Congress and the country at large, and in guiding it through the Senate and the House of Representatives. Mr. Petersen's letter and the President's reply were released by the White House on November 21.

For the President's remarks upon signing the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, see Item 449.

511 Message to Chancellor Adenauer Following His Visit. *November 17, 1962*

[Released November 17, 1962. Dated November 16, 1962]

Dear Chancellor Adenauer:

Thank you for your most cordial message today. It was a pleasure to see you here and have the opportunity for extended personal discussions on matters of greatest importance to both our countries. I greatly value the close relationship that has developed between our governments, and it is a great advantage to us that we are able to deal with our common problems and purposes in these meetings with such cordial and open intimacy.

I feel that this is the best and most helpful meeting we have had. I am grateful to you for coming and we are all proud to have had a chance to show again the regard America has for a great defender of freedom.

Mrs. Kennedy joins me in sending warmest regards to you and your daughter, Frau Werhahn.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, Bonn, Germany]

512 Remarks at the Dedication of the Dulles International Airport, Chantilly, Virginia. *November 17, 1962*

Mr. Halaby, General Eisenhower, Mr. Chief Justice, Mrs. Dulles, Mr. Dulles, Mrs. Saarinen, Mrs. Halaby, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my great pride and satisfaction in the contribution which has been made by a number of dedicated public and private citizens in constructing this great building. I want to express my great compliments to General Eisenhower and to General Quesada, not merely because they saw the necessity of Washington having a jet airport, and not merely because they determined on a most appropriate name, but also because they chose a design and an architect,

and builders, which made this a distinguished ornament of a great country and a great governmental system.

This building, I think, symbolizes the aspirations of the United States in the 1950's and the 1960's, and I don't think it's at all incongruous that we should be at the same time devoting ourselves to the preserving of Lafayette Park and all of the old buildings of that park, and all of the old views which other Presidents a hundred years ago saw, and at the same time taking the greatest pride and satisfaction in this new building.

We believe in the past and in the future, and I think this building symbolizes that

great future, as Lafayette Park symbolizes that brilliant past. So I compliment them and I compliment General Quesada, who seems to enjoy a life of controversy in his new occupation, as he did in his past occupation, but at least he is living vitally, and that counts for a good deal these days.

I also want to say how appropriate it is that this should be named after Secretary Dulles. He was a member of an extraordinary family: his brother, Allen Dulles, who served in a great many administrations, stretching back, I believe, to President Hoover, all the way to this one; John Foster Dulles, who at the age of 19 was, rather strangely, the Secretary to the Chinese Delegation to The Hague, and who served nearly every Presidential administration from that time forward to his death in 1959; their uncle, who was Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing; their grandfather, who was Secretary of State, Mr. Foster.

I know of few families and certainly few contemporaries who rendered more distinguished and dedicated service to their country.

Therefore, I think that all of them can feel in the name Dulles Airport a sense of participation. We believe in that kind of public service, and I hope that the fact of the naming will encourage it in the future.

Most of all, I want to commend those who'll be working here, those who fly our planes, those who man those planes, those members of the Immigration Service who will be the first Americans that visitors will see here in the United States. And I hope

it will be possible, building on what has been done here at Dulles Airport, that we will make sure that all of our airports and all of our piers at the seas, and all of the people who work on them, show a face of America to the world which is our best face.

I hope that those who are here, those in New York, those in San Francisco, those in every port, whether it's on the ocean or whether it's from the air, will realize that the people who come here make a judgment about our country, that they are people who carry with them an impression of our country, and we want it to be the best. So we have the greatest hopes for them, and we congratulate them on their service in the past and in the future.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is a great airport at a great time in the life of our country. I commend all those who've been a part of it, and, most of all, I congratulate the citizens of America who in their joint capacity as citizens of the greatest free country have made this airport possible. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. from a platform erected in front of the new air terminal. In his opening words he referred to Najeeb E. Halaby, Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency; President Dwight D. Eisenhower; Chief Justice Earl Warren; Mrs. John Foster Dulles; Allen W. Dulles; Mrs. Eero Saarinen, widow of the architect for the airport; and Mrs. Najeeb Halaby. Later he referred to General E. R. Quesada, former Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency.

The airport was designated the Dulles International Airport by President Eisenhower on July 15, 1959, by Executive Order 10828 (3 CFR, 1959 Supp., p. 120).

513 Remarks to Members of the First Inter-American Symposium. *November 19, 1962*

Gentlemen, ladies:

I want to welcome you all to the White House and it seems to me that intellectuals are gathering in pleasanter circumstances. Last year they had a meeting in Europe—I think in Italy—now it's in Nassau. And I

want you to know that you are very welcome at the White House.

I think that when we first put the concept forward of the Alliance for Progress, which grew as an offshoot out of the Operation Pan-American, which had its original roots

in Brazil, that one of the proposals that was made was a much greater flow back and forth between the intellectual, artistic, and cultural life, which is a sign of the vitality of a society, between North and South America.

I think that too often we are, in a sense, as General de Gaulle has said, the daughter of Europe, and our view on these matters which affect the life of the spirit really, looks more to Europe and not enough to the south. And it seems to me also true that Latin America looks to Europe for its inspiration in these areas and not to North America.

This side of our national life, I think, has been too little known outside of our country. But I think in music, architecture, art, writing, all the rest, we've had a good deal of life and vitality in this country in recent years, and this is also true of Latin America.

So I'm glad now, instead of our all looking to the East, which we must on many occasions, that we now look north and we look south. And we hope from this current back

and forth there will be greater stimulation.

We don't want to see the artistic and intellectual life used as a weapon in a cold war struggle, but we do feel that it's an essential part of the whole democratic spirit.

So, I'm very glad to have you here as symbols and also as active participants in this life and most of all because the artist necessarily must be a free man.

So we welcome you here to the White House. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke in the Rose Garden at the White House.

The Symposium brought together Latin American and North American artists, musicians, architects, etc., for the purpose of exchanging ideas on the arts and belles-lettres and of discussing better ways to coordinate cultural activities in the Americas. The Symposium was held at Nassau under the auspices of Show Magazine, whose editor, Robert Wool, conceived the idea and developed it to its actuality. It is intended to be an annual affair.

The Latin American members, to whom the President spoke, came to Washington after the Nassau meeting for the opening of an exhibit of modern Latin American art at the Pan American Union.

514 Message to Mrs. Niels Bohr Upon the Death of Her Husband. *November 20, 1962*

I AM deeply saddened by the news of the death of Dr. Bohr. The scientists of the United States, and indeed all Americans, who knew him and his accomplishments, have held him in the highest respect for more than two generations. His great achievements in the quantum theory of the atom have been basic to modern advances in physical science. The scientific inspiration he

brought in his many visits to this country, and especially his great services at Los Alamos during the war, leave us forever in his debt.

Please accept my condolences and deepest sympathy.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[Mrs. Niels Bohr, Copenhagen, Denmark]

515 The President's News Conference of *November 20, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT. I have several statements.

[1.] I have today been informed by Chairman Khrushchev that all of the IL-28 bombers now in Cuba will be withdrawn in 30 days. He also agrees that these planes can be observed and counted as they leave. In-

asmuch as this goes a long way towards reducing the danger which faced this hemisphere 4 weeks ago, I have this afternoon instructed the Secretary of Defense to lift our naval quarantine.

In view of this action, I want to take this

opportunity to bring the American people up to date on the Cuban crisis and to review the progress made thus far in fulfilling the understandings between Soviet Chairman Khrushchev and myself as set forth in our letters of October 27 and 28. Chairman Khrushchev, it will be recalled, agreed to remove from Cuba all weapons systems capable of offensive use, to halt the further introduction of such weapons into Cuba, and to permit appropriate United Nations observation and supervision to insure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments. We on our part agreed that once these adequate arrangements for verification had been established we would remove our naval quarantine and give assurances against an invasion of Cuba.

The evidence to date indicates that all known offensive missile sites in Cuba have been dismantled. The missiles and their associated equipment have been loaded on Soviet ships. And our inspection at sea of these departing ships has confirmed that the number of missiles reported by the Soviet Union as having been brought into Cuba, which closely corresponded to our own information, has now been removed. In addition, the Soviet Government has stated that all nuclear weapons have been withdrawn from Cuba and no offensive weapons will be re-introduced.

Nevertheless, important parts of the understanding of October 27th and 28th remain to be carried out. The Cuban Government has not yet permitted the United Nations to verify whether all offensive weapons have been removed, and no lasting safeguards have yet been established against the future introduction of offensive weapons back into Cuba.

Consequently, if the Western Hemisphere is to continue to be protected against offensive weapons, this Government has no choice but to pursue its own means of checking on military activities in Cuba. The importance of our continued vigilance is underlined by our identification in recent days of a number of Soviet ground combat units in Cuba, al-

though we are informed that these and other Soviet units were associated with the protection of offensive weapons systems, and will also be withdrawn in due course.

I repeat, we would like nothing better than adequate international arrangements for the task of inspection and verification in Cuba, and we are prepared to continue our efforts to achieve such arrangements. Until that is done, difficult problems remain. As for our part, if all offensive weapons systems are removed from Cuba and kept out of the hemisphere in the future, under adequate verification and safeguards, and if Cuba is not used for the export of aggressive Communist purposes, there will be peace in the Caribbean. And as I said in September, "we shall neither initiate nor permit aggression in this hemisphere."

We will not, of course, abandon the political, economic, and other efforts of this hemisphere to halt subversion from Cuba nor our purpose and hope that the Cuban people shall some day be truly free. But these policies are very different from any intent to launch a military invasion of the island.

In short, the record of recent weeks shows real progress and we are hopeful that further progress can be made. The completion of the commitment on both sides and the achievement of a peaceful solution to the Cuban crisis might well open the door to the solution of other outstanding problems.

May I add this final thought in this week of Thanksgiving: there is much for which we can be grateful as we look back to where we stood only 4 weeks ago—the unity of this hemisphere, the support of our allies, and the calm determination of the American people. These qualities may be tested many more times in this decade, but we have increased reason to be confident that those qualities will continue to serve the cause of freedom with distinction in the years to come.

[2.] Secondly, I would also like to announce that I have today signed an Executive order¹ directing Federal departments

¹ Executive Order 11063 (27 F.R. 11527).

and agencies to take every proper and legal action to prevent discrimination in the sale or lease of housing facilities owned or operated by the Federal Government; housing constructed or sold as a result of loans or grants to be made by the Federal Government or by loans to be insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government; and housing to be made available through the development or redevelopment of property under Federal slum clearance or urban renewal programs.

With regard to existing housing facilities constructed or purchased as a result of direct loans or grants from the Federal Government, or under Federal guarantees, or as a result of the urban renewal program, I have directed the Housing Agency and other appropriate agencies to use their good offices to promote and encourage the abandonment of discriminatory practices that may now exist.

In order to assist the departments and agencies in implementing this policy, and to coordinate their efforts, I have established the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing. It is neither proper nor equitable that Americans should be denied the benefits of housing owned by the Federal Government or financed through the Federal assistance on the basis of their race, color, creed, or national origin.

Our national policy is equal opportunity for all and the Federal Government will continue to take such legal and proper steps as it may to achieve the realization of this goal.

[3.] And finally, over the last weekend, the Chinese have made great advances in northeastern India. Now they have offered some kind of cease-fire proposal and we are in touch with the Indian Government to determine their assessment of it. In order to better assess Indian needs, we are sending a team to New Delhi, headed by Assistant Secretary Averell Harriman, including Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul Nitze and other representatives of the Defense Department and State Department. It will leave tomorrow.

In providing military assistance to India, we are mindful of our alliance with Pakistan. All of our aid to India is for the purpose of defeating Chinese Communist subversion. Chinese incursions into the subcontinent are a threat to Pakistan as well as India, and both have a common interest in opposing it.

We have urged this point in both governments. Our help to India in no way diminishes or qualifies our commitment to Pakistan and we have made this clear to both governments as well.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, with respect to your no-invasion pledge, there has been considerable discussion and speculation in the press as to the exact scope of this pledge. I believe that Chairman Khrushchev, in his letter of the 28th, made the assumption, or the implication, or the statement, that no attack would be made on Castro, not only by the United States, but any other country in the Western Hemisphere. It appeared to be an implication that possibly you would be willing to guarantee Castro against any and all enemies anywhere. Now I realize that in your letter there was nothing of that sort and you've touched on this today, but I'm wondering if you can be a bit more specific on the scope of your no-invasion pledge.

THE PRESIDENT. I think that today's statement describes very clearly what the policy is of the Government in regard to no-invasion. I think if you re-read the statement you will see the position of the Government on that matter.

Q. Mr. President, in speaking of "adequate verification," does this mean that we insist upon onsite inspection? Would we be satisfied with anything less than actual, on-the-spot inspection in Cuba?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we have thought that to provide adequate inspection, it should be onsite. As you know, Mr. Castro has not agreed to that, so we have had to use our own resources to implement the decision of the Organization of American States that the

hemisphere should continue to keep itself informed about the development of weapons systems in Cuba.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with your statement on India, would you say if you foresee any need for direct U.S. participation in the border difficulties there in the way of manpower? Will we have to send troops there?

THE PRESIDENT. There's been no indication of that. I think we can get a more precise idea of what the Indians need to protect their territorial integrity when Governor Harriman returns, and also, I understand a similar mission may be being sent from London. And I think by the end of the week we ought to have a clearer idea of what the cease-fire offer means, what the military pressures are in India, and what assistance they would like to receive from us, but as of today I've heard nothing about American troops being requested.

Q. Does that include trainers and advisers?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think—we can't tell precisely what the Indians require, and that's why this mission is going tomorrow, composed of representatives of State and Defense.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, apparently you've established quite a free-flowing channel of communications with Chairman Khrushchev. I wonder if you could comment any on this, perhaps telling us how many messages you've exchanged, some of the tenor of those, and if this will be a pattern for the future?

THE PRESIDENT. We've exchanged several messages in an attempt to try to work out the details of the withdrawal of the IL-28's and also a system of verification, in an attempt to fill in, in detail, the assurances given in the letters of late October. So that's what the correspondence has been about.

I think that's been very clearly stated. And as I say, today a message was received, several hours ago, indicating that the IL-28's would be taken out. The main burden of

the negotiation, however, has been borne by Mr. McCloy and Governor Stevenson in their conversations, but I have continued to indicate how we defined offensive weapons, which has been the subject of this correspondence and, really, the subject of the negotiations between Mr. McCloy and Mr. Stevenson on the one hand, and the Russians on the other.

In addition, the question of adequate verification has been a subject of the correspondence and a subject of the negotiations.

Q. Mr. President, in the various exchanges of the past 3 weeks, either between yourself and Chairman Khrushchev or at the United Nations, have any issues been touched on besides that of Cuba, and could you say how the events of these past 3 weeks might affect such an issue as Berlin or disarmament or nuclear testing?

THE PRESIDENT. No. I instructed the negotiators to confine themselves to the matter of Cuba completely, and therefore no other matters were discussed. Disarmament, any matters affecting Western Europe, relations between the Warsaw pact countries and NATO, all the rest—none of these matters was to be in any way referred to or negotiated about until we had made progress and come to some sort of a solution on Cuba. So that has been all we have done diplomatically with the Soviet Union in the last month.

Now, if we're successful in Cuba, as I said, we would be hopeful that some of the other areas of tension could be relaxed. Obviously when you make progress in any area, then you have hopes that you can continue it. But up till now we have confined ourselves to Cuba, and we'll continue to do so until we feel the situation has reached a satisfactory state.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, your administration, like others, is being criticized for its handling of information. The point is being made that reporters are being hampered in carrying out their role as the link between

Government and the American people, that we're not keeping the American people well informed, as a result of Government policies. LeRoy Collins, former Governor of Florida, now head of the National Association of Broadcasters, has accused both the Defense Department and the State Department of news suppression in the Cuban crisis. Would you care to comment on your general feeling about that, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it is true that when we learned the matter on Tuesday morning until we made the announcement on the quarantine on Monday afternoon, that this matter was kept in the highest levels of Government. We didn't make any public statement about it. And I returned to Washington that Saturday morning because I had a campaign trip that was going to take until Sunday evening, and I had to come back, and we did not want to indicate to the Soviet Union or to Cuba or anyone else who might be our adversaries, the extent of our information until we had determined what our policy would be, and until we had consulted with our allies and members of OAS and NATO. So for those very good reasons, I believe, this matter was kept by the Government until Monday night. There is—at least one newspaper learned about some of the details on Sunday evening and did not print it for reasons of public interest.

I have no apologies for that. I don't think that there's any doubt it would have been a great mistake and possibly a disaster if this news had dribbled out when we were unsure of the extent of the Soviet buildup in Cuba, and when we were unsure of our response, and when we had not consulted with any of our allies, who might themselves have been involved in great difficulties as a result of our action.

During the week, then, from Monday till Sunday, when we received Mr. Khrushchev's first message about the withdrawal, we attempted to have the Government speak with one voice. There were obvious restraints on newspapermen. They were not

permitted, for example, to go to Guantanamo because obviously that might be an area which might be under attack.

Since that Sunday we have tried to, or at least intend to attempt to lift any restraints in the news. And I'm really—as a reader of a good many papers, it seems to me that the papers more or less reflected quite accurately the state of our negotiations with the Soviet Union.

They have, in a sense, been suspended because we've been arguing about this question of IL-28's, so there hasn't been any real progress that we could point to or any hard information that we could put out until today, which we're now doing.

Now, if the procedures which have been set up, which are really to protect the interest and security of the United States, are being used in a way inimical to the free flow of news, then we'll change those procedures.¹

[8.] Q. Sir, in another area, could you give us your analysis of the election results and your analysis as to what effect this may have on your program in Congress next year?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think we'll probably be in a position somewhat comparable to what we were in for the last 2 years. We did better than we had hoped in the election, but we still did not pick up seats, and we lost and won a number of votes by very close margins, particularly in the House.

It really will depend on whether we can maintain a good deal of unity in the Democratic Party and also whether we receive some assistance from some Republicans. If the Republicans vote unanimously against us and we lose 40-odd Democrats—about one-

¹ Earlier, on October 24, the White House had released a memorandum to editors and radio and television news directors listing 12 categories of military information vital to the national security concerning which no further releases would be issued by the Department of Defense. The memorandum requested that during the tense international situation all news media exercise caution and discretion in the publication of such information which possibly might come into their possession from other sources.

fifth of our number—then we will have difficulty. If we get the kind of Republican support that we got at the beginning of last year in the rules fight, then we can put some of these important programs through. So I think we have to wait until they come back before we can make a judgment, and we may be about in the position we were in in the last 2 years.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, the people of Florida are hoping that you and your family will again spend Christmas with them. Can you tell us what your present plans are, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. My father and mother are going to Florida in December, and my wife and children hope to go there for Christmas, and if my situation here permits, I will go for Christmas. If the question is a result of some stories that the tourist business in Florida is off because of our difficulties, I hope it will not be too dangerous in Florida this year. [*Laughter*]

[10.] Q. Mr. President, with regard to your housing order, could you explain, first, why you've taken so long to sign the order; second, does it become effective tomorrow morning for loans and guarantees and everything, that quickly?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, that's correct.

Q. And, third, what assessment have you made of the possible economic impact of it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I said that I would issue it at the time when I thought it was in the public interest, and now is the time.

Secondly, it will become effective immediately. Thirdly, I don't think that its immediate effect—there may be some adverse reaction, but I think that we will be able to proceed in the development of our housing industry, which is important to our economy. I know one builder the other day in part of New York said that he would be very much against the housing order because it would hurt his development, and he was reminded that there was a more stringent law in effect in New York at the time. So that I think some of the fears have been exaggerated. In any case, it's sound, public, constitutional policy and we've done it.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, another question on Cuba. Is it your position, sir, that you will issue a formal no-invasion pledge only after satisfactory arrangements have been made for verification and after adequate arrangements have been made to make sure that such weapons are not reintroduced once more?

THE PRESIDENT. Quite obviously, as I said in my statements, serious problems remain as to verification and reassurance, and, therefore, this matter of our negotiations really are not—have not been completed and until they're completed, of course, I suppose we're not going to be fully satisfied that there will be peace in the Caribbean.

In regard to my feelings about what remains to be done, and on the matter of invasion, I think my statement is the best expression of our views.

Q. Mr. President, what would we accept as a guarantee, as a safeguard against reintroduction? Can that be achieved by anything short of continuous aerial reconnaissance?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that what we would like to have is the kind of inspection on the ground which would make any other means of obtaining information unnecessary.

Q. A continuing inspection after the settlement—

THE PRESIDENT. Inspection which would provide us with assurances that there are not on the island weapons capable of offensive action against the United States or neighboring countries and that they will not be reintroduced. Obviously, that is our goal. If we do not achieve that goal, then we have to use other resources to assure ourselves that weapons are not there, or that they're not being reintroduced.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, the other day Khrushchev stated that Communists could learn something even from capitalists, and he even had a few kind words to say about profit incentives. Do you read any great amount of significance into this?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't. No. Except human nature is the same on both sides,

fortunately, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, which is why I'm optimistic about the ultimate outcome of this struggle.

[13.] Q. Sir, would you please clear up for us our relationship with the United Nations? If we wanted to invade Cuba, if we wanted to take unilateral action in any way, could we do so without the approval of the United Nations?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I don't think a question—you have to really give me a much more detailed hypothetical question before I could consider answering it, and even under those conditions it might not be wise. Obviously, the United States—let's use a hypothetical case, which is always better—the United States has the means as a sovereign power to defend itself. And of course exercises that power, has in the past, and would in the future. We would hope to exercise it in a way consistent with our treaty obligations, including the United Nations Charter. But we, of course, keep to ourselves and hold to ourselves under the United States Constitution and under the laws of international law, the right to defend our security. On our own, if necessary—though we, as I say, hope to always move in concert with our allies, but on our own if that situation was necessary to protect our survival or integrity or other vital interests.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, with regard to the information policies, much of the controversy has centered on two specific orders: there's the Sylvester directive at the Pentagon which is for policing the contacts of the press with individuals in the Pentagon. And there's another order by Manning in the State Department which deals with the same general area. There's been quite a lot of criticism where some of the veteran correspondents have contended that this could cut down on the contacts, the normal flow of news, and also could cut down on controversy, I wonder if you have thought in terms of revising this, modifying it, or changing it?

THE PRESIDENT. As I said, we would modify it or change it if it turned out that it has the result that you suggest. As it is, we are

tonight suggesting that there be lifted the 12 points that we made to the press in regard to voluntary restraints on the movement of troops and so on. That will be lifted tonight. There will be a change, I think, in the State Department policy directive, because the need there is somewhat different from what it is in the Defense Department. In the Defense Department we are dealing not only with the problem of movement of troops, but also with the question of the very sensitive intelligence, and the methods by which that intelligence is received, and I don't think that, as yet, it's been demonstrated that this has restricted the flow of essential news out of the Pentagon. Now if it does, we'll change it. But, I haven't been convinced of that as yet.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, Brazil has urged that a ban be declared on nuclear arms and delivery vehicles not only in Cuba, but in the rest of South America. Do you support this proposal and would you favor extending a similar ban on other areas, such as the Middle East, where Senator Javits has said that the continuing buildup of Soviet arms in Egypt, Syria, and other Arab states may provoke the next East-West crisis?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we're interested in the Brazilian proposal, which is under discussion at the United Nations. We're interested in it, and a similar proposal has been made for Africa. We would be interested in that, too.

The question comes down to the willingness of the countries of Latin America to accept the Brazilian proposal, and the development of an adequate inspection system. That's the issue.

[16.] Q. Mr. President, how did you feel about the appearance of Alger Hiss on a television program on the career of Richard Nixon?

THE PRESIDENT. I didn't see the program, but I thought Mr. Hagerty and Mr. Minow expressed a view with which I'm in sympathy.

[17.] Q. Mr. President, are you going to ask Congress for a \$10 billion income tax cut

in January, as recommended by your Labor-Management Policy Committee?

THE PRESIDENT. The question of the tax cut is going to be discussed in the administration in the next 10 days, and we'll have recommendations to make the first part of January. Until then, I'll have to withhold, until we finally decide what we are going to do—the amounts, and where the cut will come.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, would you give us your estimate as to the current relations between Communist China and Communist Russia, particularly in relationship to the events in Cuba and in India?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think that any comment that I might make would necessarily be accurate, because there's a variety of opinions in regard to the matters which may be in dispute. And in addition I think that it's a matter which we should study. There're no assurances that it means it is helpful to us or harmful, as yet, but I think we have to wait. I said the other day that I thought this was a rather climactic period, and I think that we can perhaps tell in the next months what is going on in the world beyond this hemisphere with more precision. As of tonight it would be just estimates, and I think it would be a mistake to indulge those right now.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, you said you will change this procedure at the Defense Department when it's been demonstrated that the present is too restrictive—

THE PRESIDENT. That the public interest isn't being met, that's correct.

Q. How are you going to find out? The present situation is that the officers and others down there are reluctant to have any contacts with newspapermen because of not only the time they spend with the newspapermen, but the time in writing of the reports.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I'll bring that to Mr. Sylvester's attention, but I do—I'm not sure that we're suggesting that—in the first place, this rule has been in effect in the CIA for many years. Are we suggesting that any member of the Defense Department should

speak on any subject to any newspaperman and the newspaperman should print it or not print it as he sees fit without any effort to attempt to limit the printing of news which may deal with the collection or the methods of collection of intelligence information?

Q. No, sir. It was just a question of—there are many areas other than the movement of troops and so forth.

THE PRESIDENT. And intelligence. And in those areas which are not involved there, I would be delighted to talk to Mr. Sylvester and with representatives of the press and see if we can get this straightened out so that there is a free flow of news to which the press is entitled, and which I think ought to be in the press, and on which any administration really must depend as a check to its own actions.

So I can assure you that our only interest has been, first, during this period of crisis and over a longer period to try to—not to have coming out of the Pentagon information which is highly sensitive, particularly in the intelligence areas, which I can assure you in my own not too distant experience has been extremely inimical to the interests of the United States. Now that is our only interest.

Beyond that, I think it ought to pour out. And as far as I'm concerned, I'll be glad to discuss with Mr. Sylvester and Mr. Manning. Now, as I've said, Mr. Manning is going to attempt, now that we passed at least a phase of this crisis, he will, I think, attempt to improve his order and improve the flow of information.

I will say, as an example that information has not necessarily been cut off, is the fact that Governor Stevenson sent a message on his conversation with U Thant—reporting U Thant's 2-day visit to Cuba—it was finally distributed in the Department of State by 8 a.m. By 10, before the Secretary of State had seen it, it was on a wire and one of the wire services had it completely, including some of the quotes from it, and it caused Governor Stevenson some pain. So that I think information has been flowing out, but

if it isn't, we'll get it out, so I can assure you that we'll work on it.

Q. I mean in the area other than national security.

THE PRESIDENT. That is correct.

[20.] Q. Mr. President, when you speak of this as a climactic period, can you sketch in what you think some of the ultimate possibilities are?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think we can, but I do think if 5 years ago we had looked at the world, I don't think we would have

made a judgment that it would have moved quite the way it has moved, that China and India would be involved in a very serious struggle which may lead to a full-scale war if it hasn't already, and that relations in many parts of the world would be as changing as they are.

I think this is a very climactic period.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's forty-fifth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 6 o'clock on Tuesday evening, November 20, 1962.

516 Remarks With the Secretary of Labor at the Signing of Contracts Between Trans World Airlines and the Pilots and Flight Engineers Unions. *November 21, 1962*

SECRETARY OF LABOR W. WILLARD WIRTZ. Mr. President, this brings to a conclusion one of the finest examples of constructive collective bargaining it has been my experience to be associated with.

This has been a very difficult situation and it is completed now between the flight engineers and the company and the pilots. What it means is that we have worked out the problem of a constructive use of manpower and technological power in the cockpits and it shows what private collective bargaining can do.

We helped out along the line, but it was finally signed by the parties of their own voluntary act. We think it is a major accomplishment in collective bargaining.

THE PRESIDENT. I just want to say, because it dealt with a very sharp problem of the

technological changes affecting the livelihood of a good many hundreds of people, which is a difficult matter to adjust satisfactorily, and was begun by long months of collective bargaining, and also by recognition by the few parties involved, particularly the pilots and flight engineers, some adjustment was necessary by each.

We are glad this was settled in the case of this company and we hope that this pattern of industry will also serve as an encouragement to other industries facing the same problem of technological change. We hope that this will serve them in the future.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President met with the group of Federal mediators and representatives of the airline and the unions at 9:30 a.m. in his office at the White House.

517 Statement by the President Announcing Accelerated Payment of National Service Life Insurance Dividends. *November 22, 1962*

I HAVE today asked the Veterans Administration to advance the payment of the 1963 dividend of \$222 million on National Service Life Insurance policies and \$15.6 million for holders of United States Government Life

Insurance policies so that all dividends will be paid during the month of January rather than being spread out during the entire year of 1963.

In addition, a special dividend of \$90 mil-

lion has been declared for holders of the National Service policies.

Both the accelerated and the special dividends will be completely paid by a single check to all those who are eligible during January, 1963.

The total of \$327.6 million paid in the

month of January should, because of its nearness to the Christmas season, be of special interest to the families of those involved and at the same time provide a needed boost to the economy.

NOTE: The statement was released at Hyannis, Mass.

518 Statement by the President on the Reconvening of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. *November 26, 1962*

THE 18-Nation Disarmament Conference resumes its deliberations in Geneva today. This is as it should be. The crucial developments within recent weeks have served to confirm both the need and urgency of the task before it.

It is clear that a renewed and immediate effort must be made to halt the constantly increasing tempo of the arms race if there is to be assurance of a lessening of the danger of war. It is, therefore, my continued hope that serious negotiations will proceed at once on those initial measures of disarmament which could, if put into effect without delay, materially improve international security and enhance the prospects for further disarmament progress.

Among these measures we believe high

priority should be given to the conclusion of an effective agreement which would end once and for all tests of nuclear weapons. The United States has completed its recent series of atmospheric tests. There is hope that the Soviet Union evidently will soon conclude its series of atmospheric tests. This suggests that a moment may be at hand to initiate the beginning of the end of the upward spiral of weapons competition. If so, the opportunity must not be lost.

It is important that these negotiations now move forward and that concrete progress be achieved. To this end, I pledge anew my personal and continuing interest in the work of the Conference.

NOTE: The statement was released at Hyannis, Mass.

519 Remarks at Fort Stewart, Georgia, to Members of the First Armored Division. *November 26, 1962*

General Haines and men of the First Armored Division:

I want to express on behalf of the people of the United States our great appreciation to you for your past service and most especially your present actions during the difficult period of the last 4 or 5 weeks.

Regardless of how persistent our diplomacy may be in activities stretching all around the globe, in the final analysis it rests upon the power of the United States, and that power rests upon the will and courage

of our citizens and upon you here in this field. The United States is the guarantor of the independence of dozens of countries stretching around the world. And the reason that we are able to guarantee the freedom of those countries and to maintain that guarantee and make it good is because of you and your comrades in arms on a dozen different forts and posts, on ships at sea, planes in the air, all of you. And there are a million of your comrades in uniform outside of the United States who are also part

of the keystone of the arch of freedom throughout the globe.

So I come here today to express our thanks to you. The cause of freedom and your work are intimately intertwined. The danger is certainly not past, but we will continue to live in crisis and danger certainly through this decade. Therefore, we will continue to call upon your services in the future as we have during the past days. I want to express our thanks to you.

Many years ago, according to the story, there was found in a sentry box in Gibraltar a poem which said:

God and the soldier, all men adore

In time of danger and not before.

When the danger is passed and all things
righted,

God is forgotten and the soldier slighted.

This country does not forget God or the soldier. Upon both we now depend. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke following an inspection tour of the troops and artillery. His opening words referred to Maj. Gen. Ralph E. Haines, Jr., Commanding General of the First Armored Division, which had been deployed from Fort Hood, Tex., during the Cuban crisis.

520 Remarks at Homestead Air Force Base, Florida, Upon Presenting Unit Awards. *November 26, 1962*

Gentlemen:

I want to express our great appreciation to you on behalf of the people of the United States, to all of you who have taken part in the activities which have made it possible for the United States to defend its security in very difficult times.

I may say, gentlemen, that you take excellent pictures, and I've seen a good many of them. And beginning with the photographs which were taken on the weekend in the middle of October, which first gave us conclusive proof of the buildup of offensive weapons in Cuba, through the days that have followed to the present time, the work of these two units has contributed as much to the security of the United States as any units in our history, and any group of men in our history.

We are an open society, and all that we have is, in a sense, available to the world. We are in a struggle, though we do not wish it we accept it, with a closed system. Therefore, the ability to detect those developments which directly threaten our security or those nations associated with us—this ability is es-

sential to our survival, to the maintenance of our security and vital interests, and, in a very real sense, to the maintenance of peace.

So I think that you gentlemen can take every satisfaction in what you are doing, what you have done, and in what you will do. We are very much indebted to you. And we are particularly indebted to Major Anderson, who was a member of one of these wings, who was the only casualty of the last few weeks, but who is symbolic, I think, of the willingness of a good many Americans to take great hazards on behalf of their country. We are very much indebted to you all.

NOTE: The President spoke following an inspection tour of the Air Force base. Outstanding unit awards were presented to the 4080th Strategic Reconnaissance Wing, SAC, which took the original high level photographs of Soviet missile sites in Cuba, and to the 363d Tactical Reconnaissance Wing, TAC, which followed up the discovery of the missile sites with detailed photographs taken while flying at great speed at tree-top levels.

In his closing remarks the President referred to Air Force Major Rudolf Anderson, Jr., of Greenville, S.C., pilot of a U-2 reconnaissance plane lost over Cuba on October 27, 1962.

521 Remarks in Key West Upon Presenting Unit Citations
at the Boca Chica Naval Air Station. *November 26, 1962*

Admiral Dennison and members of the United States Navy and the Marine Corps:

I want to express in presenting this commendation to you two units the great appreciation of the people of the United States to all of you. I think that the American people should realize what an extraordinary burden they have carried in the last 17 years in the maintenance of freedom.

I pointed out this morning that there are over a million Americans who are serving outside of their country, and I suppose that really, since the beginning of recorded history there have been great periods where soldiers or sailors or airmen of a country have served outside of their country in the camps in other nations, but I know of no period in the history of the world or any nation that has done so in the defense of freedom and not made its object subjugation.

The United States has carried this load now for 17 years, in rebuilding Europe, in the defense of freedom in recent days in the Caribbean, in the defense of freedom in Vietnam, Berlin, all around the globe. The 180 million people of the United States, with their will and determination, and with you gentlemen as the point of the spear, have carried a load unprecedented in history. So no American need express any sense of inadequacy. As they look back on our history, and look ahead on the days to come, the title of being a citizen of the United States, I think, is one we should all bear with the greatest pride and distinction, because upon it and upon our will and upon all of you de-

pends the freedom of the United States and the freedom of a great many dozens of countries which stretch all the way around the earth.

We express particular thanks to you for your work of the last 5 weeks. The reconnaissance flights which enabled us to determine with precision the offensive buildup in Cuba contributed directly to the security of the United States in the most important and significant way. The days that we have recently passed through have been among the most dangerous since the end of the Second War. We have no assurance that in other times we may not pass through other dangerous days, but it gives all of us—and I'm sure I am speaking on behalf of the members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as well as the members of the Congress who are here, as well as the people of the United States—it has given us all the greatest satisfaction to come today and see the First Armored Division, representing the Army divisions which have been prepared, the Navy, the Marines, and the Air Force, all working together in the greatest of causes, the defense of the United States.

We thank you all.

NOTE: The President spoke following an inspection tour of the naval air station. The units receiving citations were the Navy Light Photographic Squadron 62 and the Marine Light Photographic Squadron VMC-J2.

The President's opening words "Admiral Dennison" referred to Admiral Robert L. Dennison, Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, and Commander of the Atlantic Fleet.

522 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to the Prime Minister
of the Somali Republic. *November 27, 1962*

Mr. Prime Minister:

I want to express our very warm welcome to you, both personally and also welcoming you as head of your country. This is the first

visit of a head of state from Somalia since your independence in 1960, and it is also, Prime Minister, a particular pleasure to welcome you, who played such a significant role

in winning the independence of your country and maintaining that independence in the inevitably difficult days that follow the transition from foreign rule to self-rule.

We're glad to have you here, Prime Minister, because your country occupies a most important strategic area on the horn of Africa. It faces the same kind of problems that we faced in the early days of our independence, and we are anxious that the relations between the United States and Somalia be as intimate and close as possible.

Separated as we are by geography and history, we also find a sense of kinship to your government which, in its separation of powers between the Executive and the Legislature and the Judiciary, bears a resemblance to the balance of powers which we have felt in this country best insures the liberty of the individual, democratically elected and maintained government. Naturally, as the leader of that government, you find a particularly warm welcome, I'm sure, Prime Minister, here in the United States.

We are very proud to welcome you, and I want you to know, Prime Minister, that in

these days when all of us are concerned with the maintenance of national sovereignty and the opportunity of a better life for our people, we are particularly heartened to have you visit us. Prime Minister, you are welcome.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where Prime Minister Abdirasid Ali Scermarche was given a formal welcome with full military honors. The Prime Minister responded as follows:

Mr. President, I have the great pleasure to convey to you and to the people of the United States the warmest greetings from the President of my country, from the government, and the people of the Somali Republic. I wish, sir, to thank you for your kind invitation which made it possible for my mission to be here today, and I am looking forward to our meeting, which I am sure will contribute to the creation of good relations between our two countries.

This is, as you said, Mr. President, my first visit to the United States, but I knew a great deal about your Nation since my earlier days. In fact, it is common knowledge in my country that the United States obtained her independence by prevailing against colonialism. This has endeared us to you, for we, too, have had to struggle from colonialism.

I wish to thank you once more, Mr. President, for the great hospitality with which we have been received since our arrival in the United States. Thank you.

523 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Abdirasid.

November 27, 1962

I KNOW that I express the sentiment of all of you in saying how pleased we are in having the Prime Minister here, his Foreign Minister, the Minister of Works, the members of the Central Bank, and others who bear responsibility in his country. We are also glad to have his Ambassador here, who has represented his country with great distinction and who speaks for his country and also has been a source of understanding between Somalia and the United States.

Many years ago, Sir Richard Burton, the great explorer, described the people of Somalia as the Irish of Africa. He was speaking of their extraordinary beauty of person, vigor, intelligence, and general uniqueness among the surrounding people.

We understand that, Prime Minister, and this has increased the warmth of our welcome to you.

The problems which the Prime Minister faces, of course, are staggering. I think we are so close to what is happening that we really should take some perspective to understand what an extraordinary period we live in. We are so impressed by our own revolution, our Constitution, and the success which we feel we've made of it that we really do not recognize what an extraordinary decade we have lived through, where country after country, numbering in the dozens now, have suddenly become free following the end of World War II; have become members of the United Nations; have written, as the Repub-

lic of Somalia has done, their own Constitution providing for separation of powers; are building a new government, facing staggering problems, as his country does.

We were very fortunate in the generosity of nature here. But in his country, lacking water, lacking a good many means for sustaining their population, the Prime Minister is building his country, maintaining its freedoms, its sovereignty, and attempting to make it possible for his people to enjoy a more fruitful life. This is an extraordinary adventure for any nation.

We are particularly pleased to have one of the architects of this adventure, the Prime Minister, who played such an important part in its fight for independence, in the development of the constitution, in the maintenance of freedom, and now in the efforts to produce a more fruitful existence for his citizens.

So we're delighted to have you here, Prime Minister. I think you realize that Africa is a new continent for us. In 1957 the United States had as many people at our embassy at Bonn as we had in all of Africa. Now, suddenly, Africa has become one of the keystones of the whole world struggle for freedom. It has become a dominant force in the United Nations. It holds great powers for good in the world, and it is looking to the United States, quite properly I hope, for recognition of the serious effort it is making to build life for its people.

So, Prime Minister, we want you to realize how important your visit is. We will learn a good deal from it. I hope you come to understand that the United States, though far away, shares your very strong aspirations.

I hope you will toast with me to the very good health of the people of the Republic of Somalia, the Prime Minister, and the members of his government, and to the health of the President of Somalia.

NOTE: The President proposed the toast at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House.

In his response Prime Minister Abdirasid referred to the problems faced by the new African nations. "We feel," he said, "that we cannot overcome these problems by our own efforts alone. It is for this reason that we have great need of understanding and cooperation from the more developed countries, particularly the United States, and we have full trust that everything possible will be done that can be done in behalf of our countries."

He added that "the meaning of our struggle is not only in the sense of attaining political independence, but economic independence as well, as a way of achieving a better life and better social conditions for all in our countries. . . . We are here to contribute all we can toward the strengthening of the traditionally good relationships between our countries and for furthering and expanding areas of cooperation between us."

In his opening remarks the President referred to Abdullahi Issa Mohamud, Somali Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ali Sheikh Mohamed, Chief of the Somali Public Works Department; Dr. Abdi Aden Mohamed and Dr. Francesco Palamenghi-Crispi, President and Managing Director, respectively, of the Somali National Bank; and Dr. Omar Mohallim Mohamed, Somali Ambassador to the United States.

524 Remarks to a Group of Scientists on the 20th Anniversary of Dr. Enrico Fermi's Nuclear Experiment. *November 27, 1962*

I WANT to express a very warm welcome to all of you. This was a historic occasion and represented a good many years of work by Dr. Fermi and also by those who were associated with him intimately, and also those who, working in other countries in other times, had helped build this pyramid step by step, which finally led to this successful culmination of his efforts and those of you and others in your field.

This development which played a significant role, and really has played a significant role in our history and in our lives ever since, can be either good or bad depending on the use to which it is put. And it is the obligation of those who bear positions of responsibility in the various governments of the world to make sure that it's put to good use.

We are very much indebted to you. And I think it's appropriate to recall Dr. Fermi in

this way. And also to hail the intimate alliance between government and science which has come about since 1942 and which has produced so many extraordinary developments of benefit to people.

I hope that all of you feel that the work that you've done, as I'm sure you do, is in the direction of the progress of mankind. As I have said, it is up to all of us working together to make sure that it continues to move along that even channel.

So we're delighted to have you at the White House. We are very glad, particularly, to have as our guest the Ambassador

from Italy, who represents his people here, and he represents actually the genius of Italy himself as well as symbolizing the very close relations between Italy and the United States. Mr. Ambassador, we are very glad to have you here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:45 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. Included in the group were 35 of the original 50 scientists, engineers, and technicians who worked with the late Dr. Enrico Fermi at Chicago when the first controlled nuclear chain reaction was achieved on December 2, 1942.

In his closing remarks the President referred to Sergio Fenoaltea, Italian Ambassador to the United States.

525 Memorandum on the Year 2000 Plan for the National Capital Region. *November 27, 1962*

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Establishments and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia:

Because of the importance of the Federal interest in the National Capital Region, I want the greatest possible coordination of planning and action among the Federal agencies in developing plans or making decisions which affect the Region.

Decisions of the Federal Government affect directly and indirectly the location of employment centers, highways, parks, airports, dams, rapid transit, utilities, and public and private housing. These decisions all have a crucial bearing on the future development of the metropolitan area outside as well as within the District of Columbia.

In order that the effect of the Federal Government's activities on the Region will be consistent and directed in a manner which will foster the implementation of modern planning concepts, the following development policies are established as guidelines for the agencies of the executive branch, subject to periodic review:

1. Planning for the Region shall be based on the prospect that regional population will approximate 5 million by the year 2000.

2. The corridor cities concept recommended by the Year 2000 Plan, prepared by the National Capital Planning Commission and the National Capital Regional Planning Council in 1961, shall be supported by agencies of the executive branch as the basic development scheme for the National Capital Region.

3. The success of the corridor cities concept depends on the reservation of substantial areas of open countryside from urban development. It shall be the policy of the executive branch to seek to preserve for the benefit of the National Capital Region strategic open spaces, including existing park, woodland, and scenic resources.

4. It shall be the policy of the executive branch to limit the concentration of Federal employees within Metro-Center, as defined in the Year 2000 Plan, over the next four decades to an increase of approximately 75,000.

5. It shall be the policy of the executive branch that new facilities housing Federal agencies outside Metro-Center shall, to the maximum extent possible, be planned, located, and designed to promote the development of the suburban business districts which will be required to serve the new corridor cities.

6. Planning to meet future transportation requirements for the Region shall assume the need for a coordinated system including both efficient highway and mass transit facilities, and making full use of the advantages of each mode of transportation.

7. It shall be the policy of the executive branch to complete and enhance the Mall complex as a unique monumental setting.

8. It shall be the policy of the executive branch to house new public offices of an operational nature in non-monumental buildings which, through the use of the highest quality of design and strategic siting, will have a dignity and strength to establish their public identity. Within Metro-Center, this policy shall be carried out by locating new non-monumental Federal buildings in relatively small but strategically-situated groups in and adjacent to the Central Business District.

9. It shall be the policy of the executive branch to encourage the development of a system of small urban open spaces through-

out the District of Columbia as adjuncts to the development of new Government, institutional, commercial and high-density residential facilities. In addition, a system of important streets and avenues shall be designated for special design coordination and treatment.

10. The executive branch will participate with local governments in the formulation of complementary policies essential to the coordinated development of the Region.

I am requesting each department and agency head concerned to give full consideration to these policies in all activities relating to the planning and development of the National Capital Region, and to work closely with the planning bodies which have responsibilities for the sound and orderly development of the entire area.

The Administrator of General Services is requested to cause this memorandum to be published in the *Federal Register*.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

526 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the Prime Minister of the Somali Republic. *November 28, 1962*

HIS EXCELLENCY Prime Minister Abdirascid of the Somali Republic and President John F. Kennedy have had a most cordial exchange of views on a variety of subjects of interest to Somalia and the United States during the course of the Prime Minister's visit to Washington.

The two leaders reviewed the current international situation, and agreed that the settlement of international disputes is essential in order that the full resources of the nations of the world may be devoted to achieving progress for their peoples.

Prime Minister Abdirascid explained the steps Somalia is taking to promote economic development, and thanked President Kennedy for the economic assistance the United

States has provided Somalia, especially in the building of the Chisimaio port. President Kennedy indicated the interest of the United States in Somalia's efforts to expand the prosperity and well-being of the people of Somalia, and expressed the willingness of the United States, along with other friendly nations, to assist Somalia in these efforts by appropriate means.

The two leaders noted the fundamental mutuality of interests and objectives of their two nations, based on the proven dedication of both the Somali and American people to the principles of democracy and human dignity. They expressed hope for continuing close and friendly relations between the United States and Somalia.

527 Remarks at a Closed-Circuit Television Broadcast on Behalf
of the National Cultural Center. *November 29, 1962*

Mr. Stevens, Mrs. Gardner, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, ladies and gentlemen:

This is a notable occasion for all of us here in Washington and around the country, and I am very happy to greet all of you who have come and who are taking part in this great effort.

I hope that you're as proud of it as I am. We're particularly pleased to have with us as our guest tonight from Augusta, Ga., the man under whose administration this project was started and who has given it wholehearted support—ladies and gentlemen, General Eisenhower.

General, I am sorry we are not all there with you.

I want to assure the officials of my administration tonight that this demonstration of support for the arts is modest and painless compared to what has been required of past governments and past administrations.

In 1664, Louis the XIV, in his own efforts to encourage the arts, donned brilliant tights and played in a drama called "Furious Roland" before a happy court. Moreover, he drafted the highest offices of his administration for the play so that, according to an account, all clad in brilliant tights themselves they passed before the Queen and the Court.

This was suggested tonight but for some reason or other the committee turned it down. But we are glad to be here in any case. And we are glad to be the guests of honor of the representatives of much of the finest in American culture and much of the finest in American life. And we are very much indebted to all the artists who have so willingly taken part in this work tonight. For when Thomas Jefferson wrote that the one thing which from the heart he envied certain other nations, and that was their art, he spoke from a deep understanding of the enduring sources of national greatness and national achievement.

But our culture and art do not speak to America alone. To the extent that artists struggle to express beauty in form and color and sound, to the extent that they write about man's struggle with nature or society, or himself, to that extent they strike a responsive chord in all humanity. Today, Sophocles speaks to us from more than 2,000 years. And in our own time, even when political communications have been strained, the Russian people have bought more than 20,000 copies of the works of Jack London, more than 10 million books of Mark Twain, and hundreds and thousands of copies of Hemingway, Steinbeck, Whitman, and Poe; and our own people, through the works of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky and Pasternak have gained an insight into the shared problems of the human heart.

Thus today, as always, art knows no national boundaries.

Genius can speak at any time, and the entire world will hear it and listen. Behind the storm of daily conflict and crisis, the dramatic confrontations, the tumult of political struggle, the poet, the artist, the musician, continues the quiet work of centuries, building bridges of experience between peoples, reminding man of the universality of his feelings and desires and despairs, and reminding him that the forces that unite are deeper than those that divide.

Thus, art and the encouragement of art is political in the most profound sense, not as a weapon in the struggle, but as an instrument of understanding of the futility of struggle between those who share man's faith. Aeschylus and Plato are remembered today long after the triumphs of imperial Athens are gone. Dante outlived the ambitions of 13th century Florence. Goethe stands serenely above the politics of Germany, and I am certain that after the dust of centuries has passed over our cities, we, too, will be remembered not for victories

or defeats in battle or in politics, but for our contribution to the human spirit.

It was Pericles' proudest boast that politically Athens was the school of Hellas. If we can make our country one of the great schools of civilization, then on that achievement will surely rest our claim to the ultimate gratitude of mankind. Moreover, as a great democratic society, we have a special responsibility to the arts, for art is the great democrat calling forth creative genius from every sector of society, disregarding race or religion or wealth or color. The mere accumulation of wealth and power is available to the dictator and the democrat alike. What freedom alone can bring is the liberation of the human mind and spirit which finds its greatest flowering in the free society.

Thus, in our fulfillment of these responsibilities toward the arts lie our unique achievement as a free society. Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke in the National Guard Armory in Washington, D.C. Mrs. Kennedy then spoke briefly before introducing Mrs. Dwight D.

Eisenhower who served with her as Honorary Co-Chairman of the National Cultural Center. General and Mrs. Eisenhower participated in the broadcast from Augusta, Ga.

The 2-hour closed-circuit television program "An American Pageant of the Arts" opened a \$30 million fundraising campaign for the Center. The telecast originated in Washington, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Augusta, Ga., and was seen in 75 cities throughout the country and in Canada. The program was produced by Robert Saudek, with Leonard Bernstein acting as master of ceremonies. Among those appearing on the program were Pablo Casals, Marian Anderson, Van Cliburn, Robert Frost, Frederic March, Danny Kaye, Bob Newhart, and Harry Belafonte.

The President's opening words referred to Roger L. Stevens, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Cultural Center, Mrs. Arthur Gardner, Sr., chairman of the dinner committee, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, and Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Earlier, on October 16, the President had proclaimed November 26 through December 2, 1962, as National Cultural Center Week, urging State and city officials and civic, fraternal, and patriotic organizations to join in assuring a successful fundraising campaign for the Center.

528 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to President Villeda of Honduras. *November 30, 1962*

Mr. President:

I want to express our very warm welcome to you and to your wife, who has been our guest before. I think that the people of this country are aware and certainly in recent days have become more aware of how strongly you personally, as well as the people of your country, are committed to the cause of freedom.

The cause of freedom is under attack in many parts of the world and certainly its external enemies proceed with a good deal of vigor and strength. We also have internal enemies and those are poverty, and illiteracy, and disease. We attempt, together, to combat both of these enemies; abroad by building our strength, making clear our commitments, fulfilling those commitments,

and at home we fight these internal enemies with the great concentrated social effort of your Government, the effort of this Government, the mutual effort through the Alliance for Progress, the effort of the Central American countries through their Common Market.

It seems to me that in recent years this great hemispheric drive for a better life for our people, under a system of freedom, is meeting new strength, but the problems are many and in some degree they increase faster than our strength. A good deal needs to be done.

I want you to know, Mr. President, that the United States is doing and will do everything to play its proper role as a strong believer in not only the good neighbor policy,

but the sense of partnership and alliance and an alliance firmly devoted to progress under freedom.

So we are particularly glad to have you here, Mr. President, because you have demonstrated, in your leadership of your country, your strong commitment to these common goals, your firm belief in freedom. One of the purposes of your visit here is to address those who still work for freedom for their own country of Cuba.

So we are very proud to have you, Mr. President. We're delighted that you are accompanied by Señora Villeda, who has played a most active role on behalf of the social progress of her own country. You could not come at a more appropriate time and we are delighted in welcoming you, as our first visitor from the countries to the south of us who has come in the last 5 or 6 weeks, to tell you how much we have appreciated the strong support we have received from you and your fellow Presidents of the free Republics of Central and Latin America. Mr. President.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:40 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where President Ramón Villeda Morales was given a formal welcome with full military honors. President Villeda responded as follows:

Mr. President and Mrs. Kennedy:

As President of Honduras, a very small country in Central America, I and my wife are extremely happy

to be here. We are thrilled as citizens of this hemisphere, first, and we are proud as leaders of a small country.

Yesterday we arrived in Williamsburg, a wonderful colonial city 300 years ago. Its history, its buildings, its people represent all of the traditions and values for which the United States stands, and one of these main values is independence. You helped us in our independence movements and 300 years later I have been very thrilled in visiting this important symbol of American freedom.

I am very proud to be in Washington to talk with a leader of this great country of this democracy which is the most important and the first one in the free world. We all have problems and our problems concern each and every one of us. There is no such thing as a small country and a large country. All countries are juridically and socially equal under the framework of equality under law.

Both of us have been fighting against the disease, illiteracy, and other scourges that have afflicted our countries. I wish to congratulate President Kennedy for his vigorous and strong leadership in his philosophy of social and economic development as he proposed it for the Alliance for Progress.

It is indeed an alliance and its main objective is indeed progress and, finally, to achieve liberty for the people of our countries so that they may live in freedom. Peace is necessary for freedom while subversion and rebellion will only lead to anarchy and to the enslavement of peoples. This is why, in 2 days, I will address the Cuban people in exile. I have been invited by the Medical Association of Cuba and I will express these very same feelings. We will continue to struggle against communism everywhere.

President Kennedy and Mrs. Kennedy, in the name of my wife and in my own name, I wish to thank you very much for this very warm welcome.

529 Joint Statement Following Discussions With President Villeda. *November 30, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT of the Republic of Honduras and the President of the United States of America met and talked today in a spirit of frankness, understanding and sincere friendship. The two Presidents discussed general relations between their two countries, and topics of hemispheric concern. They reviewed the positive contributions of the Organization of American States and its members in their action of October 23 calling for the dismantling and removal from Cuba

of offensive weapons systems and in seeking adequate safeguards against their reintroduction in Cuba. They discussed the future measures necessary to safeguard the peace and security of the states and peoples in the Western Hemisphere from the subversive attempts of governments alien to this hemisphere.

The Presidents reaffirmed their adherence to the principles and commitments of the Charter of Punta del Este, and they noted

with satisfaction the frankness and realistic character of the first annual review of the Alliance for Progress in the meeting of Ministers in Mexico City in October. The Presidents noted the Ministers had reaffirmed the validity of the Alliance as a joint effort calling for effective use of national as well as external resources, institutional reforms, tax reforms, vigorous application of existing laws, and a just distribution of the fruits of national development to all sectors of the community. The two Presidents discussed the need for the full participation of private investment in development, noting that the absence of such participation will cause the development to fall far short of its potentialities. They discussed measures to enlist such private participation. The two Presidents discussed how cooperation between Honduras and the United States can contribute to the progress and well-being of the people of Honduras.

The two Presidents agreed that their Governments should seek, on an urgent basis,

a solution of the question of Swan Island, within the framework of the Inter-American system and taking full account of the rights and interests of both parties.

The two Presidents declared that political democracy, national independence and the self-determination of peoples are the political principles which shape the national policies of Honduras and the United States. Both countries are joined in a hemisphere-wide effort to accelerate economic progress and social justice.

In conclusion the two Presidents expressed their gratification at this opportunity to exchange views and to strengthen the friendly and mutually beneficial relationship which has long existed between Honduras and the United States. Their meeting was a demonstration of the understanding and reciprocal cooperation of the two countries and strengthened the bonds of common interests and friendship between their respective peoples.

530 Remarks Upon Presenting the Enrico Fermi Award to Dr. Edward Teller. *December 3, 1962*

I PRESENT this medal, which is the sixth Enrico Fermi Medal. It has the words "Science and Progress" on it, "1901 to 1954," Dr. Teller, and then this check, which is for \$50,000, which is part of the Fermi Award.

I just want to say that it's a great pleasure to honor Dr. Teller in this fashion on the unanimous recommendation of the Atomic Energy Commission. Dr. Teller was one of a number of Europeans who came to the United States and played a most significant role in World War II, and has contributed immeasurably to the security of the United States since that time.

I think we take a good deal of pride and satisfaction that our country was the magnet which attracted these free-ranging minds who, because of their great talent and ability to concentrate that talent on new horizons,

were able to make some of the most remarkable breakthroughs in scientific history. And we are also glad to have him because he not only has been an innovator and an original researcher, but also a distinguished teacher, which occupies a good deal of his time. And I had the opportunity, in visiting the University of California recently, to talk to some of his colleagues and get a better idea of what he is doing in instilling in new scientists this human energy to carry on in new fields.

So I think it is most appropriate that Dr. Teller should be the sixth recipient, as a friend of Dr. Fermi's, as a participant in Dr. Fermi's work, and as a great researcher on his own part, and as a great contributor, though he was born abroad, to the security of the United States, and in a very real sense

to the security of the whole free world, in which he strongly believes.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Dr. Teller, associate director of the E. O. Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Berkeley, Calif., was born in Budapest, Hungary, and came to the United States in 1935. The citation for which he received

the award reads: "For contributions to chemical and nuclear physics, for his leadership in thermonuclear research, and for efforts to strengthen national security."

The text of the introductory remarks by Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, who read the citation, and of Dr. Teller's response to the President was also released.

531 Remarks at a Luncheon in Honor of a Japanese Trade Delegation. *December 3, 1962*

Gentlemen:

I want to express a very warm welcome to all of you. This exchange of meetings came out of a conference which we had with your Prime Minister and myself more than a year and a half ago. You were the first host and were most generous to us.

We are glad to have you here because these meetings, if they are going to be useful, should be much more than a formality. They really ought to get down to the very hard business which concerns both Japan and the United States, which is the maintenance of our felicitous relationship and also decisions about what actions we ought to take in common and in partnership in the whole Pacific and Asiatic area.

A good deal of attention is given in the United States to the miracle of the Common Market. But I must say that the Japanese program of the last 10 years and the results it has brought really is the most extraordinary, modern industrial miracle; a crowded island and a people who seemed a decade ago to be at almost a standstill have brought about an economic growth rate which is higher than any industrialized country in the world, and which shows no sign of diminishing. This is really the result of the effort of the Japanese people themselves, and the very effective leadership which they have had.

It is a source of satisfaction to me that the United States has played at least a supporting role in this emergence of Japan as a great, free, and quite rightly proud country. As I said when we had the occasion of the meet-

ing in September which the Economic Minister attended, at a luncheon here, the United States looks for its security east and west and south; to Europe, to Latin America, and to Japan, and beyond Japan to the maintenance of the independent nations in Asia.

It seems to me that our two countries need to talk about two matters, or at least two levels. One is this direct question of trade and economic policy, and there are a good many matters which concern Japan and also concern the United States. They cause irritants in our relationships, there are bound to be clashes of interest, they are inevitable. We should attempt to smooth them over without permitting them ever to mar the basic self-interest which we both have in maintaining these very strong ties together, and we recognize that every action which we take in regard to trade or every action which Japan takes is bound to cause discontent in some elements of our two countries.

Those problems can be dealt with. They are bound to cause some adjustments. They are bound to cause difficulties, but they, in my opinion, are not the major problems we are faced with, but they deserve attention periodically, and I am glad they are going to be talked about at this meeting.

In the East, because of the development of Western Europe and of NATO, the combination of Western Europe and the United States seems to me to give assurance against an advance by the Soviet Union into Western Europe. Our problem now, of course,

is that with the rise of the Communist power in China combined with an expansionist, Stalinist philosophy, our major problem, in a sense a major problem, is how we can contain the expansion of communism in Asia so that we do not find the Chinese moving out into a dominant position in all of Asia, with its hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in Asia, while Western Europe is building a more prosperous life for themselves.

Now, this seems to me to concern Western Europe, but it also most directly concerns the two countries who are in the strongest position, really, Japan and the United States. The United States, as you know, bears responsibilities in Latin America to attempt to contain the expansion of communism, in Western Europe itself and through the SEATO treaty in Southeast Asia, as well as its commitments to South Korea and to the Republic of China, but we are only 180 million people. We are spread very thin around the world.

There are a billion people in the Communist empire operating from central lines and in a belligerent phase of their national development. So that I think this is a period of great danger for Asia, and I hope that in the months ahead thought can be given to what role we can play as partners, because Japan and the United States are partners, what role we can play to attempt to prevent the domination of Asia by a Communist movement which is in its essence today a believer in not only the class struggle, but

also in the international class struggle of a third world war.

So that we want you to know you are most welcome here at this time. We regard ourselves as very commonly committed to this great effort—Japan, the United States, Western Europe—and expanding from these vital areas, all those other countries which desire to be independent, so that you are most welcome here.

I hope that you will go home realizing that the United States regards as essential to its security your security. We hope that you feel the same way and that we can move in the sixties, Japan and the United States, playing a useful role in the defense of freedom in a most important part of the globe.

I will say that we have a mountain available to any of the Cabinet Ministers who want to indicate their friendship to the United States by climbing it as a compliment to Secretary Udall—perhaps the Finance Minister. In any case, I hope that you will all join with me in toasting the Japanese people, to their welfare and prosperity and peace, to the Prime Minister and to his leadership, and to the members of the government who are here, and most of all to the very good health of the Emperor.

NOTE: The President spoke at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. Mr. Masayoshi Ohira, Japan's Minister for Foreign Affairs, responded with brief remarks.

The trade delegation was in Washington to attend the meeting of the Joint United States-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs.

532 Remarks Concerning the Part Played by Radio Stations in the Cuban Crisis. *December 4, 1962*

Mr. Murrow, Governor, Mr. Minow:

I want to express our thanks to the radio stations who were so helpful and contributed such an important national service to us during the difficult days that have just passed. We were extremely anxious to get across our point of view, which was the

point of view of the free people of this hemisphere, to the people of Cuba in late October and early November.

We, therefore, asked a number of radio stations if they could assist us. The Voice of America broadcasts to Latin America and to Cuba through short wave. We were

anxious that medium wave be used and the only device that we could use was the radio stations. We went to all of them. They immediately volunteered their assistance.

None of them put forward all of the objections which they could have in regard to previous programs and previous commitments, but, instead, immediately made their stations available, and from dusk to dawn they broadcast the message of the United States to the people of Cuba.

We are very grateful to them. I think they showed two things: first, how significant radio is in getting across a message beyond national boundaries; and, secondly, they showed how patriotic were those men who ran these stations. We are glad to have them here today.

[At this point the President, assisted by Edward R. Murrow, Director of the United States Information Agency, presented certificates of appreciation from the United States to representatives of the 10 radio stations which had been chosen for the Voice of America broadcasts. The President then concluded his remarks.]

I want to thank you all very much. Ed, do you want to say something?

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. Mr. Murrow then expressed his appreciation to the broadcasters "for using their transmitters in the interest of truth."

The President's opening words referred, in addition to Mr. Murrow, to Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Representative to the United Nations and former Governor of Illinois, and Newton N. Minow, Chairman, Federal Communications Commission.

533 Remarks to Recipients of the Rockefeller Public Service Awards. December 6, 1962

WE WANT to express appreciation to John Rockefeller and to the university for the recognition which they brought to distinguished civil servants of our Government. And in honoring them they honor all those who work for the Government.

I think it is too often that the Government work has been caricatured, rather than honored as it should be. I think the kind of skills which the recipients this year have brought to the public service, and the diligence of their work, places the American people in their debt.

I hope these awards will encourage others who work in the Government to double their efforts and also will encourage those who are considering a career in Government, a career in Civil Service, a career in the Foreign Service, a career in space, a career in housing, and all the rest, to come and work with us. It represents, really, in many ways, the most rewarding of careers in the 1960's.

I think that all who are associated with the program are to be commended. In several cases the Government beat you to it in honoring them.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in his office at the White House. The recipients of the awards were: Llewellyn E. Thompson, United States Ambassador at Large; Hugh L. Dryden, Deputy Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration; J. Stanley Baughman, President and member of the Board of Directors of the Federal National Mortgage Association, Housing and Home Finance Agency; Reginald G. Conley, Assistant General Counsel for Legislation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and Morris H. Hansen, Assistant Director for Research and Development, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce.

Others present at the ceremony were John D. Rockefeller 3d, Chairman of the Rockefeller Foundation, and Dr. Robert F. Goheen, President of Princeton University, which administers the awards program.

534 Remarks at the First International Awards Dinner of the
Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., Foundation. *December 6, 1962*

Governor, Mr. Vice President, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express our thanks to all of you for attending this dinner this evening, particularly to the Governor for his generosity in being the toastmaster tonight, and for his emphasis on the work which the foundation has done. We are very appreciative to Miss Garland, our old friend, and to Mr. Lancaster, for coming, and also to all of you.

A year ago we had come to the White House two young ladies. They were the girls who had been chosen by the National Association for Retarded Children. One was 7 and the other was 5. They were both blondes, very pretty—sisters. One, the older girl, was mentally retarded. The younger girl, 5, suffered from the same difficulties at birth that the older girl had suffered from, but in the 2 years intervening between the birth of her older sister, research had made possible some great new discoveries which brought about a change in diet which made it possible for the younger girl to live a happy and fruitful life, while the older sister, who would have had the same opportunity if the discovery had only been made 2 years earlier, lives a life in the shadows for the rest of her life.

A more dramatic example to me, and to really any American who could have seen the two girls, I don't think could have made more important the cause which has brought us all together tonight.

Really, any childhood sickness is bound to affect any adult, but any childhood sickness which goes on through life, without any hope of recovery, is bound to be the most deadly of all burdens which any person must carry and which their families must carry. So that this is a matter which should concern us all as citizens.

We have just had a report of the committee headed by Dr. Mayo, and I was shocked

to see that in Scandinavia, for various reasons dealing with environment and dealing with prenatal care, postnatal care, the amount of mentally retarded in the population, the children born, is 1 percent. In this rich, prosperous country of ours it's 3 percent.

It shows what can be done, and I think that for too long this has been a field which has been left to a few dedicated people. It has been hidden under social disadvantages. Years ago it was considered a mark against the parents. It was really a disease or a difficulty or a challenge to which few people gave their attention. Now we hope that it will come out into the bright light and will be given the same sort of attention as cancer and heart disease and all the rest which afflict our people, but which afflict in many cases adults, particularly elderly people. Their troubles, while serious, are not as devastating as those which mark a child at birth and continue with the child to the end of the trail.

So we are very grateful to all of you for your interest in coming tonight. We are particularly glad to welcome the young students who we hope will be the authors of new discoveries. We are particularly glad to welcome those who won these awards.

I can't imagine anything more satisfying to the people who work in this field than to realize that as the result of the effort of one man or woman in their life they have made it possible for a hundred or a thousand or twenty thousand children living in this country, or in some other country, to live a fruitful life which would not have been won without their patient and tireless work. So their work is their own reward.

We hope that by bringing it to public attention tonight it will cause others to enter this field. This has really been a field which has been relatively ignored. Now we hope

to put a greater light on it in this country, and in other countries around the world. It knows no national frontiers. I hope that in the 1960's these years will be known as years in which the United States took the leadership in the great effort to make it possible to discover what we can do to make these boys' and girls' lives more hopeful and fruitful.

We are indebted to all of you for helping. We have the six award winners. They represent four nations. I am delighted with that because I do think it emphasizes the international challenge which faces us all. We would like to have them come forward and to accept these awards.

[At this point the President made the presentations. He then resumed speaking.]

To show you how new this field is that we are talking about and how important every discovery is, is the fact that my sister Eunice wrote an article for a well known national magazine last summer—the Saturday Evening Post—and in the course of it she described the work that Dr. Følling had done, and this test. She received a letter some weeks later from a woman in Brooklyn who said that she had noticed in her newly born baby the fact that she seemed to have this reaction, and she had gone to her doctor and the doctor had said he was sure that the baby was all right. The mother had persisted and had gone to a clinic for the mentally retarded and had learned that the child was suffering from this affliction.

And as it was within the first 6 weeks, immediate steps were taken and the child is going to be all right.

So I must say that all these experiences which indicate the close, hairline difference between a life in the sun and one in the shadow makes us all most grateful to the men that we honor tonight.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Statler Hilton Hotel in Washington. His opening words referred to Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Representative to the United Nations and former Governor of Illinois, and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson. During his remarks he referred to Judy Garland and Burt Lancaster, stars of the motion picture "A Child Is Waiting" which was previewed following the dinner; Dr. Leonard W. Mayo, Chairman of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation; and Mrs. Sargeant Schriver, the President's sister and executive vice president of the Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., Foundation.

The award winners, chosen from 400 nominees from 26 countries were: the National Association for Retarded Children, for its role in awakening the nation to the problem of mental retardation; Dr. Samuel A. Kirk, Director, Institute for Research on Exceptional Children, University of Illinois, "for his vision, inspiration, dedication, and outstanding services in mental retardation;" Dr. Ivar Asbjørn Følling, retired chief of the University Hospital Clinic Laboratory, Oslo, Norway, for his discovery of the disease, phenylketonuria; Dr. Murray L. Barr, head of the Department of Microscopic Anatomy, University of Ontario, for his discovery of sex chromatin; Joe Hin Tjio of Indonesia, visiting scientist at the National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Md., for his discovery of the exact number of chromosomes in man; and Dr. Jerome Lejeune, Director, Department of Genetics, University of Paris, for his discovery of chromosomal abnormality in mongolism.

535 Remarks in Omaha Upon Presenting a Special Flight Safety Plaque to the Strategic Air Command. *December 7, 1962*

IT IS a great pleasure to present this plaque to the Commanding Officer of SAC and, by this plaque, to indicate our great appreciation to the officers and men of the Strategic Air Force stationed here at this base and all around the world, and also their wives and members of their families who also serve.

This plaque pays particular attention to the contribution of the Strategic Air Command during the most intense days of the Cuban crisis. The record of SAC in mobilizing the forces of the United States was unprecedented in the long history of SAC. The amount of flights made during that

period of time, the amount of men that were involved, was a record unparalleled by any country in the history of air power. There is no doubt that it contributed greatly to the maintenance of the peace and the security of the United States and those countries associated with us, and also contributed to a result which has, I believe, increased our security, so we are very much indebted to you all.

Living on this base, flying from this base, men have helped maintain the security and peace for 15 years. And it is my strong belief, a belief which has been strengthened

by this morning's visit, that that peace and security can be maintained directly with the will and the courage of the people of the United States and the strong right arm, which is the Strategic Air Force.

We are indebted to you all in the past, now, and our security depends upon you in the future.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The presentation was made at Offutt Air Force Base, Omaha, Nebr. During his remarks the President referred to Gen. Thomas S. Power, Commanding Officer of the Strategic Air Command.

536 Remarks Upon Arrival at Santa Fe, New Mexico.

December 7, 1962

Senator Anderson, Mr. Vice President, Congressman Morris, Joe Montoya, your Governor-elect:

I want to express a very warm welcome on behalf of all of us to all of you. We've come down to Santa Fe and then go to Los Alamos to see some of the things which the people of this State, the scientists, the engineers, and the workers, are making to keep this country strong here in this country and in outer space. And I'm particularly glad to come down as the guest of your distinguished Senator, Senator Anderson, who

speaks for this State and also speaks for our country.

Most of all, I am delighted to come back to Santa Fe and New Mexico and to tell you how much we have appreciated your friendship in the past and how pleased we are to be here again.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to U.S. Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico; Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson; and U.S. Representatives Thomas G. Morris and Joseph M. Montoya and Governor-elect Jack M. Campbell, all of New Mexico.

537 Remarks at the High School Football Stadium, Los Alamos, New Mexico. December 7, 1962

Dr. Bradbury, Mr. Vice President, Senator Anderson, Congressman Montoya, Congressman Morris, ladies and gentlemen, boys and girls:

Senator Anderson just said, "Well, I don't know how well they dress here, but they've got brains." But I think you look very well, and I want to tell you that we are delighted to have you, to have a chance to come and express our greetings to you.

The United States, which has a great faculty for self-criticism, highly developed, and quite rightly values it as one of our essential freedoms, I think fails to take into account what an extraordinary burden and what an extraordinary job this country has done over the last 17 years in the defense of freedom. All around the world there are hundreds and millions of people, and dozens of countries who would not be free if it were

not for the will and the courage and the power of the people of the United States of America; 180 million people who are the keystone in the whole arch of the whole fight for freedom around the world, being the mainspring of containment of the Communist empire which numbers a billion people and stretches over great reaches of Asia and Europe.

Why have we been able to do it? We have been able to do it in part because nature was generous to us and we have a rich country. We have been able to do it in part, the greater part, because our people, reluctantly in many cases, were willing to take up the burdens that were placed upon us at the end of the second war, and have borne those burdens for so many years in so many different parts of the world, and the result is that today the United States offers for the defense of Europe the largest force in NATO. The United States maintains the largest navy in the world. The United States maintains the largest Strategic Air Force in the world. The United States today has hundreds of our sons and brothers in Viet-Nam and Thailand and all around the globe who in some cases are fighting and in some cases dying for the maintenance of other countries' freedom as well as their own.

And lastly, I think this country has performed its great function because, as Senator Anderson has said, its people have had brains, and we have appreciated the cult of excellence, and we have developed that

talent in a way which has served our country and served mankind. There is no group of people in this country whose record over the last 20 years has been more pre-eminent in the service of their country than all of you here in this small community in New Mexico.

We want to express our thanks to you. It's not merely what was done during the days of the second war, but what has been done since then, not only in developing weapons of destruction which, by an irony of fate, help maintain the peace and freedom, but also in medicine and in space, and all the other related fields which can mean so much to mankind if we can maintain the peace and protect our freedom.

So you here in this mountain town make a direct contribution not only to the freedom of this country, but to those thousands of miles away. And therefore, I am proud, as President of the United States, to come here today and express our thanks to you, and to also tell you how much I've admired from some years ago, from reading an article about the kind of schools that you run here and the kind of boys and girls that you're bringing up. We hope from them the same kind of service that you have rendered.

Thanks to you all.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to Dr. Norris E. Bradbury, Director of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratories; Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson; and U.S. Senator Clinton P. Anderson and U.S. Representatives Joseph M. Montoya and Thomas G. Morris, all of New Mexico.

538 Remarks Upon Arrival at the Kirtland Air Force Base in Albuquerque. *December 7, 1962*

Senator Anderson, Mr. Vice President, Congressman Morris, Congressman Montoya, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my thanks in behalf of the Vice President and myself to all of you for coming out and giving us a warm welcome.

We have been today to SAC, where we saw a good many Americans who have served this country well, and then to Los Alamos, where we have dedicated scientists who are also contributing to our security. Now we come to Albuquerque.

I have some particular reason, the Vice

President and I, to be particularly sentimental about this community. We did not win by such a landslide in 1960 that we do not remember that the only places west of the Mississippi that we carried were Nevada and New Mexico, outside of Texas. So we want to express—this is a nonpolitical trip but these things don't get so far away from us.

I want to thank you very much for coming out here tonight. We are very much indebted to Senator Anderson and your Congressional delegation for having invited us.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to Clinton P. Anderson, U.S. Senator from New Mexico; Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson; and Thomas G. Morris and Joseph M. Montoya, U.S. Representatives from New Mexico.

539 Message to President Nyerere Upon the Establishment of the Republic of Tanganyika. *December 8, 1962*

Dear Mr. President:

It is a great pleasure to extend the warmest congratulations of the Government and people of the United States on the establishment of the Republic of Tanganyika. It is an equal pleasure to congratulate you on your inauguration as the first President of the Republic.

I reaffirm American friendship and support for the aspirations of the people of Tanganyika and for the goals which your government has set as you begin this new and important chapter in your nation's history. Tanganyika's nonracial society is an outstanding example to all. The United States will continue to assist Tanganyika and other new nations in Africa in their drive for rapid social and economic advance. The progress of Tanganyika justifies our confidence and support.

With Tanganyika the United States shares African desires for the dignity and equality of the individual. We welcome new African nations to freedom and independence in the world community.

I am confident that the friendly ties between Tanganyika and the United States will grow stronger in coming years. In partnership we can work for peace and progress.

Please accept my personal congratulations and good wishes for yourself and your country.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

[His Excellency Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, President of the Republic of Tanganyika]

NOTE: The message was released at Albuquerque, N. Mex.

540 Remarks at the Swearing In of Francis Keppel as Commissioner of Education. *December 10, 1962*

Commissioner:

I want to express our very warm welcome to Mr. Keppel. We are very glad to have present with us today representatives of some of the distinguished American organizations who have made their life's work the advancement of education in the United States.

This is a matter which has been of concern to the National Government since our

inception. The Northwest Ordinance, the Land Grant College Act, and all the rest indicate the strong belief of our Founding Fathers and this present administration that no free society can possibly survive unless it has an educated citizenry.

And therefore it is natural that the National Government, representing all the people, the State governments, the private

community, the local communities both private and public—all will combine to provide the best education for the most informed citizenry in this great free country.

We are particularly fortunate to have Mr. Keppel to give leadership to this cause, working with Secretary Celebrezze. This office can be most important and I think that he undertook this job recognizing that he would have the strong support of the Secretary—and my strong support. I believe that

he's rendering a distinguished service. And while Harvard University, under his leadership, played a most important role in the field of education, we believe that this office has wide horizon and has great opportunity to develop responsibilities. We are very glad to have you down here and to express our appreciation.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at noon in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

541 Remarks at the Swearing In of Christian Herter as Special Representative for Trade Negotiations. *December 10, 1962*

I WANT to express the greatest possible pleasure in having the former Secretary of State, former Governor of Massachusetts, former Member of Congress, come to work now for the United States once again in a position of singular responsibility.

The relations between the expanding Common Market and the United States are going to be crucial to our economic progress in the sixties and also to our security, so closely linked is our security with the maintenance of an effective trade program. This position will place great burdens upon the Administrator.

The bill puts great authority in the hands of the President who delegates that authority to the Administrator. And I think we are very fortunate to have a man of Governor Herter's long experience serving us in this capacity, someone who fought for the passage of the legislation, someone who strongly believes in the intimate and growing relationship between Europe and the United States and Canada, and also our close relations with other countries in Asia, Latin America, Africa, as well as in Western Europe.

All this responsibility will come to rest on the office of the new Administrator. And he is ably assisted by Mr. Gossett whose long experience in American industry will bring

to this position of Governor Herter's Deputy a good deal of knowledge about the problems of American industry competing abroad.

Other members will be added to Mr. Herter's staff. In particular, it is my understanding, Mr. Herter is going to have an Assistant who will be particularly informed on the problems of American agriculture which are going to be one of the sensitive matters under discussion. These discussions really will be on two levels: one is the day-to-day negotiating over tariff matters affecting hundreds of different items. The other will be to attempt to use this instrument as a source of greater harmony between Europe and the United States. And I think it's that phase, as well as the first, that has particular appeal to the Secretary of State and I think it explains why he's willing once again to assume the responsibilities of public office.

So, Mr. Secretary, we are delighted to have you back in familiar surroundings. We are delighted to welcome your assistant, Mr. Gossett. I think the United States is fortunate to have you both at this time.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:20 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. After Mr. Herter took the oath of office William T. Gossett, former vice president and counsel of the Ford Motor Company, was sworn in as Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations.

542 Remarks of Welcome at the White House to President
Alessandri of Chile. December 11, 1962

Mr. President, Ambassador, and the Ambassadors of the Organization of American States, and the Ambassadors from the other countries of the hemisphere who are with us today:

Mr. President, we are delighted to welcome you as the first President of your country to come to the United States in over a decade.

I think it most appropriate that you come now in the winter of 1962 because the matters which concern Chile and the United States are matters of the greatest concern to this country. Our relations have been happy and harmonious since 1810, when the Chilean revolution, which we like to think in this country took some of its inspiration from the American revolution, as well as the revolutionary movements of Europe—from that first occasion in 1810 when President Madison sent Mr. Poinsett, of South Carolina, as our consul, who had an intimate relation with Mr. O'Higgins and the others who took such a leading part in your country's struggle for freedom, since that date Chile has maintained an effective constitutional democracy and has maintained happy relations with the United States. We hope that those relations will continue and be strengthened.

Chile, and indeed all of the countries of the hemisphere, face in many ways the same problems, and that is a population which is vital, increasingly concerned about a better life, the governments of the hemisphere struggling to provide better opportunity for the people, education, employment, security in older age, a dependence which many of the countries of Latin America share in two or three or four commodities which are exported to the United States and to Western Europe. Some of these commodities have dropped in recent years, facing countries which are already heavily burdened and which are already experiencing

a sharp increase in their population with additional economic problems.

The Alliance for Progress, which is an effort to provide a mutual basis of progress, a cooperative basis for progress between the people of Latin America and the people of North America is, I think, an answer to this great struggle but obviously an answer which is not sufficient unless we put more effort into it, unless we put heart and soul into it.

So, Mr. President, we are very glad to have you here. I think your visit indicates the major concern which this administration and Government feels with our relations with Latin America. We are also glad to have you here because we appreciated your strong support and that of your country during the difficult days of the past fall, and your messages on that occasion heartened us greatly.

So, Mr. President, you come at a very opportune time, from a country which we admire, and we are very proud to have you as our guest.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. on the South Lawn at the White House where President Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez was given a formal welcome with full military honors. President Alessandri responded as follows:

"Mr. President:

"Let my first words in the Capital of the United States of America be a cordial greeting from the people of Chile to you and to the citizens of this great Nation.

"On touching down upon the territory of the United States in Florida, and later in the historic city of Philadelphia, I have been able to appreciate the friendly expressions of welcome which you have given me in your high traditions of hospitality and distinction. I accept such kind tributes as a demonstration of affection toward the post I hold and the people I represent.

"While flying over United States territory, I have seen some of the great works that the hand of man is able to accomplish in a land of natural wealth within a system of freedom and free enterprise. The visit that I am making to this country on the very

kind invitation of President Kennedy is aimed at strengthening the already friendly ties between Chile and the United States, ties which were borne together in our independence. Moreover, in the forthcoming interviews, I wish to make my country better known in order that not only our defects be known here, but also some of the qualities of the industrious and democratic Chilean people.

"The forward looking policy which President Kennedy has been sponsoring for Latin America from the very outset of his Presidential term, and his generous initiative of Alliance for Progress are valuable contributions that enables one to look upon the future with confidence, and the progress and well being of the American Continent and the strengthening of its system of freedom.

"Chile will never forget, Mr. President, the generous help which the American people extended toward it during the catastrophe of the different earthquakes which occurred in May of 1960 which impaired and damaged a great part of our national territory, and I wish to reiterate once again the gratitude which we

all feel toward the United States of America for this very generous help.

"It is my greatest hope that mutual understanding between the governments of South, Central, and North America will make our cooperation more efficient and in accordance with the speed that present circumstances demand. Once the difficulties of this vast undertaking have been overcome, the Latin American people will no doubt meet the urgent need for improving their standard of living, and close understanding and cooperation shall be possible between all the countries of the Americas, thereby insuring a long political, social, and economic cooperation. With this goal in mind, and in order to achieve such aims, Chile answers the call in this critical hour of world freedom, resolved to extend its wholehearted political and spiritual cooperation in line with your great democracy and with other freedom-loving nations of the world."

In President Kennedy's opening remarks the word "Ambassador" referred to Walter Müller, Ambassador to the United States from Chile.

543 Toasts of the President and President Alessandri.

December 11, 1962

Mr. President:

I want to express a very warm welcome to you, to the Foreign Minister, the Finance Minister, to the Senator, to the other members of your party to our house here in Washington and to our country.

Mr. President, we are involved, and not merely because of our geographic links, Chile and the United States and indeed all of the members of this hemisphere are involved in a great enterprise, which is to demonstrate that countries facing the very serious problems which all of our countries face internally can through a system of freedom and a system of democracy successfully solve these problems and demonstrate that not only can people live more happily in freedom, but can also live more prosperously. I think that this is an important point.

We believe strongly in democracy and personal freedom, but I also strongly believe, and I think the other responsible leaders in this hemisphere strongly believe, that through a system of national sovereignty and personal independence and personal

liberty we can best advance the interest of all of our people. And I think we have the contrasting view not only in this hemisphere, in Central Europe itself, in Asia. I believe that if we master events that this decade can be the proof that through cooperation, through hard work, through sacrifice, we can maintain both our freedom and our well being.

We became involved, Chile and the United States and the other countries of this hemisphere, at Punte del Este, in this great common effort of the Alliance for Progress. I know that there are some who feel that the Alliance for Progress has not been successful, to some degree that the problems in Latin America have become more serious, that the standard of living of the people has not risen. I would give two answers to that: one is that I don't think that people in this country and, indeed, many other countries, have been sufficiently aware of how great was the need for a common, progressive effort, how large is the amount of unfinished business, how limited, in a sense, are the resources which

we are able to place in that effort compared, for example, to what this country did at the end of World War II in Europe, which was faced with an immediate crisis, but which had the potentials for a revival which in some ways are stronger than those at present in Latin America. In other words, the problems that we face in this hemisphere are staggering, and require the best from all of us, and I want to assure the President, as I think he knows, that we are and will do everything we possibly can to make sure that the struggle which is being waged on this less dramatic level than the other level which we saw this fall, that this other quieter, less dramatic, but equally important struggle will emerge successfully from this. And I invite not only the people of this country to accept their share of the responsibility, but also our friends in Western Europe who have such an intimate tie with Latin America both historically, ethnically, and culturally. They themselves have a responsibility in this area which I know they will be glad to meet.

And, Mr. President, we are particularly glad, therefore, to welcome you here because of the leadership which you have given, and your associates in the government, untiring effort to improve the life of the people of Chile, the hand of friendship which you've held out to the United States, most especially during the days of the fall.

You come from a family which has been celebrated in the history of your country. The President told me this morning that he and two of his brothers were members of the Chilean Senate at the same time. My view is there shouldn't be such concentration, but he has survived it and maybe others will. [*Laughter*]

In any case, Mr. President, we are delighted to have you here. These visits turn the attention of both of our governments to the common problems. And I think that this visit of yours to a country which is very far from you geographically, but very close to us on the basic issues, which has maintained since 1810, as I said this morning, a

constitutional and responsible and free government, we value that friendship, we value that alliance, and we value very much the long and persistent and untiring efforts which you've waged to improve the life of your people.

So, Mr. President, you are the kind of President that we like to welcome here from the kind of country which we admire. So I know that all of you will join with me in expressing our welcome to the members of the government, our very warm greetings to our friends, their Ambassadors to the United States, and to the OAS, and to the very good health of the people of Chile, and most of all, a very warm toast of greeting to the President.

NOTE: The President spoke at a luncheon in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his response President Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez expressed confidence that the exchange of views by the two Presidents would bring the two governments to a closer relationship that would be of mutual advantage. "This confidence," he continued, "is strengthened by the similarity of our political systems and the common aspirations of peace and prosperity of our peoples."

"In Chile," he said, "we have fought since our independence for true political freedom, and I believe that in this respect we have a high level of achievement. The ideal of equal opportunities for all citizens of a free country, which comes true by raising the standard of living of its inhabitants so that the differences between rich and poor, cultured and uncultured, healthy and sick, may be reduced to a minimum is at times thwarted by facts that are beyond the good will of governments and peoples, but this problem has reached a critical point. I believe that it is the great challenge of our democracies, and I say democracies because it must be a common undertaking of all of them, to face such a situation.

"Your Government so understands it, and it is my duty to repeat that the United States and its President undertook the task to give form and practical validity to this principle through the Alliance for Progress. The Government of Chile is ready to share its responsibility in such an undertaking, and it is fulfilling its commitments that we, the countries of this hemisphere, assumed at Punta del Este. The duties of government leaders at this time are more urgent than ever before, and our responsibilities compel us to proceed quickly.

"Democratic ideals must be torches that guide, levers that move to action. The time for mere hope

is running out and peoples rightly demand what they have a right to ask. It is here where each government, each country, must join efforts in the common task."

President Alessandri concluded by stating that "my country cannot fail to be on the side of the United States and of all the nations who feel this vocation for democracy as the most effective way to bring well

being to our peoples. Chile, who since the dawn of its independence has lived in freedom, would never adjust to a regime that would restrict or extinguish such a freedom."

In the first paragraph President Kennedy referred to Carlos Martinez Sotomayor, Foreign Minister of Chile; Luis Mackenna, Finance Minister of Chile; and Angel Faivovich, member of the Chilean Senate.

544 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the President of Chile. *December 12, 1962*

FOR TWO DAYS, we have had the opportunity for a frank exchange of our points of view on an important number of topics referring to the development of relations between our two countries and the responsibility for their international action at both the American and world level. We are happy to state that our conversations have been extremely useful. The purpose of this statement is to report briefly on the lines followed by those conversations and the results attained.

Since their beginning as free nations, the United States and Chile have been constantly involved in a historic revolution—a revolution that seeks to improve the lot of the common man of our two countries under a system of political freedom and individual dignity. We have no reason to attempt to rectify what was done by our forebears, or to doubt what the present generation can and should do in order to progress toward the achievement of the objectives which our countries have worked out as the goals of their convictions and aspirations.

We are aware that the progress of science and technology, as well as comparison with the ways of life that prevail in the more developed nations, have given a new and bracing tone of urgency to the legitimate claims of the masses of those countries which are still demanding that a proper equation be found between the ideals of liberty and democracy in the political order, and the satisfaction of their desires for a more abun-

dant way of life in the spiritual order and, in the social field, equality of opportunity for all.

In this sense, we believe that the Alliance for Progress constitutes an adequate reply to the concern which we, as leaders of government, have for satisfying those aspirations and demands of our peoples. During our meetings, we have come to a clear and firm agreement to encourage by all possible means the effective advance of that inter-American cooperative undertaking. At the end of the first year since this bold venture was initiated at Punta del Este, we have noted on the one hand the progress achieved, but we have also examined objectively the weaknesses and gaps that still hinder its further progress. In both the concept and the implementation of the Alliance, we have already overcome innumerable barriers that some years ago might perhaps have jeopardized the undertaking itself or its material success.

We have agreed that the Chilean Ten-Year Plan, taken together with the recommendations of the IBRD and the Committee of Experts of the OAS, constitutes a useful framework for achieving the increase in living standards called for in the Charter of Punta del Este and that the Plan merits the support of the United States and other external capital sources. In this respect, we have found that this program provides for an adequate measure of internal effort and that Chile has been vigorously taking a number of the important steps necessary to

achieve that effort as contemplated in the Program.

We have agreed that the impulse which the Alliance for Progress is designed to give to the progress of these countries—and Chile in particular—will not be possible without an ample amount of foreign private capital, since investments of this nature have contributed and continue to contribute substantially to the economic development of the region as a whole and especially of Chile.

Nor are we unaware of the fact that the objectives of the Alliance for Progress make it imperative that Latin America succeed in the next few years in bringing its development as a whole in line with the new shape of world trade. It must move progressively toward economic integration, in accordance with formulas that are yielding significant results in other areas of the world. It is our purpose to spare no effort so that our respective countries may adapt their international conduct, public as well as private, to practices that will best favor the integration of Latin America and its action as an important force in world affairs.

To succeed in this undertaking, we have noted the need for constantly improving the overall machinery of the Alliance and its operation. We recognize that, along with its important achievements, this year of experience has demonstrated certain difficulties in moving rapidly toward the objectives of the Alliance. As Chiefs of State, it is our firm proposal to support and promote the measures to implement the Alliance. For this reason, we are in full agreement with the recent resolution appointing two prominent personalities of the hemisphere who have been entrusted with the formulation of recommendations for revision of the inter-American system so as to promote the progress of the Alliance.

We should emphasize the fact that this Alliance in which we are engaged with the other nations of Latin America is only one aspect of our reply today to the threat that

hangs over the free world to which we belong and in whose defense we are resolved to play the responsible role dictated to us by history and our common spiritual heritage. We firmly believe in democracy and personal liberty; we also believe that through a system that respects the national sovereignty and independence of our countries, we shall be able to improve the destiny and accelerate the progress of our countries.

The faith and democratic course of the United States and Chile have not altered in more than a century and a half of independent life. We maintain that they cannot, and should not, be interrupted. In the face of the threats that appear on the inter-American horizon from time to time, we reaffirm our decision firmly to call upon our respective national communities to continue to fulfill the obligations they have freely accepted, based on the principle of inter-American solidarity. Recent actions of the OAS in connection with the Cuban case, in which our participation was decisive, demonstrate beyond a doubt the vigor of that decision.

We reaffirm our adherence to the United Nations and our firm decision to continue collaborating with the efforts of that organization to promote understanding among the peoples of the world and the maintenance of peace. Especially we undertake to provide every assistance to the efforts to obtain disarmament and the outlawing of nuclear tests, under adequate control, both tasks being of special significance for the people of this hemisphere who must accomplish in the next few years the rational and constructive investment of their human and material resources.

The United States and Chile are playing a key role at this time in the history of the Americas. We do not intend to avoid our responsibility. We shall not cease in our efforts until hunger, poverty, ignorance, social injustice, and the threat to our free institutions have been definitively eradi-

cated. We consider that working through democracy is the best means of bringing prosperity and well-being to our peoples. Our complete understanding on the occa-

sion of this meeting has only confirmed our faith and will to work together for the good of the Americas and the Free World in the future.

545 Filmed Message to the Chicago Convention and Exposition of the National Association of Home Builders. *December 12, 1962*

I AM very pleased to greet the members of the housing industry at their Annual Convention and Exposition.

Your industry is of vital importance to the national economy and vitally important to an increase in the national standard of living. And the relations between Government and the housing industry, the partnership which has existed, permitted prosperity for the housing industry and well-being for our people. This relationship must continue.

I want to assure all of you that the National Government will do everything it can to provide stimulation for the housing industry in order to maintain economic growth in the 1960's. We have laid, it seems to me, an important framework for that progress in the Housing Act of 1961.

You will recall that in that period, and I think since then in the last 2 years, we have made surprising and important progress. Private housing construction benefited as a result of that legislation from FHA insurance in close to \$12 billion in housing loans from January 1961 through September 1962. A whole new sector of the housing market was opened to private sponsors and builders by a new rental program for low- and moderate-income families. This has already stimulated \$180 million in private construction.

Private lenders and builders were given an opportunity to participate in expansion of home modernization and improvement by a new program of FHA-insured loans. The Federal National Mortgage Association moved actively to support the mortgage market. From January 1961 through last

September, its purchases totaled more than \$1.4 billion. During this period, FNMA sold \$2.8 billion in obligations to the investing public, providing new capital for housing purposes.

Housing for our elderly citizens is one of the national needs to which I called particular attention in the 1961 housing message.¹ Earlier programs had been relatively inactive, but this has been, I believe, quickly changed. By June 30th of this year, there were approximately 140 active projects in the program of direct Federal loans, providing over 14,000 dwelling units, with an outlay of \$160 million. In the FHA mortgage insurance program, there were 197 active projects, with more than 30,000 units, and mortgage insurance amounting to more than \$350 million.

In low-rent, public housing more than 100,000 units, a fifth of the total, were occupied by elderly families.

A necessity for sound progress in home building, and one of the most acute needs of expanding communities, is an adequate supply of public facilities. From January 1961 to last September, the Community Facilities Administration made 265 loans, amounting to \$111 million, to small communities for construction of badly needed facilities. Over 800 planning advances amounting to \$22 million were made to communities to plan future public works construction.

Urban renewal activity was stepped up beyond anything that had ever been achieved in this country. The Urban Renewal Ad-

¹ See 1961 volume, this series, Item 76.

ministration during 1961, and the first 9 months of this year, approved 371 grants totaling almost \$1 billion for projects in 143 cities. This is expected to result in private investment of \$3 billion for construction of homes, and also for offices, stores, and factories. The resulting renewal of downtown areas is an encouragement and a stimulus to economic activity, and will benefit all of you.

The remaining needs are great, indeed. However, if we are to make progress towards our goal of a good home for every family, we must raise our annual production from the present level of less than 1.5 million to at least 2 million dwellings by the end of this decade. At the same time, we must push forward with all of our programs for renewal and development of communities and the planning of our urban areas so that the homes we build will be properly placed in a sound environment.

In doing all this, we must bear in mind the needs of those among us who suffer from special disadvantages. This administration has placed great emphasis on the difficult housing programs and problems of families of low and moderate income, of elderly people, and of people in minority groups. These are areas of need, but they are also areas of opportunity. They represent a great market into which the housing industry can move to its own benefit and the benefit of the Nation.

The problem of housing for members of minority groups is a challenge of a special kind. It tests not only our planning skills and productive capacity, but also our sense of fairness; and it is a challenge that must be met if we are to carry out the national policy of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family. It is in that spirit on November 20th that I issued the Executive order on equal oppor-

tunity.² This will present you with special problems and responsibilities, but I know that you recognize, as I do, this concept of an equal chance for every American to make something of himself and to make it possible for his children to develop their talents, and that you understand how important it is in these significant years that our Nation advance toward this goal to which our society has always been committed.

I want you to know that we will continue to work as hard as we can to develop those programs which will be of assistance to you. As I said at the beginning, your prosperity is essential to the prosperity of our country. The housing industry gives employment to hundreds and thousands of people. The more that we can do here in Washington to stimulate the housing industry to provide opportunity for you, the better off our country is.

So I want you to know that we are solidly behind you. We welcome your suggestions and advice. The Congress, I know, is receptive to your ideas, and this Government, the executive branch and the Congress, will work in the closest harmony with you.

I want you to know that I am in the process of building a home myself, and I hope all other Americans will follow my example in the coming years.

Thank you. It has been a pleasure to be with you, and I look forward to working with you in the future.

NOTE: The message was recorded in the Cabinet Room at the White House on December 6 for delivery to the delegates to the National Association of Home Builders convention meeting at McCormick Place in Chicago on December 12.

² Executive Order 11063 (27 F.R. 11527).

546 The President's News Conference of
December 12, 1962

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon.

[1.] On behalf of the American people, I wish to express my gratitude to the French Government for its decision to lend the Mona Lisa of Leonardo da Vinci for exhibition in the United States. This incomparable masterpiece, the work of one of the greatest figures of the greatest Western age of creativity, will come to this country as a reminder of the friendship that exists between France and the United States. It will come also as a reminder of the universal nature of art. At the National Gallery in Washington, beginning January 8, the Mona Lisa will be exhibited with the special care so great a work of art merits.

Mrs. Kennedy and I particularly want to thank President de Gaulle for his generous gesture in making possible this historic loan, and Mr. André Malraux, the distinguished French Minister of Cultural Affairs, for his good offices in the matter.

[2.] And now to turn to the more physical side: For the past 2½ years the American Athletic Union and other amateur athletic groups organized as federations, have engaged in a dispute which now threatens proper representation for the United States in international competition. This includes the Pan American games at São Paulo and the 1964 Olympic games in Tokyo. A number of efforts have been made to resolve the differences between the AAU and the federations. This administration has made and is making its good offices possible in every way. Ultimately the Attorney General was called in to attempt to further settle these differences.

After this final effort last month, it appeared that these organizations had agreed to put aside their differences long enough to permit the United States and its athletes to compete in international competition, and particularly in the Olympics of 1964.

Now, however, even that coalition has

been tangled by a whole group of conflicting interpretations. The governing bodies of these groups apparently put their own interests before the interests of our athletes, our traditions of sport, and our country. The time has come for these groups to put the national interest first. Their continued bickering is grossly unfair. There is no winner, but there are many losers—thousands of American amateur athletes, the American athletic community, and the traditions of American sportsmanship. On behalf of the country and on behalf of sport, I call on these organizations to submit their differences to an arbitration panel immediately. If we do not, we will not have an Olympic team in 1964. It is my earnest hope that these groups will quickly abandon their concern with victory for themselves at the conference table and focus on their more proper concern, victory for sportsmanship.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, in his speech today Khrushchev said, among other things, that he was holding the United States to its pledge against invading Cuba or was ready to take measures of his own. What is your reaction to the speech and what is the situation now regarding a no-invasion pledge? Would we ever make one such a formal declaration without first obtaining on-site inspections?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I haven't had a chance to analyze the speech with the care with which such a speech obviously should be studied. Number two, Governor Stevenson and Mr. McCloy are now up in New York, and have been for some weeks, discussing this matter of our future position toward Cuba and the Soviet Union's position toward Cuba, the question of weapons, inspection, aerial observance, invasion.

At present, I would say that our situation was best described in the statement that I made at our last press conference. I am

hopeful that the negotiations that are now going on in New York will come to some conclusion in the not too distant future. But pending that, I would say that we are going to stay with what I said 2 weeks ago. In the meanwhile we will maintain—take every step that's necessary to make sure that these missiles are not reintroduced into Cuba or that offensive weapons are not reintroduced. And we are taking those means daily.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, in connection with Governor Stevenson and Cuba and some of the recent reports on the position taken by the Governor in the National Security Council, against this background, can you tell us, sir, whether prior to your announced decision on October 22, that Governor Stevenson took at any time a position that was contrary or counter to the final decision as you announced it?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as I said before, I would not attempt to describe, verify, or in any way discuss the position that any member of the National Security Council has taken. The National Security Council is an advisory body to the President; in the final analysis, the President of the United States must make the decision. And it is his decision. It's not the decision of the National Security Council or any collective decision. That was my view and my statement on Cuba a year ago, and it's my view on Cuba and the policies we followed recently this year.

I don't really think that there's much advantage to various press speculations on various positions which the members of the National Security Council took on the days from Tuesday to the next Sunday. Quite frankly, those positions frequently changed as members of the Council examined the alternatives and the possible repercussions of various courses of action. And it is my view that when the final consensus was reached and when I finally made a judgment—and that judgment was not really completed in its ultimate sense until the Sunday morning—that every member of the Executive

Committee of the National Security Council supported the policy we finally adopted.

I would say, after having read various statements of the past 10 days, that any historian—and I think this matter should be left to historians—who walks through this mine field of charges and countercharges, should proceed with some care.

Q. Do you agree with Ambassador Stevenson, that the authors of this article acted irresponsibly?

THE PRESIDENT. I've never attempted to characterize members of the press. I think that they have to meet their responsibilities. I've had some criticisms with various points which have been made, and I wouldn't attempt to characterize writers of this article or any other.

Q. Do you plan any inquiry to learn who it was that breached the security of the National Security Council?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, well, I've satisfied myself that these matters have never, as you know, never can be or very seldom are ever really determined with precision. It's my judgment that this statement or interpretation of Governor Stevenson's position did not come from a member of the National Security Council. I satisfied myself on that. I never heard anyone characterize Governor Stevenson's position in that way and I am satisfied, myself, that no one did.

Now, there are other people that might have. But that's a matter for the reporters and it's a matter that, as I say, I think can be much better left to history when the whole record will be spread out in great detail.

Q. You don't know, then, who leaked it?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't know who, and I think it's unfortunate if anybody discusses any matter that comes before the National Security Council because I think it lessens its effectiveness. But I have satisfied myself that the remark did not come from a member of the National Security Council.

[5.] Q. Sir, if it becomes necessary to cancel the Skybolt missile program because

of missile operational inability, what role can Britain play in our mutual atomic defenses?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it will play a significant role as a nuclear power, and the problem with the Skybolt is that it is the most sophisticated weapon imaginable. To fire a missile from a plane moving at high speed to hit a target 1,000 miles away requires the most advanced engineering, and of course it has been, really, in a sense the kind of engineering that's been beyond us.

We've put a half a billion dollars into it already. To complete the system might cost another—and to buy the missiles that we would want might require \$2.5 billion. The five tests have not been successful, so that there really is the question of how much it is worth to the British and ourselves to put in that kind of money when we have competing claims for our available funds.

On the other hand, the British have a very important equity in the matter. It was to discuss that equity that Mr. McNamara went to Great Britain. I'm sure that it will be a matter which will be discussed with the Prime Minister in Nassau, and the United States, which is reviewing its budget, will take no final decision until these conferences have been completed.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, has the opposition expressed by Chairman Wilbur Mills of the Ways and Means Committee changed the administration's position on tax cuts that it has proposed for next year?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that Mr. Mills' interview should be read in entirety. And if you read the entire article, it does not suggest that the administration, under some circumstances, and Mr. Mills may be so far apart. In fact, I'm going to see Congressman Mills today.

I'll be talking about the matter somewhat further on Friday night at the New York Economic Club, and will make detailed proposals.

We intend to go ahead with our program. And then, of course, it will be up to the

Ways and Means Committee and the Congress to make a judgment as to whether they will accept it. What I think should be of concern to us all is not the question of the immediate business prospects for the next 3 or 4 months, but, really, the general trend of our industrial growth, our employment lag, over the last 5 or 6 years.

And really we should consider not only our own economic situation but that of Western Europe. I think that Mr. Jacobson, of the International Monetary Fund, made a speech in 1959 or 1960 saying that the great period of the inflationary thrust might be coming to an end and what should concern the Western capital countries was really deflation.

And I'm hopeful that as we have a chance to explore this matter with the Congress that they will give it very close attention. Quite obviously Mr. Mills will have a very decisive voice in the final decision, but we hope to adjust our viewpoints so that we can get some action on this program next year.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, your speaking of historians induces me to ask you this: most former Presidents have put their official papers in libraries in their home States where they are not readily available to scholars and historians who come here to work with the Library of Congress and other agencies here. Have you decided where to put yours and would you consider putting it in Washington?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I am going to put it in Cambridge, Mass. [*Laughter*]

Let me say I know that we have a library now in Independence, Hyde Park, Mr. Hoover's library at Stanford, Mr. Eisenhower's library at Abilene. There are advantages and disadvantages. In some ways it helps stimulate scholarship in those areas; in addition, through scientific means of reproduction, microfilms, and all of the rest, it's possible to make documents available generally here in Washington, and through the Archives, the Library of Congress, and at the libraries. The number of scholars who deal with these subjects in detail, it seems to

me, will find it possible in a central place to get the kind of documents that they need. So that while there is a problem, as you suggest, I think that we can, and this will certainly be increased as time goes on, we will find it possible to so reproduce the key documents that they will be commonly available, I would hope, in Washington. There are a great many other advantages to a library—if you've gone to Franklin Roosevelt's library and to Harry Truman's library. It offers a good deal of stimulus to the study of American history, besides being a place where you can keep for a long time documents. There are many other things of interest which I think are rather advantageous to have spread around the country, particularly as it stimulates the study of the Presidency.

[8.] Q. Speaking of scholars, Mr. President, you and Dr. Wiesner have been putting heavy stress on the need for more scientists in this country.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, that's right. They are just releasing their report on the shortage of engineers.

Q. I wonder what your reaction is to a program in some of the New York City schools, where scientists from private industry, I believe at General Sarnoff's suggestion, are going into classrooms and giving lectures and demonstrations with the object of encouraging scientific careers?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it would be useful, because I think motivation is one of the problems. In addition, lack of funds is the problem to which the committee just addressed itself. We're going to have a big shortage of engineers, mathematicians, scientists, a good many of these men who would have the potential cannot afford the doctorate studies. It will require an investment by the Federal Government. But the kind of program which provides motivation you've talked about will be very useful.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, 3 weeks ago, six distinguished Negro leaders convened a conference on foreign policy in the Negro community at Arden House. They passed a

number of resolutions and they also passed resolutions to confer with you. Have you received the resolutions, and if so, do you have any comment? And number two, do you intend to meet with the six Negro leaders?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I'm supposed to meet with them. I am not familiar with all of the resolutions. I remember one of them with regard to the question of Ambassadors in the foreign service, and a good many other places. And I am meeting with them.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, can you tell us what's being done to curb Western and other shipping to Cuba, the measures that are being taken, if any, curbing shipping by Western nations, and other unaligned countries shipping material into Cuba. There's a great deal of shipping en route there now, according to the information we get.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. As you know, the shipping of any kinds of goods of the kind that would be used as offensive weapons, of course, action would be taken by the United States. Regular shipping, the United States has attempted to use its influence with members of NATO and others to discourage shipping. Some countries have responded and the United States is preparing other regulations which will affect shipping which should be available within the next 2 weeks.

[11.] Q. Mr. President, after your trip to Los Alamos Laboratory, New Mexico, is it your intention to ask for more money to speed up Project Rover, or for nuclear propulsion in space?

THE PRESIDENT. We're going to let these tests go on, of the reactor. These tests should be completed by July. If they are successful, then we will put more money into the program, which would involve the Nerva and Rift, both the engine and the regular machine. We will wait until July, however, to see if these tests are successful.

It should be understood that the nuclear rocket, even under the most favorable circumstances, would not play a role in any first lunar landing. This will not come

into play until 1970 or '71. It would be useful for further trips to the moon or trips to Mars. But we have a good many areas competing for our available space dollars, and we have to try to channel it into those programs which will bring us a result, first, on our moon landing, and then to consider Mars.

[12.] Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you could bring us up to date on what is being done to get the prisoners out of Cuba, and whether you think it's in the national interest to give food and medicine to Cuba to get these men back?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, this is being done by the private committee of the—

Q. But is that in the national interest? Do you favor that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT. It is being handled by a private committee composed of the families of the prisoners, and a committee of which Gen. Lucius Clay and others are members, and I'm very sympathetic to their efforts.

[13.] Q. You stated, sir, that you were going ahead and present your tax program to the Congress. Two questions about that program, in view of Mr. Mills' statements and the talk there has been about tax reduction: do you still plan, in your program, to ask for a reduction that would be retroactive to January 1, 1963; and will this program be in two parts, a program of quick tax reduction and a program of long-term reform?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it would be better to wait until the first of the year before we get the precise details. But there would be, in our proposals, tax cuts involving 1963.

[14.] Q. Mr. President, it was just a year ago that you ordered stepped-up aid to Viet-Nam. There seems to be a good deal of discouragement about the progress. Can you give us your assessment?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we are putting in a major effort in Viet-Nam. As you know, we have about 10 or 11 times as many men there as we had a year ago. We've had a number of casualties. We put in an awful

lot of equipment. We are going ahead with the strategic hamlet proposal. In some phases, the military program has been quite successful. There is great difficulty, however, in fighting a guerrilla war. You need 10 to 1, or 11 to 1, especially in terrain as difficult as South Viet-Nam.

So we don't see the end of the tunnel, but I must say I don't think it is darker than it was a year ago, and in some ways lighter.

[15.] Q. Mr. President, could you define for us the term "offensive weapons" in the context of the Cuban situation, and are you satisfied that such weapons no longer are in Cuba?

THE PRESIDENT. I would refer you back to the exchange of letters between Mr. Khrushchev and myself for our definition of offensive weapons.

On the second part of your question, it is our best judgment that the missiles have been removed from Cuba, and the planes. Now, these things are never 100 percent, and it is for that reason that we are insisting on verification, or if we can't get the kind of international inspection we will continue to use our own method of verification, which we believe gives us assurance against a reintroduction of these weapons into Cuba. And I think that the methods we are using to determine the status of military activity in Cuba are very effective, and are being used frequently.

[16.] I think we have the President of Chile. We are very glad to welcome him here on his first visit to the United States.

And he told me that he had a press conference yesterday and that the press in America were far gentler than they were in Chile. *[Applause]*

We don't want to give him the wrong impression, so I'll call on Mr. Chalmers Roberts. *[Laughter]*

[17.] Mr. Roberts: Mr. President, the administration proposed in Geneva today some sort of direct communication between the White House and the Kremlin, either a telephone or teletype. Could you tell us

what was in your mind in proposing this and how it is related to the Cuban affair, and the fact of the delay?

THE PRESIDENT. There was a delay, as you know, in the communications back and forth, in the Cuban affair. In some degree I think that on one or two occasions it was necessary to rely on open broadcasts of messages, rather than sending them through the coding procedure which took a number of hours. What was happening was that when we finally concluded our day and sent the message to the Soviets, they were just waking up, and when they finished their day and prepared their messages for us, we were just waking up. So that it was taking time. The coding procedures were slow. In a nuclear age speed is very desirable. So we are hoping that out of this present conversation we can get instantaneous communication or at least relatively instantaneous communication.

Q. Were you speaking, sir, of teletype or telephone? You once told us you didn't think a telephone was very useful.

THE PRESIDENT. I think that that's probably true. I'm not convinced that telephoning would have speeded, or that conversation on the telephone between Mr. Khrushchev and myself would have speeded a solution of the Cuban crisis. Teletype I think might have made it a safer situation. A phone might be the solution but teletype certainly seems to have some advantages, yes.

Q. Mr. Khrushchev's speech today is considered a major policy declaration. It seems to be moderate in tone. I was wondering if you found any encouragement in that tone.

THE PRESIDENT. No, as I say, I've only had a general description and it seemed to be directed really more to the members of the bloc, but I haven't really concluded an analysis of it.

[18.] Q. Mr. President, Brazil has not fully carried out the anti-inflation measures which she pledged herself to carry out last year when she got large new loans and rescheduling of old loans. And now she is in very deep economic trouble. What effect do

you think this has upon the other nations in Latin America who are trying to meet the demands of the Alliance for Progress program, and what is the possible effect upon members of Congress in their attitude towards aid and the Alliance?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think the situation is most painful to the Brazilians, themselves, with inflation of 50 percent—which is almost unprecedented over any period of time without causing the most severe dislocations—50-percent inflation increase in the cost of living within a year. So that I think that this is a matter which the Brazilians must deal with. There is nothing, really, that the United States can do that can possibly benefit the people of Brazil if you have a situation which is so unstable as the fiscal and monetary situation within Brazil.

So this is of concern to the Government. It must be and it certainly is of concern to us. I understand that the Finance Minister of Brazil will be coming to Washington in January. Our Ambassador to Brazil has just been back for consultations which we discussed this matter with them, and I think that the Brazilian Government is aware of the strong concern that we have for this inflation which eats up our aid and which, of course, contributes to a flight of capital and, therefore, diminishes rather than increases the stability of the state.

[19.] Q. Mr. President, it's been a long time since a President and his family have been subjected to such a heavy barrage of teasing and fun-poking and satire. There have been books on "Backstairs at the White House," and cartoon books with clever sayings, and photo albums with balloons and the rest, and now a smash hit record.

Can you tell us whether you read and listen to these things, and whether they produce annoyance or enjoyment?

THE PRESIDENT. Annoyment? No. Yes, I have read them and listened to them and actually I listened to Mr. Meader's record, but I thought it sounded more like Teddy than it did me—[laughter]—so he's annoyed.

[20.] Q. We understand there will be a communique concerning your discussions with the President of Chile, but meanwhile we are wondering if these discussions, in your judgment, have accelerated or will accelerate the Alliance for Progress in that country and in Latin America generally.

THE PRESIDENT. I think it definitely will accelerate it.

Q. Mr. President, this also has to do with the Alliance for Progress. Aside from the good intentions expressed by various governments in Latin America, how much real advance has been made in the area of economic, social, and political reform, and number two, is there any procedure by which those reforms can be evaluated here or in the OAS?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as you know, there is a procedure under the Alliance for Progress, the so-called wise men, who have been analyzing and approving the various steps that we take under the Alliance for Progress, without attempting to be in any way exclusive. I know that a good many reforms have been made in Venezuela, Colombia. In fact, in Chile we have been discussing, and the President has described some of the agrarian and tax reforms that Chile is now undertaking, which give us greater promise for the future. So that I think, even though as I said in my toast yesterday, the problems of Latin America are staggering, lack of resources and the overdependence on one or two commodities, these governments in many cases are making a very determined effort under staggering difficulties. We had a visit from the President of Honduras the other day. Fifty-six percent of the people of Honduras are illiterate. These are terribly difficult problems. So that I don't think we should be impatient with failure, but we should not desist because we've not solved all the problems overnight.

In the case of Chile, as the President has pointed out, they depend, as many other Latin American countries do, on one or two commodities for their foreign exchange. The prices of these commodities in the case

of nearly every country of Latin America have dropped in the last 3 or 4 years. The price of raw material exports of Colombia, as I pointed out in another press conference, has dropped more than our aid has given them. Brazil depended on coffee and coffee has dropped, though we hope the coffee agreement will make some difference.

So that I am disturbed, but I think we ought to realize that we are dealing with the most staggering problems.

Q. If I may follow up on that, sir, recently the OAS sent down a task force to Latin America, and they came up with a report that there wasn't sufficient participation by labor and other groups of that sort in the planning areas of the various governments, and that seemed to be an objective of the Alliance for Progress. Is there any way by which that process could be speeded up?

THE PRESIDENT. I think the strengthening of the labor movement would be really one of the most desirable things we can do. Otherwise, the labor movement is going to be disaffected and go to the radical left. This is a problem Mr. Moscoso was dealing with all the time, and I am glad to be reminded of this particular point.

[21.] Q. Sir, I wonder if, as a matter of policy, you would tell us if you favor important Government stories going to a restricted few reporters who may be specially called in for this, or if, as a matter of policy, you would let the people of your administration know that you think news should flow freely to all reporters at the same time?

THE PRESIDENT. I think—yes, I will let them know, and I think it ought to. I'm not aware that the privileged few—I think that obviously some of the weekly magazines do different kinds of stories than the daily reporters, but I don't think there should be a discrimination because of size or sex or any other reason. [*Laughter*]

[22.] Q. Mr. President, in some of our major cities, John Birch or rightwing-type groups have been organizing boycotts against stores which carry imports from Iron Curtain, so-called Iron Curtain countries, and in

some cases intimidating the stores. The State Department suggests that this is contrary to our policy of encouraging nonstrategic trade with those countries. I wonder if you share that view about those boycotts?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. I don't really think that—I think that it harasses merchants and I don't think it really carries on much of an effective fight against the spread of communism. If they really want to do something about the spread of communism, they will assist the Alliance for Progress, for one thing, or they will encourage their children to join the Peace Corps, or they will do a good many other things which are very greatly—they will be generous to students who come to the United States to study, and show them something of America. Those are the things that really make a difference. Not going down and because some merchant happens to have Polish hams in his shop, saying he is unpatriotic, doesn't seem to me to be a great contribution in the fight against communism.

[23.] Q. Mr. President, there was a very specific denial from your office about the authenticity of the second article to appear in relation to what went on or what didn't go on in the Security Council. I am referring to the Life magazine article. There has been a good deal of speculation which has arisen as a result of a failure to say whether or not the first article which created all the furor was authentic.

THE PRESIDENT. I want to say now the White House statement dealt with only two points in the second article. One was whether the White House had in any way authorized or suggested the article in the Saturday Evening Post, and, number two, whether the White House had made members of the National Security Council available. Both of those were untrue. The White House had nothing to do with the determination to write the article or with its preparation. And that was what we addressed ourselves to. I will not get into a discussion of the various positions of the

members of the National Security Council. Governor Stevenson has already made a reference to his position.

The fact of the matter is that Governor Stevenson renders very distinguished service, as I have said. I nominated him for the Presidency in 1956. I would not have supported him for the Presidency if I had not believed that he would be an effective and responsible President. He has done an excellent job at the United Nations.

I am surprised that anyone would possibly think that it would be in the interest of the country, or the administration, or the White House, that any lessening of his influence would be provided.

The reporters who happened to be—the Presidency is not a very good place to make new friends. I'm going to keep my old friends. But I am responsible for many things under the Constitution, but not for what they write. That's their responsibility and that is the way we will continue it.

[24.] Q. Mr. President, Congress has appropriated and you have approved a \$10 million expenditure for the construction of an aquarium here in Washington. It has been noted that the dependent and needy children in Junior Village, who are urgently in need of additional housing, have not been similarly favored. Would you comment on this unusual order of priority?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think that one of the unfortunate things, and I think the Congress should bear responsibility in part for it, is that we have inadequate expenditures for the needs of the people of the District, particularly the younger people, for our schools, our teachers are overburdened, recreational facilities are inadequate, and we're dealing with a very difficult situation right here in the District of Columbia.

Now, some people make a judgment that that's an indication that there is something wrong with the District and the way to deal with it is just to squeeze the District harder. I don't think the Congress has appropriated sufficient funds for the interests of the District, particularly of the younger people in

the District, and this is the center of the capital of a leading country of the free world and it will be to our disgrace if we have any situation develop in the City of Washington, this rather beautiful city in some ways, which is not a credit to all of our people. So I think that there may be need for an aquarium, there may be need for a good many buildings,

but in my opinion the resource of youth here should be more adequately developed.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: President Kennedy's forty-sixth news conference was held in the State Department Auditorium at 4 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, December 12, 1962.

547 Statement by the President on the Report of the President's Science Advisory Committee, "Meeting Manpower Needs in Science and Technology." *December 13, 1962*

EARLIER this year, I requested my Science Advisory Committee to examine the Nation's resources of scientific and technical personnel in relation to the demands being placed upon these resources—for military security, space exploration, economic progress, medical advancement, assistance to developing nations and education of future manpower. The Committee has now submitted the first in a series of reports. In it, the Committee states that this country faces an impending shortage of engineers, mathematicians, and physical scientists who combine high ability with graduate education. The Committee has made recommendations for immediate action.

The problem about which the Committee has expressed most concern is that diverse requirements for the more highly trained engineers, mathematicians, and physical scientists are rapidly outstripping our capability to produce them. To meet this problem, the Committee recommends a concerted program linking both Federal and private efforts to increase the number of those who have selected careers in these three fields to go on to graduate study. Because the program initially would extend training of students who are already in college, it has the advantage of meeting imminent shortages promptly.

The Committee's recommendations call first for augmented financial support of graduate students. Too many college graduates in the past have determined that they

could not afford to continue on for advanced training. Many who have begun graduate study drop out prematurely because of financial difficulty.

The Committee also recommends increased funds to meet the universities' costs of training in these three fields so as not to divert funds from other fields of learning; funds to expand the physical plant at existing centers of educational excellence; but also funds to provide a wider geographical dispersion of such centers.

The Federal Council for Science and Technology has reported to me that it concurs with the Committee's analysis on the priority of this need. They also have confirmed the soundness of goals and feasibility of the proposed program to meet these goals.

I have requested that immediate consideration be given to this report in developing legislative and budget proposals which I shall submit to the Congress in January 1963.

Well-trained minds are among this Nation's most precious assets, among the scarest of our resources. Attainment of our many national objectives and fulfillment of existing commitments critically depend on the quantity, and on the quality, of manpower in all professional fields, at all levels of training. Moreover, success in developing this Nation's necessary manpower resources requires a close relationship between the universities and the Federal Government, industry, private foundations and in-

dividuals, state and local governments. Sustained growth of excellence in American engineering and science will depend on the efforts of all.

It is the students themselves, however, who hold the key to this Nation's strength. It is my earnest hope that each college student will consider how valuable additional study will be in enhancing his abilities and potential contribution to the Nation, and in bringing him greater satisfaction and rewards.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

548 Remarks at the Ground-Breaking Ceremonies for the U.S. Pavilion, New York World's Fair. *December 14, 1962*

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Winston, Mr. Moses, Mr. Screvane, gentlemen:

I want to express my great appreciation to all those of you who've been connected with this fair: to Mr. Moses, who's been working so hard to make it a reality; Mr. Winston, who has been working on the American exhibit; the Mayor, who's given it his close sponsorship since it began; and all of you, particularly those of you who are building it.

This is going to be a chance for us in 1964 to show 75 million people, not only our countrymen here in the United States but people from all over the world, what kind of a people we are and what kind of a country we have, what the land is like and what we've done with the land, what our people are like and what we've done with our people, and what's gone in the past and what's coming in the future. That is what a World's Fair should be about and the theme of this World's Fair "Peace Through

NOTE: The statement, released in part on December 16 by the White House, was included as a foreword to the report entitled "Meeting Manpower Needs in Science and Technology—Report Number One: Graduate Training in Engineering, Mathematics, and Physical Science" (Government Printing Office, 1962). The report was prepared for the Science Advisory Committee by a Panel on Scientific and Technical Manpower under the chairmanship of Dr. Edwin R. Gilliland, Professor of Chemical Engineering, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology, is Chairman of the Committee.

Understanding" is most appropriate in these years of the sixties. I want the people of the world to visit this fair and all the various exhibits of our American industrial companies and the foreign companies, who are most welcome, and to come to the American exhibit, the exhibit of the United States, and see what we have accomplished through a system of freedom. So we begin today with this ceremony. We'll begin again in April of 1964, and we'll show what we've done in the past, and even more important, what America is going to be in the future.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:20 p.m. at Flushing Meadow Park, Long Island, N.Y. His opening words referred to Robert F. Wagner, Mayor of New York City; Norman K. Winston, Commissioner, U.S. Commission of the New York World's Fair; and Robert Moses and Paul R. Screvane, President and Executive Committee member, respectively, of the New York World's Fair 1964-65 Corporation.

549 Address and Question and Answer Period at the Economic Club of New York. *December 14, 1962*

General Royall, Mr. Trippe, Mr. Rockefeller, General Clay, gentlemen:

I feel tonight somewhat like I felt when I addressed in 1960 the Houston Ministers

Conference on the separation of church and state. But I am glad to have a chance to talk to you tonight about the advantages of the free enterprise system. [*Applause*]

Less than a month ago this Nation reminded the world that it possessed both the will and the weapons to meet any threat to the security of free men. The gains we have made will not be given up, and the course that we have pursued will not be abandoned. But in the long run, that security will not be determined by military or diplomatic moves alone. It will be affected by the decisions of finance ministers as well as by the decisions of Secretaries of State and Secretaries of Defense; by the deployment of fiscal and monetary weapons as well as by military weapons; and above all by the strength of this Nation's economy as well as by the strength of our defenses.

You will recall that Chairman Khrushchev has said that he believed that the hinge of world history would begin to move when the Soviet Union outproduced the United States. Therefore, the subject to which we address ourselves tonight concerns not merely our own well-being, but also very vitally the defense of the free world. America's rise to world leadership in the century since the Civil War has reflected more than anything else our unprecedented economic growth. Interrupted during the decade of the thirties, the vigorous expansion of our economy was resumed in 1940 and continued for more than 15 years thereafter. It demonstrated for all to see the power of freedom and the efficiency of free institutions. The economic health of this Nation has been and is now fundamentally sound.

But a leading nation, a nation upon which all depend not only in this country but around the world, cannot afford to be satisfied, to look back or to pause. On our strength and growth depend the strength of others, the spread of free world trade and unity, and continued confidence in our leadership and our currency. The underdeveloped countries are dependent upon us for the sale of their primary commodities and for aid to their struggling economies. In short, a prosperous and growing America is important not only to Americans—it is, as

the spokesman for 20 Western nations in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, as he stressed this week, of vital importance to the entire Western World.

In the last 2 years we have made significant strides. Our gross national product has risen 11 percent while inflation has been arrested. Employment has been increased by 1.3 million jobs. Profits, personal income, living standards—all are setting new records. Most of the economic indicators for this quarter are up and the prospects are for further expansion in the next quarter. But we must look beyond the next quarter, or the last quarter, or even the last 2 years. For we can and must do better, much better than we have been doing for the last 5½ years.

This economy is capable of producing without strain \$30 to \$40 billion more than we are producing today. Business earnings could be \$7 to \$8 billion higher than they are today. Utilization of existing plant and equipment could be much higher; and if it were, investment would rise. We need not accept an unemployment rate of 5 percent or more, such as we have had for 60 out of the last 61 months. There is no need for us to be satisfied with a rate of growth that keeps good men out of work and good capacity out of use.

The Economic Club of New York is of course familiar with these problems. For in this State the rate of insured unemployment has been persistently higher than the national average, and the increases in personal income and employment have been slower here than in the Nation as a whole. You have seen the tragedy of chronically depressed areas upstate, of unemployed young people, and I think this might be one of our most serious national problems, unemployed young people, those under 20, one out of four is unemployed, particularly those in the minority groups, roaming the streets of New York and our other great cities, and others on relief at an early age, with the prospect that in this decade we will have between 7 and 8

million school dropouts, unskilled, coming into the labor market, at a time when the need for unskilled labor is steadily diminishing. And I know you share my conviction that, proud as we are of its progress, this Nation's economy can and must do even better than it has done in the last 5 years. Our choice, therefore, boils down to one of doing nothing and thereby risking a widening gap between our actual and potential growth in output, profits, and employment—or taking action, at the Federal level, to raise our entire economy to a new and higher level of business activity.

If we do not take action, those who have the most reason to be dissatisfied with our present rate of growth will be tempted to seek shortsighted and narrow solutions—to resist automation, to reduce the work week to 35 hours or even lower, to shut out imports, or to raise prices in a vain effort to obtain full capacity profits on undercapacity operations. But these are all self-defeating expedients which can only restrict the economy, not expand it.

There are a number of ways by which the Federal Government can meet its responsibilities to aid economic growth. We can and must improve American education and technical training. We can and must expand civilian research and technology. One of the great bottlenecks for this country's economic growth in this decade will be the shortage of doctorates in mathematics, engineering, and physics; a serious shortage with a great demand and an undersupply of highly trained manpower. We can and must step up the development of our natural resources.

But the most direct and significant kind of Federal action aiding economic growth is to make possible an increase in private consumption and investment demand—to cut the fetters which hold back private spending. In the past, this could be done in part by the increased use of credit and monetary tools, but our balance of payments situation today places limits on our use of those

tools for expansion. It could also be done by increasing Federal expenditures more rapidly than necessary, but such a course would soon demoralize both the Government and our economy. If Government is to retain the confidence of the people, it must not spend more than can be justified on grounds of national need or spent with maximum efficiency. I shall say more on this in a moment.

The final and best means of strengthening demand among consumers and business is to reduce the burden on private income and the deterrents to private initiative which are imposed by our present tax system; and this administration pledged itself last summer to an across-the-board, top-to-bottom cut in personal and corporate income taxes to be enacted and become effective in 1963.

I am not talking about a "quickie" or a temporary tax cut, which would be more appropriate if a recession were imminent. Nor am I talking about giving the economy a mere shot in the arm, to ease some temporary complaint. I am talking about the accumulated evidence of the last 5 years that our present tax system, developed as it was, in good part, during World War II to restrain growth, exerts too heavy a drag on growth in peace time; that it siphons out of the private economy too large a share of personal and business purchasing power; that it reduces the financial incentives for personal effort, investment, and risk-taking.

In short, to increase demand and lift the economy, the Federal Government's most useful role is not to rush into a program of excessive increases in public expenditures, but to expand the incentives and opportunities for private expenditures.

Under these circumstances, any new tax legislation—and you can understand that under the comity which exists in the United States Constitution whereby the Ways and Means Committee in the House of Representatives have the responsibility of initiating this legislation, that the details of any proposal should wait on the meeting of the

Congress in January. But you can understand that under these circumstances, in general, that any new tax legislation enacted next year should meet the following three tests:

First, it should reduce net taxes by a sufficiently early date and a sufficiently large amount to do the job required. Early action could give us extra leverage, added results, and important insurance against recession. Too large a tax cut, of course, could result in inflation and insufficient future revenues—but the greatest danger is a tax cut too little or too late to be effective.

Second, the new tax bill must increase private consumption as well as investment. Consumers are still spending between 92 and 94 percent of their after-tax income, as they have every year since 1950. But that after-tax income could and should be greater, providing stronger markets for the products of American industry. When consumers purchase more goods, plants use more of their capacity, men are hired instead of laid off, investment increases and profits are high.

Corporate tax rates must also be cut to increase incentives and the availability of investment capital. The Government has already taken major steps this year to reduce business tax liability and to stimulate the modernization, replacement, and expansion of our productive plant and equipment. We have done this through the 1962 investment tax credit and through the liberalization of depreciation allowances—two essential parts of our first step in tax revision which amounted to a 10 percent reduction in corporate income taxes worth \$2.5 billion. Now we need to increase consumer demand to make these measures fully effective—demand which will make more use of existing capacity and thus increase both profits and the incentive to invest. In fact, profits after taxes would be at least 15 percent higher today if we were operating at full employment.

For all these reasons, next year's tax bill should reduce personal as well as corporate

income taxes, for those in the lower brackets, who are certain to spend their additional take-home pay, and for those in the middle and upper brackets, who can thereby be encouraged to undertake additional efforts and enabled to invest more capital.

Third, the new tax bill should improve both the equity and the simplicity of our present tax system. This means the enactment of long-needed tax reforms, a broadening of the tax base and the elimination or modification of many special tax privileges. These steps are not only needed to recover lost revenue and thus make possible a larger cut in present rates; they are also tied directly to our goal of greater growth. For the present patchwork of special provisions and preferences lightens the tax load of some only at the cost of placing a heavier burden on others. It distorts economic judgments and channels an undue amount of energy into efforts to avoid tax liabilities. It makes certain types of less productive activity more profitable than other more valuable undertakings. All this inhibits our growth and efficiency, as well as considerably complicating the work of both the taxpayer and the Internal Revenue Service.

These various exclusions and concessions have been justified in part as a means of overcoming oppressively high rates in the upper brackets—and a sharp reduction in those rates, accompanied by base-broadening, loophole-closing measures, would properly make the new rates not only lower but also more widely applicable. Surely this is more equitable on both counts.

Those are the three tests which the right kind of bill must meet and I am confident that the enactment of the right bill next year will in due course increase our gross national product by several times the amount of taxes actually cut. Profit margins will be improved and both the incentive to invest and the supply of internal funds for investment will be increased. There will be new interest in taking risks, in increasing productivity, in creating new jobs and new products for long-term economic growth.

Other national problems, moreover, will be aided by full employment. It will encourage the location of new plants in areas of labor surplus and provide new jobs for workers that we are retraining and facilitate the adjustment which will be necessary under our new trade expansion bill and reduce a number of government expenditures.

It will not, I'm confident, revive an inflationary spiral or adversely affect our balance of payments. If the economy today were operating close to capacity levels with little unemployment, or if a sudden change in our military requirements should cause a scramble for men and resources, then I would oppose tax reductions as irresponsible and inflationary; and I would not hesitate to recommend a tax increase, if that were necessary. But our resources and manpower are not being fully utilized; the general level of prices has been remarkably stable; and increased competition, both at home and abroad, along with increased productivity will help keep both prices and wages within appropriate limits.

The same is true of our balance of payments. While rising demand will expand imports, new investment in more efficient productive facilities will aid exports and a new economic climate could both draw capital from abroad and keep capital here at home. It will also put us in a better position, if necessary, to use monetary tools to help our international accounts. But, most importantly, confidence in the dollar in the long run rests on confidence in America, in our ability to meet our economic commitments and reach our economic goals. In a worldwide conviction that we are not drifting from recession to recession with no answer, the substantial improvement in our balance of payments position in the last 2 years makes it clear that nothing could be more foolish than to restrict our growth merely to minimize that particular problem, because a slowdown in our economy will feed that problem rather than diminish it. On the contrary, European governmental and financial authorities with almost total unanimity, far from threatening

to withdraw gold, have urged us to cut taxes in order to expand our economy, attract more capital, and increase confidence in our future.

But what concerns most Americans about a tax cut, I know, is not the deficit in our balance of payments but the deficit in our Federal budget. When I announced in April of 1961 that this kind of comprehensive tax reform would follow the bill enacted this year, I had hoped to present it in an atmosphere of a balanced budget. But it has been necessary to augment sharply our nuclear and conventional forces, to step up our efforts in space, to meet the increased cost of servicing the national debt and meeting our obligations, established by law, to veterans. These expenditure increases, let me stress, constitute practically all of the increases which have occurred under this administration, the remainder having gone to fight the recession we found in industry—mostly through the supplemental employment bill—and in agriculture.

We shall, therefore, neither postpone our tax cut plans nor cut into essential national security programs. This administration is determined to protect America's security and survival and we are also determined to step up its economic growth. I think we must do both.

Our true choice is not between tax reduction, on the one hand, and the avoidance of large Federal deficits on the other. It is increasingly clear that no matter what party is in power, so long as our national security needs keep rising, an economy hampered by restrictive tax rates will never produce enough revenue to balance our budget just as it will never produce enough jobs or enough profits. Surely the lesson of the last decade is that budget deficits are not caused by wild-eyed spenders but by slow economic growth and periodic recessions, and any new recession would break all deficit records.

In short, it is a paradoxical truth that tax rates are too high today and tax revenues are too low and the soundest way to raise the revenues in the long run is to cut the rates now. The experience of a number of

European countries and Japan have borne this out. This country's own experience with tax reduction in 1954 has borne this out. And the reason is that only full employment can balance the budget, and tax reduction can pave the way to that employment. The purpose of cutting taxes now is not to incur a budget deficit, but to achieve the more prosperous, expanding economy which can bring a budget surplus.

I repeat: our practical choice is not between a tax-cut deficit and a budgetary surplus. It is between two kinds of deficits: a chronic deficit of inertia, as the unwanted result of inadequate revenues and a restricted economy; or a temporary deficit of transition, resulting from a tax cut designed to boost the economy, increase tax revenues, and achieve—and I believe this can be done—a budget surplus. The first type of deficit is a sign of waste and weakness; the second reflects an investment in the future.

Nevertheless, as Chairman Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee pointed out this week, the size of the deficit is to be regarded with concern, and tax reduction must be accompanied, in his words, by "increased control of the rises in expenditures." This is precisely the course we intend to follow in 1963.

At the same time as our tax program is presented to the Congress in January, the Federal budget for fiscal 1964 will also be presented. Defense and space expenditures will necessarily rise in order to carry out programs which are demanded and are necessary for our own security, and which have largely been authorized by Members in both parties of the Congress with overwhelming majorities. Fixed interest charges on the debt also rise slightly. But I can tell you now that the total of all other expenditures combined will be held at approximately its current level.

This is not an easy task. During the past 9 years, domestic civilian expenditures in the National Government have risen at an average rate of more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ percent. State and local government expenditures

have risen at an annual rate of 9 percent. Expenditures by the New York State Government, for example, have risen in recent years at the rate of roughly 10 percent a year. At a time when Government pay scales have necessarily risen—and I take New York just as an example—when our population and pressures are growing and the demand for services and State aid is thus increasing, next year's Federal budget, which will hold domestic outlays at their present level, will represent a genuine effort in expenditure control. This budget will reflect, among other economies, a \$750 million reduction in the postal deficit. It will reflect a savings of over \$300 million in the storage costs of surplus feed grain stocks, and as a result of the feed grain bill of 1961 we will have two-thirds less in storage than we would otherwise have had in January 1963 and a savings of at least \$600 million from the cancellation of obsolete or unworkable weapons systems. Secretary McNamara is undertaking a cost reduction program expected to save at least \$3 billion a year in the Department of Defense, cutting down on duplication and closing down nonessential installations. Other agencies must do the same.

In addition, I have directed all heads of Government departments and agencies to hold Federal employment under the levels authorized by congressional appropriations; to absorb through greater efficiency a substantial part of this year's Federal pay increase; to achieve an increase in productivity which will enable the same amount of work to be done by fewer people; and to refrain from spending any unnecessary funds that were appropriated by the Congress.

It should also be noted that the Federal debt, as a proportion of our gross national product, has been steadily reduced in this last year. Last year the total increase in the the Federal debt was 2 percent—compared to an 8 percent increase in the gross debt of State and local governments. Taking a longer view, the Federal debt today is 13 percent higher than it was in 1946, while

State and local debt increased over 360 percent and private debt by over 300 percent. In fact, if it were not for Federal financial assistance to State and local governments, the Federal cash budget would show a surplus. Federal civilian employment, for example, is actually lower today than it was in 1952, while State and local government employment over the same period has increased 67 percent.

It is this setting which makes Federal tax reduction both possible and appropriate next year. I do not underestimate the obstacles which the Congress will face in enacting such legislation. No one will be satisfied. Everyone will have his own approach, his own bill, his own reduction. A high order of restraint and determination will be required if the possible is not to wait on the perfect. But a nation capable of marshaling these qualities in any dramatic threat to its security is surely capable, as a great free society, of meeting a slower and more complex threat to our economic vitality. This Nation can afford to reduce taxes, we can afford a temporary deficit, but we cannot afford to do nothing. For on the strength of our free economy rests the hope of all free nations. We shall not fail that hope, for free men and free nations must prosper and they must prevail.

Thank you.

[A question and answer period followed.]

[1.] Q. There has been much talk in Washington and elsewhere of reductions in personal income tax rates to 15 percent for the lowest brackets, and 65 for the highest brackets, in personal income taxes, and for a reduction in corporate rates to 47 percent. What many of these questioners would like to know is, are those figures generally in the ball park?

THE PRESIDENT. This legislation is going to have very difficult traveling at best, and I would suggest giving it at least the most favorable start we can, as I said in my speech, by permitting Mr. Dillon to present this before the Ways and Means Committee in

January. So that I would suggest that the details of the tax reduction should wait upon presentation to the Ways and Means Committee. There might be something for everybody, though.

[2.] Q. Mr. President, my first question is: One of the great achievements of your legislative program this year was the passage of the Trade Expansion Act—would you care to comment on your program in that area of the economy?

THE PRESIDENT. We have, as you know, appointed former Secretary of State Herter to be our chief negotiator. He is assisted by Mr. Gossett, who was Vice President of the Ford Company. They will begin the discussions with the Common Market early in 1963. There are fourteen or fifteen hundred items. It will probably take well into 1963—I would say towards the end of '63—before both sides have prepared their positions. We are going to have an extremely difficult negotiation, particularly in agriculture. The United States has had a favorable market for its agricultural surpluses to Europe—or its agricultural products; it has been our best dollar earner, it has really meant that our balance of payments has not been in more difficult position than it has been. Now, with the Common Market, with the prospect of Britain's joining, with the tremendous revolution in agricultural production which is about to hit Europe—France in particular—the levies and the rates and the penalties which are placed on the introduction of agricultural commodities into Europe in the coming 3 or 4 months may be of decisive importance to us in our battle on the balance of payments, and also in our struggle to bring some sense out of the problems we face in American agriculture.

So I would say that Secretary Herter has really a responsibility comparable to what he had as Secretary of State, and one which ties into our security, because quite obviously unless we're able to meet our balance of payments in time, then we are going to have to find other means of solving it. As

you know, it costs us about \$3 billion a year because of national security expenditures. So that this goes to the heart of our ability to keep more than one million Americans in uniform who now are serving the United States outside the borders of the United States.

So that I think this is a very vital issue, and that is why I was particularly pleased that Mr. Herter accepted it. I'm glad to see in this New York Port Authority, the trade center that they are building, the effort that businesses are making to sell abroad. We still sell abroad much too little. As a percentage of our gross national product the United States sells abroad less than really almost any major industrialized country. We have never had before us the prospect of "export or die," and I think that if all those who are in positions of responsibility will think not only of the markets which may be abroad for investment, but also going up and down the streets and selling American products, they can make a decisive contribution to the maintenance of our balance of payments, and also serve the country and the free economy system.

So the next few months I think will be very decisive and the burdens of Mr. Herter will be very great.

[3.] Q. Mr. President, in view of the prospect for a deficit in any event, and a fairly large one if taxes are reduced, is it part of the administration's plan to finance a major part of that deficit outside the banking system in order to reduce the threat of monetary inflation?

THE PRESIDENT. That will be a judgment which is primarily that of Mr. Martin and the Federal Reserve. He has commented on that to a degree before the Joint Committee this year. He is concerned about the prospect of inflation, because of course it affects us adversely, and also because it affects the balance of payments. I would hope, however, and I'm sure that he will agree, that he will—any deficit which has to be financed will be financed in a way which will be the maximum degree possible to stimu-

late the economy without increasing the prospect of another inflationary or speculative spiral. So it is a fine adjustment which Mr. Martin will make, but I'm sure that he will be as concerned as all of us are to get the benefit such as it may be out of the deficit, and also at the same time keep and use our monetary tools wisely enough to keep matters in control. His judgment will be, because of the Federal Reserve law, of course final.

[4.] Q. Mr. President, the strong attitude you took towards Khrushchev during the Cuban crisis has not only been applauded, but has improved the standing of our country throughout the free world. Don't you feel we would gain more respect and further improve our status by really implementing the Hickenlooper amendment on American properties which are seized largely without compensation overseas, rather than just giving lip service?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I'm not sure I'd accept the premise of the question. The Hickenlooper amendment is very clearly and sharply drawn. We are appointing a distinguished businessmen's committee to advise us on implementing the Hickenlooper amendment. It's not altogether an easy job. We've got one controversy now in Turkey, which involves a default by a previous government which was overthrown, a number of the ministers executed, which was regarded as highly corrupt. The present government is reluctant to accept its obligations. We have the problem in Brazil where you have the seizure of some American property by local governors—a local governor—and we have looked to the National Government for relief.

The Hickenlooper amendment does not go wholly into effect for some months under its terms, but I can inform you that its provisions are being read to the finance minister of every state.

[5.] Q. Mr. President, this question cropped up in many forms. Here's one form of it: Are current tax plans giving any consideration to increased emphasis on consump-

tion taxes by way of a broad base Federal excise tax in order to relieve some of the tax pressure on income from investment sources?

THE PRESIDENT. Once again I'll pass.

Q. I should have chosen one of the other versions!

THE PRESIDENT. When I was a Congressman I never realized how important Congress was, but now I do.

Q. I think I can paraphrase it by saying are you thinking about the possibility later on, perhaps, of using consumption or sales taxes in the tax packages that you're considering?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I suppose I—I assume what they mean is whether we are thinking of going the route which has been followed in France and some other countries of putting manufacturers' tax, and lessening the burden on income. I think on these details of the tax program that in your interest as well as mine we should wait.

[6.] Q. Mr. President, what progress has been made by our Latin American neighbors to effect tax reforms and economic reforms, so that they begin to carry their own weight under the Alliance for Progress?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we have made some progress in some countries. I made a reference the other day at the press conference that some efforts have been made certainly to meet the principles of the Alliance for Progress in Colombia. The President of Chile, who has been visiting us this week, is putting in a new tax program, some of which is causing some concern to American companies which have investments there, but I would say that we have made some progress in some countries. But tax reform is very difficult. It's a very appealing title. But as we know from the struggle which we had in the Congress this year, in our efforts to pass the 7-percent investment credit, and at the same time to collect taxes more effectively through withholding on dividends and interest, a tax which has been on the books for 20 years, tax reform, when we become more specific, does not carry with it the same

popular support. They have the same difficulty.

I think that the situation in Latin America is very critical. I would say it represents the greatest challenge which the United States now faces, except for the direct matter of our dealings with the Soviet Union. And in some of the countries the situation is far less satisfactory—the problems are staggering. And Brazil, which is a matter of great concern to us, is the largest country in Latin America, has a population 40 percent of which is under 20, substantially illiterate in some portions, particularly the northeast, living on an average income of \$100 a year, some radicals in control in some areas, so I would say we face extremely serious problems in implementing the principles of the Alliance for Progress.

We do it with a good deal less resources than we did with the Marshall plan. And in many ways the Marshall plan was easier. We really only had to rebuild the plants in Europe. The manpower was there, the tradition was there, the resources were there. Latin America does not have the resources. It is dependent on two or three or four commodities for export, the prices of which have been dropping the last 3 years. It doesn't have the trained manpower or skills. It's trying to accomplish a social revolution under freedom under the greatest obstacles. So I think that we should continue our effort there and not lose heart, but I would say that we face—and Latin Americans face—staggering problems in trying to solve it. We had the guest from Honduras whose population is 60 percent illiterate. We go through country after country in Central America, the same high illiteracy, high unemployment, bad health conditions. I would say that we are facing the job of doing this revolution under freedom, and it's probably the most difficult assignment the United States has ever taken on.

In addition, because of the atmosphere in some of the countries of Latin America, there has been a flight of capital out of there. The amount of assistance which we put in under

the Alliance for Progress amounts to about \$550 million a year. We have been losing capital out of Latin America either to Europe or because some of our companies don't feel like reinvesting because of the social conditions—we have been losing capital at a faster rate than that out of Latin America, and with a drop in commodity prices in many ways their balance of payments is worse than it was 2 years ago. This is not the fault of the Alliance for Progress. It's the fault of the very desperate situation which these countries face: 180 million people with a chance that their population will be 600 million by the year 2000, with no particular expectation that their raw materials will dramatically increase. So I think that this deserves the attention and hard work and sympathy of us all, and not walk away because the problems are unsolved.

[7.] Q. Mr. President, many of the questions submitted dealt with monetary policies, and the central theme seemed to be whether it will be possible and desirable to use a little easy money stimulation as well as tax reduction. And to quote from one of the shorter questions, "Why not ease up on money?"

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think there is a good supply of credit. I think the Federal Reserve Board has attempted to keep credit as free as it could, and the supply of money has been increased with the growth of the economy. I think it would be very difficult to keep it easier than it now is, without having the short term funds pour out at a higher rate than they are. After all, we have seen when Canada put its interest rates up, I think as high as 7 percent, though it has dropped them now, it affected the flow of capital here. In October, we had several cases of major investments using our markets because of our interest rates. The fact of the matter is that I'm not sure that we would get much stimulation out of the economy, but I don't see how we could possibly afford easier money than we now have, and still not have a hemorrhage at our balance of payments.

I think we have a major problem to balance off the use of monetary policy here at

home and affecting our balance of payments abroad, and also that is one of the good arguments, and as a matter of fact I think that we can make the case which I think has almost unanimously been made in Europe, that the United States monetary policy in some ways is too loose, while our fiscal policy is too tight. And it is for that reason that the International Banks in Europe and others have suggested that the reverse would be more appropriate. I think we should attempt to keep monetary policy about where it is, try to liberalize fiscal policy, for the reasons that I've given tonight, but I don't see how we could possibly go any further in the direction of easier credit, while we have a balance of payments which is against us by over two and a half billion dollars a year.

[8.] Q. Mr. President, there are a number of questions about Cuba. This is a brief one. Is there a firm policy on getting the Russian manpower out of Cuba?

THE PRESIDENT. Mr. Khrushchev in his agreement only committed himself to the withdrawal of the missiles and the bombers, and the manpower which was connected with the maintenance of those forces. That would amount to several thousand. In addition, he stated that he would, though he did not put a time limit on this, he would be withdrawing other elements. But that guarantee is not as precise and that commitment has not been implemented, nor was it as hard as his others, which he has kept. So this must be a matter of continuing concern, and is the reason why we are maintaining observation and verification by our own means daily, and why we will continue to do so. And while the matter of Cuba, therefore, still remains unsettled, as long as it's a Soviet military base, it of course represents a threat to peace in the Caribbean. On the other hand, it does not represent an offensive threat under present conditions, nor will it be, of course, permitted to do so.

[9.] Q. Mr. President, we received many questions which reflected some fear that if your tax message were to call for many of the tax reforms discussed from time to time

by some of your advisers, the effect might offset the favorable impact of a tax reduction itself. The specific question that we decided to select here was this: "Why not have a moratorium on reform until we get back to full employment?"

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the purpose of reform really is directed to the encouraging of growth and employment. I quite agree that to launch into a full scale battle on general reform for academic reasons would be unwise. The central purpose behind the reform must therefore be to encourage those changes in our tax laws which will encourage economic growth for that purpose, and not merely because it might have some longer range interest or significance. The primary job will be to encourage the flow of capital into those areas which stimulate the national growth and not diminish it. But it is going to be a tough fight, because once you spell out, as I said before, reform, it's bound to affect adversely the interests of some, while favoring the interests of others. Therefore reform may be a longer task, and we are anxious that in the effort to get reform, that we do not lose the very important matter of tax reduction for the sake of the economy.

I know that I am not satisfying you, and I know this is going to be the major matter before the Congress, this matter of affording a tax cut at a time when we have a deficit. But I do point out that the largest peacetime deficit, which was the '58 deficit of \$12.5 billion, came at a time when President Eisenhower believed that he had presented a balanced budget, and the reason of course was the recession of '58. The biggest deficit comes historically—and it has been proved, in 1958, 1960—because of a recession. That is what would really knock our budget out of shape. So that as I tried to say in my speech, we are not faced with the question of balancing our budget, or having a tax reduction. I believe we are faced with the fact that we are going to have a deficit mostly because of the sharp rise in the recent years in space and defense, and to increase our taxes sufficient to bring that budget into

balance would be defeating, because of course it would provide a heavy deflationary effect on our economy, and move us into a recession at an accelerated rate. So I hope that you gentlemen will realize that we are not talking about irresponsibly increasing the deficit. We have a deficit which is already on the books. What I am concerned about is the kind of deficit we would have if we had a recession, and while the prospects for a recession are not certainly imminent before us, we do have to look at our historical record and realize that any society such as ours, particularly with the tax structure such as ours, must face that prospect at some time. So that we have to decide which kind of a deficit do we want, and for what reason, and which in the longer run offers us the better prospect of bringing our books into balance.

In addition, we are hopeful, as the Minuteman begins to come into our defenses, that we will be able to bring our defense expenditures to a level, unless we have a severe international emergency, which in a period of the not-to-distant future will cap off our defense expenditures. The Minuteman will be coming in in great quantities. A large portion of our increases in defense in the next budget are due, one, to the pay increase for the military, and they have not had one since 1958, and they are far behind civilian and the other civilian employees of the Government, and for new weapons, of equipping the new divisions which we've built up, the conventional forces, and bringing into our arsenal the Minuteman. And when we have the Minuteman in quantity, Secretary McNamara believes it will be possible to peak off, and not have this steadily rising expenditure in defense.

I want to point out that we have increased in conventional forces in the last 2 years the number of our divisions from 11 to 16, and we are also providing equipment for 22 divisions in case it were necessary to mobilize our Guard. We have six divisions in Europe, and we have the equipment for two more. Now, I think the Cuban incident indicated the importance of a strong conventional

force. The greatest factor on our side was the fact that we had superior conventional strength on the scene, and it would have been necessary to equalize that strength for the Soviets to initiate the use of nuclear weapons, which of course they were quite reluctant to do.

Now, in other areas we do not have a satisfactory conventional position. General Clay is more familiar with this than any man, and this is true in Western Europe. The United States is doing its part, but other countries of NATO have not met their quotas. Up until 2 or 3 years ago, the United States had its six divisions in Western Europe, its two divisions in South Korea, and its three divisions in the airborne Reserve here in the United States, and that's all. Now we have increased by five divisions, and therefore with the obligations that we bear all the way from South Korea through South Viet-Nam to Berlin, as well as our obligations in this hemisphere, I think it was only prudent to increase our conventional as well as our nuclear force. That and our commitment to space have been the big burdens in our budget. Space will continue to rise, but not excessively. Defense we hope to cap off, and that's why I believe that we are not getting in a position where we will be out of control, providing we can maintain a steady rise in our economic growth.

[10.] Q. Mr. President, why shouldn't the United States emphasize foreign aid by means of technical and material assistance from the United States private firms, backed by United States credit guarantees, rather than the prevalent government-to-government gifts which rarely help American exports? For instance, a large part of the industrial equipment being installed in India and in South America is coming from Europe on long-term credit, rather than from U.S. plants, in spite of our aid to these countries.

THE PRESIDENT. It is a fact that the United States has given economic assistance, particularly to India, at low rates of interest and with years of grace, while the other members

of the consortium have given their assistance on rather short terms and high rates of interest. The fact of the matter is that the United States has carried an excessive burden in foreign assistance, in relation to Western Europe, but not in relation to need. Now, we spend about \$1.7 billion to \$1.8 billion in foreign assistance which goes of course to the Pentagon to buy surplus equipment, so therefore it's an addition to our own available funds. Then we have another \$2 billion which we give in the form of loans, some of which are reasonably hard, and some of which are soft, but we are emphasizing loans. Now, for that \$2 billion, we sustain South Korea, which has 40 percent unemployed; it's been the country which has been the major beneficiary. There is not any doubt that it would go under immediately if the United States ceased its economic assistance. Fifty thousand Americans were killed to protect South Korea. We carry the load, not so much, but still some, on Nationalist China, and we carry a very heavy load in Viet-Nam. Viet-Nam would collapse instantaneously if it were not for United States assistance. We carry a heavy load in Thailand, India, Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, and Greece. We also carry some burden in Africa, about \$250 million. I had the President of Somalia to visit me 2 weeks ago—the average income for Somalia per capita is \$45 a year.

When we see how difficult it is to get the Communists out once they get in, when we see the trouble that Cuba has caused, when we see that there is not one Communist regime yet in control in Africa, or indeed in Asia, other than those in North Viet-Nam, North Korea, and China, it seems to me that for this \$2 billion, that considering that we put \$51 or \$52 billion into our defense, we are going to put nearly \$5 billion into space, \$5.5 billion into veterans, \$9.5 billion in interest in our debt, \$7 billion into agriculture, about \$4 billion into public assistance—it seems to me that for that \$2 billion, which covers the Alliance for Progress, assistance to India, which has 40 percent of all the

underdeveloped people of the world, I think that we should embark with some care on any effort to cut it out.

Now, what we are trying to do is cut the dollar loss, which is the real burden; and we are cutting it this year from \$1.3 billion, which was the dollar loss in foreign aid, to \$800 million. We have increased the support for the Export-Import Bank. We are trying to tie all of our assistance to American purchases, and we hope to have it 80 percent tied, even though it does cost us some more doing it. But if you are going to build a school or a hospital, some local assistance is needed, and most of these countries are bankrupt—Colombia and Brazil and the others. So I would like to cut out foreign aid. It's very unpopular. It is a hard fight each year. President Eisenhower had the same struggle, and so did President Truman.

General Clay, as you know, is heading a committee,¹ with Mr. Lovett, Eugene Black, Mr. McCollum, and others, to look into this program. But I must say I am reminded of Mr. Robert Frost's motto about not taking down a fence until you know why it is put up, and this is a method by which the United States maintains a position of influence and control around the world, and sustains a good many countries which would definitely collapse or pass into the Communist bloc. Now, India, as I said, has 500 million people. We have been digging our way out of the loss of China for the last 12 years, and my successor in office may have to deal with the problem of a China which is carrying out an expansionary policy with nuclear weapons

and missiles. But for India to go, it would seem to me that the whole balance of power in the world would change. So I think that talking about \$2 billion—what really concerns me is that Western Europe does not do its part on aid, considering the great increase in its own balance of payments position. And I do believe also that the United States should tie as much as possible. But I certainly would be reluctant to see this program abandoned, because really I put it right up at the top of the essential programs in protecting the security of the United States, not for any reasons of long-range good it may do, though it does do that, but if somebody said—and I know President Eisenhower feels the same way, because for 2 years he's played an important role in getting that program by—if somebody said which programs of the United States Government really contribute to the maintenance of our position around the world, I would have to put this up near the top. But General Clay can make his judgment, and I think whatever judgment he makes can give this program a very important imprimatur.

Q. Mr. President, I simply ran out of questions. All I'd like to say to you is congratulations on your answers, and thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City. His opening words referred to Brig. Gen. Kenneth C. Royall (retired), former Secretary of the Army; Juan Trippe, president of the Pan American World Airways, Inc.; David Rockefeller, President of the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York City; and Gen. Lucius Clay, chairman of the Committee to Strengthen the Security of the Free World.

The questions, which had been submitted by the club members, were read by Murray Shields, partner in MacKay-Shields Associates, and Charles G. Mortimer, chairman and chief executive officer of the General Foods Corporation.

¹ The Committee to Strengthen the Security of the Free World, the establishment of which was announced by the White House on December 10, 1962, has the following membership: Gen. Lucius Clay, chairman, Robert A. Lovett, George Meany, Edward S. Mason, Eugene Black, Robert B. Anderson, L. F. McCollum, Herman Phleger, and Clifford Harden.

550 Remarks at the Pageant of Peace Ceremonies.
December 17, 1962

[Delivered over television and radio at 5:15 p.m.]

Ladies and gentlemen, Secretary Udall, members of the clergy:

With the lighting of this tree, which is an old ceremony in Washington and one which has been among the most important responsibilities of a good many Presidents of the United States, we initiate, in a formal way, the Christmas Season.

We mark the festival of Christmas which is the most sacred and hopeful day in our civilization. For nearly 2,000 years the message of Christmas, the message of peace and good will towards all men, has been the guiding star of our endeavors. This morning I had a meeting at the White House which included some of our representatives from far off countries in Africa and Asia. They were returning to their posts for the Christmas holidays. Talking with them afterwards, I was struck by the fact that in the far off continents Moslems, Hindus, Buddhists, as well as Christians, pause from their labors on the 25th day of December to celebrate the birthday of the Prince of Peace. There could be no more striking proof that Christmas is truly the universal holiday of all men. It is the day when all of us dedicate our thoughts to others; when all are reminded that mercy and compassion are the enduring virtues; when all show, by small deeds and large and by acts, that it is more blessed to give than to receive.

It is the day when we remind ourselves that man can and must live in peace with his neighbors and that it is the peacemakers who are truly blessed. In this year of 1962 we greet each other at Christmas with some special sense of the blessings of peace. This has been a year of peril when the peace has been sorely threatened. But it has been a year when peril was faced and when reason

ruled. As a result, we may talk, at this Christmas, just a little bit more confidently of peace on earth, good will to men. As a result, the hopes of the American people are perhaps a little higher. We have much yet to do. We still need to ask that God bless everyone. But yet I think we can enter this season of good will with more than usual joy in our hearts.

And I think all of us extend a special word of gratitude and appreciation to those who serve the United States abroad; to the one million men in uniform who will celebrate this Christmas away from their homes; to those hundreds of young men and women and some older men and women who serve in far off countries in our Peace Corps; to the members of the Foreign Service; to those who work in the various information services, AID agencies, and others who work for us abroad who will celebrate this December 25th thousands of miles from us at sea, on land, and in the air, but with us. It is to them that we offer the best of Christmases and to all of you I send my very best wishes for a blessed and happy Christmas and a peaceful and prosperous New Year.

Thank you.

This [*indicating the electric switch*] was first pressed by President Coolidge in 1923 and succeeding by President Hoover, Vice President Curtis, by President Franklin Roosevelt on many occasions, by President Harry Truman, by President Eisenhower, by Vice President Johnson. I am delighted to be in that illustrious company and we therefore light the tree.

NOTE: The President spoke just before lighting the National Community Christmas Tree at the Pageant of Peace ceremonies on the Ellipse.

551 Television and Radio Interview: "After Two Years—a
Conversation With the President." *December 17, 1962*

WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE, American Broadcasting Company: [1.] As you look back upon your first 2 years in office, sir, has your experience in the office matched your expectations? You had studied a good deal the power of the Presidency, the methods of its operations. How has this worked out as you saw it in advance?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think in the first place the problems are more difficult than I had imagined they were. Secondly, there is a limitation upon the ability of the United States to solve these problems. We are involved now in the Congo in a very difficult situation. We have been unable to secure an implementation of the policy which we have supported. We are involved in a good many other areas. We are trying to see if a solution can be found to the struggle between Pakistan and India, with whom we want to maintain friendly relations. Yet they are unable to come to an agreement. There is a limitation, in other words, upon the power of the United States to bring about solutions.

I think our people get awfully impatient and maybe fatigued and tired, and saying "We have been carrying this burden for 17 years; can we lay it down?" We can't lay it down, and I don't see how we are going to lay it down in this century.

So that I would say that the problems are more difficult than I had imagined them to be. The responsibilities placed on the United States are greater than I imagined them to be, and there are greater limitations upon our ability to bring about a favorable result than I had imagined them to be. And I think that is probably true of anyone who becomes President, because there is such a difference between those who advise or speak or legislate, and between the man who must select from the various alternatives proposed and say that this shall be the policy of the United States. It is much easier to make

the speeches than it is to finally make the judgments, because unfortunately your advisers are frequently divided. If you take the wrong course, and on occasion I have, the President bears the burden of the responsibility quite rightly. The advisers may move on to new advice.

[2.] Mr. Lawrence: Well, Mr. President, that brings up a point that has always interested me. How does a President go about making a decision, like Cuba, for example?

THE PRESIDENT. The most recent one was hammered out really on policy and decision over a period of 5 or 6 days. During that period, the 15 people more or less who were directly consulted frequently changed their view, because whatever action we took had so many disadvantages to it, and each action that we took raised the prospect that it might escalate with the Soviet Union into a nuclear war. Finally, however, I think a general consensus developed, and certainly seemed after all alternatives were examined, that the course of action that we finally adopted was the right one.

Now, when I talked to members of the Congress, several of them suggested a different alternative, when we confronted them on that Monday with the evidence. My feeling is that if they had gone through the 5-day period we had gone through in looking at the various alternatives, the advantages and disadvantages of action, they probably would have come out the same way that we did. I think that we took the right one. If we had had to act on Wednesday in the first 24 hours, I don't think probably we would have chosen as prudently as we finally did, a quarantine against the use of offensive weapons.

In addition, that had much more power than we first thought it did, because I think the Soviet Union was very reluctant to have us stop ships which carried with them a good deal of their highly secret and sensitive material. One of the reasons I think that the

Soviet Union withdrew the IL-28's was because we were carrying on very intensive low-level photography. Now, no one would have guessed, probably, that that would have been such a harassment. Mr. Castro could not permit us to indefinitely continue widespread flights over his island at 200 feet every day, and yet he knew if he shot down one of our planes, that then it would bring back a much more serious reprisal on him. So it is very difficult to always make judgments here about what the effect will be of our decisions on other countries. In this case, it seems to me that we did pick the right one; in Cuba of 1961 we picked the wrong one.

[3.] George E. Herman, Columbia Broadcasting System: I would like to go back to the question of the consensus and your relationship to the consensus. You have said and the Constitution says that the decision can be made only by the President.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, you know that old story about Abraham Lincoln and the Cabinet. He says, "All in favor, say 'aye,'" and the whole cabinet voted "aye," and then, "All opposed, 'no,'" and Lincoln voted "no," and he said, "The vote is no." So that naturally the Constitution places the responsibility on the President. There was some disagreement with the course we finally adopted, but the course we finally adopted had the advantage of permitting other steps if this one was unsuccessful. In other words, we were starting in a sense at a minimum place. Then if that were unsuccessful, we could have gradually stepped it up until we had gone into a much more massive action, which might have become necessary if the first step had been unsuccessful. I would think that the majority finally came to accept that, though at the beginning there was a much sharper division. And after all, this was very valuable, because the people who were involved had particular responsibilities of their own; Mr. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, who therefore had to advise me on the military capacity of the United States in that area, the Secretary of State, who had to advise on the attitude of the

OAS and NATO. So that in my opinion the majority came to accept the course we finally took. It made it much easier. In the Cuba of 1961 the advice of those who were brought in on the executive branch was also unanimous, and the advice was wrong. And I was responsible. So that finally it comes down that no matter how many advisers you have, frequently they are divided, and the President must finally choose.

The other point is something that President Eisenhower said to me on January 19th. He said "There are no easy matters that will ever come to you as President. If they are easy, they will be settled at a lower level." So that the matters that come to you as President are always the difficult matters, and matters that carry with them large implications. So this contributes to some of the burdens of the office of the Presidency, which other Presidents have commented on.

[4.] Sander Vanocur, National Broadcasting Company: Mr. President, during the Cuban crisis, there was some problem that you are apparently familiar with and bored with by now, about the possibility of a President talking in very private and secret conversations with his advisers, and that somehow leaking out. Do you think that this is going to inhibit the free, frank flow of advice that every President has to have?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think it is unfortunate there are that sort of conversations, but there are what—1300 reporters accredited to the White House alone? There are I suppose 100 or 150 people who are familiar with what goes on in the Security Council meetings in one way or another. You have the people who are actually there. Then you have got the others who are given instructions as a result of the decisions there, and I suppose people do talk. And then as I said at the time of the Cuban disaster in April of 1961 that success has a hundred fathers and defeat is an orphan. I suppose when something goes well, there is more tendency to talk at all levels, and frequently the reports are inaccurate. I would say the security is

pretty good at the National Security Council. It is unfortunate when it is breached.

[5.] Mr. Vanocur: Is it true that during your first year, sir, you would get on the phone personally to the State Department and try to get a response to some inquiry that had been made?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I still do that when I can, because I think there is a great tendency in Government to have papers stay on desks too long, and it seems to me that is really one function. After all, the President can't administer a department, but at least he can be a stimulant.

Mr. Vanocur: Do you recall any response that you received from somebody who was not suspecting a phone call in the State Department, any specific response somebody made to you?

THE PRESIDENT. No, they always respond. They always say "yes." It takes a little while to get it. You know, after I met Mr. Khrushchev in Vienna and they gave us an aide memoire, it took me many weeks to get our answer out through the State Department coordinated with the British, the French, and the Germans. It took much too long. Now, it seems to me we have been able to speed it up, but this is a constant problem in various departments. There are so many interests that are involved in any decision. No matter whether the decision is about Africa or Asia, it involves the Europe desk, it involves the desk of the place, it involves the Defense Department, it might involve the CIA, it frequently involves the Treasury, it might involve the World Bank, it involves the United Nations delegation. So it seems to me that one of the functions of the President is to try to have it move with more speed. Otherwise you can wait while the world collapses.

[6.] Mr. Vanocur: You once said that you were reading more and enjoying it less. Are you still as avid a newspaper reader, magazine—I remember those of us who traveled with you on the campaign, a magazine wasn't safe around you.

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, yes. No, no, I think it is invaluable, even though it may cause you—it is never pleasant to be reading things that are not agreeable news, but I would say that it is an invaluable arm of the Presidency, as a check really on what is going on in the administration, and more things come to my attention that cause me concern or give me information. So I would think that Mr. Khrushchev operating a totalitarian system which has many advantages as far as being able to move in secret, and all the rest—there is a terrific disadvantage not having the abrasive quality of the press applied to you daily, to an administration, even though we never like it, and even though we wish they didn't write it, and even though we disapprove, there isn't any doubt that we could not do the job at all in a free society without a very, very active press.

Now, on the other hand, the press has the responsibility not to distort things for political purposes, not to just take some news in order to prove a political point. It seems to me their obligation is to be as tough as they can on the administration but do it in a way which is directed towards getting as close to the truth as they can get and not merely because of some political motivation.

[7.] Mr. Lawrence: Mr. President, in the light of the election returns, which at the congressional level at least were certainly a defeat for the Republican hopes, how do you measure your chances for significant success domestically in the Congress just ahead?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think we will be about in the same position as the last 2 years. As I say, what we have that is controversial will be very closely contested.

Mr. Lawrence: Did the complexion of the House change a little bit by these shifts?

THE PRESIDENT. I would say slightly against us more than it was. We are not in quite as good shape as we were for the last 2 years, but we are about where we were the last 2 years, which means that every vote will be three or four votes either way, winning or losing.

[8.] Mr. Lawrence: Do you have a very crucial vote at the outset on this Rules Committee fight again, do you think?

THE PRESIDENT. I hope that the Rules Committee is kept to its present number, because we can't function if it isn't. We are through if we lose—if they try to change the rules. Nothing controversial in that case would come to the floor of the Congress. Our whole program in my opinion would be emasculated.

[9.] Mr. Lawrence: As a young Congressman, sir, you voted to impose a two-term limitation on Presidents. Now that you have held the office for a while, and also observed its effect on President Eisenhower's second term, would you repeat that vote, even if the amendment did not apply to yourself?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I would. I would. I know the conditions were special in '47, but I think 8 years is enough, and I am not sure that a President, in my case if I were reelected, that you are at such a disadvantage. There are not many jobs. That is not the power of the Presidency—patronage—at all. They are filled in the first months. Most of those jobs belong to the members of the Congress, anyway. So patronage is not a factor. I think there are many other powers of the Presidency that run in the second term as well as the first.

Mr. Vanocur: Mr. President, on that point—

THE PRESIDENT. The fact is, President Eisenhower has great influence today in the Republican Party, and therefore in the country, and has great influence in foreign policy, and he does not even hold office. In some ways his influence is greater to some degree. So that the same is really also true of President Truman and President Hoover. I don't think that it depends—the influence of a President is still substantial in his second term, though I haven't had a second term—I think it is.

Mr. Vanocur: Mr. President, on that point, much of your program still remains to be passed by the Congress. There are

some people who say that you either do it in the next 2 years, or it won't be done, should you be elected to a second term. Do you share that point of view?

THE PRESIDENT. No. In the first place, I think we have got a lot by. I was looking at what we set out to do in January of '61 the other day, and on taxes, and on social security, welfare changes, area redevelopment, minimum wage, Peace Corps, the Alliance for Progress, the Disarmament Agency, and strengthening the defenses and strengthening our space program—we did all those things, the trade bill, not perhaps to the extent in every case of our original proposal, but substantial progress. I think we can do some more the next 2 years. I would think there are going to be new problems if I were reelected in 1965, and I don't think—I don't look at the second term as necessarily a decline. I don't think that at all. In fact, I think you know much more about the position.

It is a tremendous change to go from being a Senator to being President. In the first months, it is very difficult. But I have no reason to believe that a President with the powers of this office and the responsibilities placed on it, if he has a judgment that some things need to be done, I think he can do it just as well the second time as the first, depending of course on the makeup of the Congress. The fact is I think the Congress looks more powerful sitting here than it did when I was there in the Congress. But that is because when you are in Congress you are one of a hundred in the Senate or one of 435 in the House, so that the power is so divided. But from here I look at a Congress, and I look at the collective power of the Congress, particularly the bloc action, and it is a substantial power.

[10.] Mr. Vanocur: Mr. President, power like charity, as you have noted, begins at home, and you seem to have one view of what we need to do at home, and Congress seems to have another view. A lot of money will be appropriated for defense and national security, but there is a certain reluctance to

devote money to another form of capital investment—education and other things like that at home. Is it purely a question of money, or is this religious thing really going to make it impossible for you to get an education act passed?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, education—it is certainly the question of how the funds will be distributed, how they will be shared is one of the factors. The integration question is another matter which comes into it. I think—you know, Thomas Jefferson once said to expect the people to be ignorant and free is to expect what never was and never will be. Here we are going to have twice as many people trying to go to college in 1970 as 1960. That means we have to build as many buildings in 10 years as we built the whole 160 years of our country's history. Then you have got these millions of young boys and girls who are dropping out of school, who are unskilled, at a time when unskilled—when skilled labor is needed, and not unskilled. So we need money for vocational training to train them in skills, to retrain workers, to provide assistance funds for colleges, and then to provide assistance to those who are going to get doctorates, higher advanced in engineering, science, and mathematics. We have a severe shortage there. And yet we are asking for space, defense, and all the rest. The Soviet Union is concentrating on this. So all this requires funds, but it is all in controversy. Some people feel the Federal Government should play no role, and yet the Federal Government, since the land grant act and back to the Northwest Ordinance, has played a major role. I think the Federal Government has a great responsibility in the field of education. We can't maintain our strength industrially, militarily, scientifically, socially, without very well-educated citizenry. And I think the Federal Government has a role to play. So we are going to send up a program. Unfortunately, because of the fact, as you mentioned, and other reasons, we have come close to getting assistance to education passed, but we have not been successful.

Mr. Lawrence: Mr. President, is your problem of getting an education bill through this year made more difficult by the events at Oxford, Miss., and the use of Federal troops there?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I think so.

Mr. Lawrence: How will you combat this new—

THE PRESIDENT. Well, as I say, this is a case of where we have come very close, and President Eisenhower came close, and we came close once, we got a bill through the House—through the Senate, almost through the House—and we didn't get it. Then another try for higher education through the Senate and the House, and then it failed—the conference failed. Now, Oxford, Miss., which has made this whole question of the Federal Government and education more sensitive, in some parts of the country I suppose that is going to be a factor against us. I don't really know what other role they would expect the President of the United States to play. The court made up of Southern judges determined it was according to the Constitution that Mr. Meredith go to the University of Mississippi. The Governor of Mississippi opposed it, and there was rioting against Mr. Meredith, which endangered his life. We sent in marshals, and after all, 150 or 160 marshals were wounded in one way or another out of four or five hundred, and at least three-fourths of the marshals were from the South themselves. Then we sent in troops when it appeared that the marshals were going to be overrun. I don't think that anybody who looks at the situation can think we could possibly do anything else. We couldn't possibly do anything else. But on the other hand, I recognize that it has caused a lot of bitterness against me and against the National Government in Mississippi and other parts, and though they expect me to carry out my oath under the Constitution and that is what we are going to do. But it does make it more difficult to pass an education bill. But I think we shouldn't penalize this great resource of our youth for all these reasons. Instead, we ought to do the job

and get these schools built, these teachers compensated, and higher education available to all these boys and girls—every time I drive around the country, that is all you see, are 6- and 7- and 8- and 9-year-old children who are going to be pouring into our schools and colleges, and every Governor will tell you that is his major problem, providing educational facilities, where the National Government has a responsibility.

[11.] Mr. Vanocur: Do you think we could turn for a moment to this subject of the President's responsibility in foreign affairs? Now, when some Congressmen disagreed with your course of action over Cuba on that Monday, the responsibility you have by the Constitution in this is very clear, but in domestic matters the responsibility is divided. How do you use the Presidency, in Theodore Roosevelt's phrase "the bully pulpit," to move these men who really are kind of barons and sovereigns in their own right up there on the Hill? Have you any way to move them toward a course of action which you think is imperative?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, the Constitution and the development of the Congress all give advantage to delay. It is very easy to defeat a bill in the Congress. It is much more difficult to pass one. To go through a committee, say the Ways and Means Committee of the House subcommittee and get a majority vote, the full committee and get a majority vote, go to the Rules Committee and get a rule, go to the Floor of the House and get a majority, start over again in the Senate, subcommittee and full committee, and in the Senate there is unlimited debate, so you can never bring a matter to a vote if there is enough determination on the part of the opponents, even if they are a minority, to go through the Senate with the bill. And then unanimously get a conference between the House and Senate to adjust the bill, or if one member objects, to have it go back through the Rules Committee, back through the Congress, and have this done on a controversial piece of legislation where powerful groups are opposing it, that is an extremely difficult

task. So that the struggle of a President who has a program to move it through the Congress, particularly when the seniority system may place particular individuals in key positions who may be wholly unsympathetic to your program, and may be, even though they are members of your own party, in political opposition to the President—this is a struggle which every President who has tried to get a program through has had to deal with. After all, Franklin Roosevelt was elected by the largest majority in history in 1936, and he got his worst defeat a few months afterwards in the Supreme Court bill.

So that they are two separate offices and two separate powers, the Congress and the Presidency. There is bound to be conflict, but they must cooperate to the degree that is possible. But that is why no President's program is ever put in. The only time a President's program is put in quickly and easily is when the program is insignificant. But if it is significant and affects important interest and is controversial, therefore, then there is a fight, and the President is never wholly successful.

Mr. Vanocur: Mr. President, which is the better part of wisdom, to take a bill which is completely emasculated, that you had great interest in and accept it, or accept its defeat in the hope of building up public support for it at a later time?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I would say given the conditions you described, I think it would be better to accept the defeat, but usually what has happened, and what has happened to us in the last 2 years, a good many of our bills passed in reasonable position, not the way we sent them up, but after all, the Congress has its own will and its own feelings and its own judgment, and they are close to the people. The whole House of Representatives has just been elected. So that it is quite natural that they will have a different perspective than I may have. So I would say that what we ought to do is to do the best we can. But if it is completely emasculated, then there is no sense in having

a shadow of success and not the substance.

[12.] Mr. Lawrence: Mr. President, in the exercise of Presidential power, and I think perhaps the best known case and the most widely talked about was your rollback of steel prices after they had been announced by the steel companies, some people have suggested that in retrospect that perhaps you would not have acted so vigorously. Is there any truth in this suggestion?

THE PRESIDENT. I must say it would have been a very serious situation though I don't like to rake over old fires, I think it would have been a serious situation if I had not attempted with all my influence to try to get a rollback, because there was an issue of good faith involved. The steel union had accepted the most limited settlement that they had had since the end of the second war, they had accepted it 3 or 4 months ahead, they did it in part, I think, because I said that we could not afford another inflationary spiral, that it would affect our competitive position abroad, so they signed up. Then when their last contract was signed, which was the Friday or Saturday before, then steel put its prices up immediately. It seemed to me that the question of good faith was involved, and that if I had not attempted, after asking the unions to accept the noninflationary settlement, if I had not attempted to use my influence to have the companies hold their prices stable, I think the union could have rightfully felt that they had been misled. In my opinion it would have endangered the whole bargaining between labor and management, would have made it impossible for us to exert any influence from the public point of view in the future on these great labor-management disputes which do affect the public interest. So I have no regrets. The fact is, we were successful.

Now, supposing we had tried and made a speech about it, and then failed. I would have thought that would have been an awful setback to the office of the Presidency. Now, I just think, looking back on it, that I would not change it at all. There is no

sense in raising hell, and then not being successful. There is no sense in putting the office of the Presidency on the line on an issue, and then being defeated. Now, an unfortunate repercussion of that was the strong feeling that the Government might interfere in a good many labor-management matters, or that it might interfere in the whole question of the free enterprise system. It was regrettable that that general conclusion was drawn in this particular incident. Given the problem that I had on that Tuesday night, I must say I think we had to do everything we could to get it reversed.

[13.] Mr. Lawrence: Mr. President, your predecessor, President Eisenhower, in his farewell message to the people just before he left office, warned of the dangers of a possible military-industrial complex that might threaten the very nature of the democracy. Have you felt this threat at all while you were in office?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it seems to me there is probably more in that feeling perhaps some months ago than I would say today. Of course, every time you cancel a weapons system, it affects a good many thousands of people, the interests of a community, the interests of members of Congress, the interests of the state, and we have had a long fight, for example, over the B-70, which we have felt is a weapon that isn't worth the money we would have to put into it. But it is a very difficult struggle with the Congress. Twice now Congress has appropriated the money for the program, twice we have not spent that money. But I must say as of today I don't feel that the pressure on us is excessive.

Mr. Lawrence: Well, I was particularly attracted, sir, by an advertisement, a two-page color advertisement this week in one of the national magazines, for the Project Skybolt missile.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I saw the ad.

Mr. Lawrence: And it claimed only successes for the missile, it mentioned no failures, though you had pointed out five, and

it said that this system would save billions of dollars in tax dollars if developed. Now, did you regard that as pressure on you?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think it was an attempt to influence our decision. I see nothing wrong with that. The fact of the matter is that this Skybolt is very essential to the future of the Douglas Company. There are thousands of jobs that are involved. There are a good many people in the United States who feel that this program would be useful, and of course the British feel very strongly about it. So I think the ad was an attempt to bring what the Douglas Company feels are the facts to my attention, to Mr. McNamara's, in a different form. In fact, I saw that ad today. The only thing that we ought to point out is, we are talking about \$2.5 billion to build a weapon to hang on our B-52's, when we already have billions invested in Polaris, and Minuteman, we are talking about developing now Titan III and other missiles. There is just a limit to how much we need, as well as how much we can afford to have a successful deterrent. Your submarines in the ocean, we have Minutemen on the ground, we have B-52 planes, we still have some B-47's, we have the tactical forces in Europe. I would say when we start to talk about the megatonnage we could bring into a nuclear war, we are talking about annihilation. How many times do you have to hit a target with nuclear weapons? That is why when we are talking about spending this \$2.5 billion, we don't think that we are going to get \$2.5 billion worth of national security. Now, I know there are others who disagree, but that is our feeling.

Mr. Herman: As we move forward technically, Mr. President, new weapons systems and new devices which may be vital to the future of the country seem to get more and more expensive, and to involve more and more thousands of men working on them. Are we coming to a point where perhaps we are going to be so involved that once you start a new weapons system into the works,

you will be almost bound to continue it, because to discontinue it would dislocate the economy, put thousands out of work again, and so forth?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, that is a problem. In addition, these systems are always two or three or four times more expensive than they look like they are going to be. One of the problems that we have now is the question of whether we should begin to put out the Nike-Zeus system, which is an anti-missile missile system around this country. We hope sometime to develop a system which will permit us to fire a missile at a missile coming toward us and destroy it, and thereby prevent an atomic attack on the United States. But it will cost billions. There is no sense going ahead until that system is perfected. Some think now is the time, but we are going to wait for a further period of investigation. But there isn't any doubt that if you don't build the B-70 or you don't build the Skybolt, this involves thousands of jobs, and the welfare of communities, and this is one of our toughest problems. On the other hand, we can't have our defense budget go out of sight. We are now spending \$52 billion a year, which is a tremendous amount of money, and we could go up to 60 or 65 billion if we didn't tighten as much as we can.

Mr. Herman: Did the Nike-Zeus program get any impetus from Mr. Khrushchev's boast that he can hit a fly in the sky at the moment?

THE PRESIDENT. He might hit a fly, but whether he could hit a thousand flies with decoys—you see, every missile that comes might have four or five missiles in it, or would appear to be missiles, and the radar screen has to pick those out and hit them going thousands of miles an hour, and select which one is the real missile and which are the decoys, when there might be hundreds of objects coming through the air. That is a terribly difficult task. You can hit one. What you are trying to do is shoot a bullet with a bullet. Now, if you have a thousand bullets coming at you, that is a terribly dif-

difficult task which we have not mastered yet, and I don't think he has. The offense has the advantage.

Mr. Herman: You think he has mastered the art of hitting one bullet?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes; so have we.

[14.] Mr. Lawrence: Mr. President, you spoke the other day of the dangers and difficulties of slow communications between here and the Soviet Union, as it exhibited itself during the Cuban crisis. I suppose this would be an even graver problem if your radar screen were to pick up missiles or at least what appeared to be missiles in any substantial number?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. Well, there is—one of the arguments for the continuation of the airplane is that if you picked up missiles coming toward you, you could have your planes take off and be in the air. Then if it proved to be a false alarm, then you could call them back. For missiles, you can't do that, and the President might have to make a judgment in a 15-minute period, and the information would be incomplete. You recall that incident where the moon came up, and it appeared to be a whole variety of missiles coming in. Of course, it was picked up several years ago. I think that is oversimplified. The fact of the matter is that the United States could wait quite long because we have missiles in hardened sites, and those missiles, even if there was a missile attack on the United States, those missiles could still be fired and destroy the Soviet Union, and so could the Polaris submarine missiles. So that I don't think there is a danger that we would fire based on incomplete and inaccurate information, because we were only given 5 or 6 minutes to make a judgment. I think the Polaris alone permits us to wait to make sure that we are going to have sufficient in hand that he knows that we could destroy the Soviet Union. After all, that is the purpose of the deterrent. Once he fires his missiles, it is all over anyway, because we are going to have sufficient resources to fire back at him to destroy the Soviet Union. When that

day comes, and there is a massive exchange, then that is the end, because you are talking about Western Europe, the Soviet Union, the United States, of 150 million fatalities in the first 18 hours. Now, you could go on, if everybody aimed at cities in order to have as many killed as possible in all these communities with all the weapons you could fire, you could kill, and then you might be having more fire. So that the nuclear age is a very dangerous period, and that is why I frequently read these speeches about how we must do this and that. But I think they ought to just look at what we are talking about.

Mr. Lawrence: How urgent is this need for quicker communication between here and the Soviet Union?

THE PRESIDENT. It is desirable. It is not—if he fires his missiles at us, it is not going to do any good for us to have a telephone at the Kremlin—but I do think that—and ask him whether it is really true. But I do think that it is better that we should be quicker than we now are. It took us some hours in the Cuban matter, and I think that communication is important. In addition to the communications with the Kremlin, we have very poor communications to a good deal of Latin America, and we don't know what is going on there very frequently. So we are trying to improve our communications all around the world, because that knowledge is so vital to an effective decision.

[15.] Mr. Vanocur: Mr. President, have you noted since you have been in office that this terrible responsibility for the fate of mankind has—notwithstanding the differences that divide you—has drawn you and Mr. Khrushchev somewhat closer in this joint sense of responsibility? He seems to betray it, especially in his speech to the Supreme Soviet earlier.

THE PRESIDENT. I think in that speech this week he showed his awareness of the nuclear age. But of course, the Cuban effort has made it more difficult for us to carry out any successful negotiations, because this was an effort to materially change the balance of

power, it was done in secret, steps were taken really to deceive us by every means they could, and they were planning in November to open to the world the fact that they had these missiles so close to the United States; not that they were intending to fire them, because if they were going to get into a nuclear struggle, they have their own missiles in the Soviet Union. But it would have politically changed the balance of power. It would have appeared to, and appearances contribute to reality. So it is going to be some time before it is possible for us to come to any real understandings with Mr. Khrushchev. But I do think his speech shows that he realizes how dangerous a world we live in.

The real problem is the Soviet desire to expand their power and influence. If Mr. Khrushchev would concern himself with the real interests of the people of the Soviet Union, that they have a higher standard of living, to protect his own security, there is no real reason why the United States and the Soviet Union, separated by so many thousands of miles of land and water, both rich countries, both with very energetic people, should not be able to live in peace. But it is this constant determination which the Chinese show in the most militant form, and which the Soviets also have shown, that they will not settle for that kind of a peaceful world, but must settle for a Communist world. That is what makes the real danger, the combination of these two systems in conflict around the world in a nuclear age is what makes the sixties so dangerous.

Mr. Vanocur: Ambassador Kennan,¹ who has some knowledge of the Soviet Union, wrote in one of his recent books that what you are dealing with here is a conditioned state of mind, that there is no misunderstanding here, that the only thing the Soviets really understand is when you present them with a set of facts and say to them, "This is what we are going to do." This

they understand. Have you found that there is any way to break through to Mr. Khrushchev, to make him really aware that you are quite sincere and determined about what you say, sir, or is this a total—

THE PRESIDENT. Well, it is difficult. I think, looking back on Cuba, what is of concern is the fact that both governments were so far out of contact, really. I don't think that we expected that he would put the missiles in Cuba, because it would have seemed such an imprudent action for him to take, as it was later proved. Now, he obviously must have thought that he could do it in secret and that the United States would accept it. So that he did not judge our intentions accurately.

Well, now, if you look at the history of this century, where World War I really came through a series of misjudgments of the intentions of others, certainly World War II, where Hitler thought that he could seize Poland, that the British might not fight, and if they fought, after the defeat of Poland they might not continue to fight, Korea, where obviously the North Koreans did not think we were going to come in, and Korea, when we did not think the Chinese were going to come in, when you look at all those misjudgments which brought on war, and then you see the Soviet Union and the United States so far separated in their beliefs, we believing in a world of independent sovereign and different diverse nations, they believing in a monolithic Communist world, and you put the nuclear equation into that struggle, that is what makes this, as I said before, such a dangerous time, and that we must proceed with firmness and also with the best information we can get, and also with care. There is nothing—one mistake can make this whole thing blow up. So that—one major mistake either by Mr. Khrushchev or by us here—so that is why it is much easier to make speeches about some of the things which we ought to be doing, but I think that anybody who looks at the fatality lists on atomic weapons, and realizes that the Communists have a com-

¹ George F. Kennan, U.S. Ambassador to Russia, March 14, 1952–July 29, 1953.

pletely twisted view of the United States, and that we don't comprehend them, that is what makes life in the sixties hazardous.

[16.] Mr. Herman: Your discussion of contact with the Soviet Union, of operating and acting with care, leads me irresistibly to the picture of Mr. Gromyko sitting right here, perhaps on this very couch ²—

THE PRESIDENT. Right here.

Mr. Herman: Right there—just before—

THE PRESIDENT. Right next to Mr. Vanocur.

Mr. Vanocur: He is no friend of mine.

Mr. Herman: But there was an occasion when you were in contact, he spoke to you, he told you his very interesting version of the absence of all missiles in Cuba, of the absence of all offensive missiles in Cuba. Now, you were in contact. What did you have to do? Did you have to get up and grit your teeth and walk around the chair?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I read to him my September statement, in which we said we would take action if they put missiles in. He did not respond. That is why I say, we are quite a long way from being—Mr. Khrushchev and I are in the same boat in the sense of both having this nuclear capacity, and also both wanting to protect our societies. Where we are not on the same wave is that the Soviets expand their power and are determined to, and have demonstrated in Cuba their willingness to take great risks, which can only bring about a direct collision. Now, I spent a whole day at Vienna ³ talking about his speech he made on January 6, 1961, in which he said he was going to support wars of liberation, and I said this is the way for the United States and the Soviet Union to end up in direct confrontation, which is what happened in Cuba. You can't have too many of those, because we are not sure on every occasion that the Soviet Union will withdraw as they did in the case of

Cuba. And the United States finds it difficult to withdraw when our vital interests are involved.

Mr. Lawrence: Mr. President, were you tempted at any time when Gromyko sat there open-faced and said that there were no offensive weapons, to just get up and go to your desk and pick up a photograph—

THE PRESIDENT. No, because our information was incomplete and we had not completely determined what our policy would be. The information came in Tuesday, our conversation was on Thursday. We were carrying out intensive reconnaissance. We were still considering the advisability of another course of action. And therefore, it would have been very unwise for us to inform him in detail what we knew. We did not want to give him the satisfaction of announcing what he was doing. I think it was very important that the United States announced it before he did.

Mr. Lawrence: We might have lost the initiative then?

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. He might have announced it, and we would have been responding then to an initiative of theirs. This way we held the initiative. So it was very important that we not tell him, although I did not mislead him, because as I say, I read my September statement, and he must have wondered why I was reading it. But he did not respond.

[17.] Mr. Vanocur: Mr. President, a lot of people have said that it is necessary—and these are a lot of the demonologists who have some knowledge about the Soviet Union—that it is necessary for an American President to protect Mr. Khrushchev, because he is the best Soviet prime minister we will ever get. Do you feel that is really the duty of an American President or is it the duty of an American President to protect the national interest?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think it is our duty to protect Mr. Khrushchev. This argument that his successor would be worse—I don't know what his successor will be like. What I think is our duty is to try to protect

² Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko had visited the President on October 18.

³ See 1961 volume, this series, p. 438.

our vital interests, protect the security of the free world, and have Mr. Khrushchev understand our intentions clearly enough so that he can proceed about his business in a way which does not threaten our security, and does not bring a war. We don't want to have to protect our security by means of war. But Mr. Khrushchev has to understand that there are vital interests in the United States for which we will fight, and if he will come, he and the Communists and the Soviet Union will come to devote their energies to demonstrating how their system works in the Soviet Union, it seems to me his vital interests are easily protected with the power that he has, and we could have a long period of peace. Then we could make a judgment which system does do the job. We believe ours does. He has argued that his does, internally. But instead, by these constant desires to change the balance of power in the world, that is what, it seems to me, introduces the dangerous element.

Now, I do think in fairness, if you read his speech this week, you can see that we would be far worse off—the world would be—if the Chinese dominated the Communist movement, because they believe in war as the means of bringing about the Communist world. Mr. Khrushchev's means are destruction, but he believes that peaceful co-existence and support of these wars of liberation, small wars, will bring about our defeat. The Chinese Communists believe that by constantly hitting, and if war comes, a nuclear third world war, they can survive it anyway with 750 million people. So we are better off with the Khrushchev view than we are with the Chinese Communist view, quite obviously. But Mr. Khrushchev does not wish us well, unfortunately.

Mr. Vanocur: Is there anything we can do to influence this growing split within the Communist bloc, or should we just tend to the world that we have, and make sure that it is not ripe for Communist penetration?

THE PRESIDENT. I think that this dispute which has become intensified is a matter that I think if we would, as you suggest, devote

our attention to so much of the world which is in very desperate condition, some of the countries of Latin America, Africa, Asia, which need our assistance, which need our support, if we do our job of strengthening the free world, then we will be, it seems to me, creating pressure, a counterpressure against the Communist advance, and that communism internally, under that kind of pressure, will find its lot more difficult.

I do think we have a tendency to think of the world as Communist and free, as if it were two units. The fact of the matter is our world is so divided, so poverty stricken, so desperate in many conditions, that we have a full time job just strengthening the section of the world which is not Communist, all of Africa, newly independent and poverty stricken. Here we have the Prime Minister of Somali who came the other day, \$45 per year the per capita income. The average wage in the United States manufacture is about \$94 a week. Forty-five dollars a year; well, now, he has got staggering problems. You can go through Latin America and parts of northeast Brazil, \$100 a year they are living on. So we have got a big job to do in our own area. If we can strengthen that area, as communism in my opinion is a completely fallacious and really is a system which really does not suit the desires of the average man, then I think we can be successful.

[18.] Mr. Herman: During the Cuban crisis when there was an offer of inspection inside Cuba by Premier Khrushchev, did you have any hope that there might really be a breakthrough, a start to achieving some kind of peace between our two systems, so that we can work on our own problems?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think that is there yet. Now, it may come in time.

Mr. Herman: Did you have hope when it was offered that it might actually come about?

THE PRESIDENT. No, but I do think at least that Cuba, as I think the speech this week, which was an important speech, has made Mr. Khrushchev aware of the dangers of the United States and the Soviet Union

clashing over an area of vital importance. So that I think is a very salutary fact. But I don't think we are about to see a whole change in Communist policy.

Mr. Herman: Would there have been any breakthrough if there had been international inspection of Cuba allowed, do you think, a start, a thin edge of a wedge?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I don't think that would have materially affected it, because I don't think we would have gotten the kind of inspection which really is necessary, because a totalitarian system cannot accept the kind of inspection which really is desirable. What you are saying really is that Cuba be opened, the Soviet Union be opened. They are not going to open it, because a totalitarian system must exist only in secrecy.

Mr. Herman: Have the inspections that we have had anywhere in the world, for example, in North Korea, or any place else, given you any hope that it will work as a system?

THE PRESIDENT. No, the camera I think is actually going to be our best inspector.

Mr. Lawrence: Mr. President, is there anything in the end of the Cuban crisis or the substantial end of it, at least getting off a fever pitch, and other problems around the world that would lead you to think that a summit meeting would be useful any time in the near future?

THE PRESIDENT. No, not just now. I think that the Vienna meeting was useful. It was useful for me, and I think—but I don't think we should go back to that, unless we really see our way clear to making an agreement on nuclear testing or disarmament, or in Europe itself, coming to some understanding. That is what we really want to do. As I say, this is too dangerous a period for us to be or to want to have a tension between the Soviet Union and the United States, and therefore I think we should encourage any relaxation of their policy of supporting those causes hostile to us. But until we see some breakthrough in some one area, I don't see there is much advantage in Mr. Khrushchev and I meeting, even though we have been in

communication, and therefore I think at least we have some—and we are in negotiation in New York through our representatives, but I don't think there is a need for us to meet now. I think probably he feels the same way.

[19.] Mr. Lawrence: Many expected, Mr. President, that Berlin would "hot up" right after our elections. That seemed to be the timetable, perhaps incorrectly. Is there any feeling on your part that what happened in Cuba has led to greater caution in Berlin in so far as the Soviet and East German Governments are concerned?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, I think the Chairman—nobody wants to go through what we went through in Cuba very often, and I think they realize that West Berlin is a vital interest to us, and that we are committed there, and that we are going to stay there. On the other hand, he has a very vital interest in East Germany, in trying to prop up that regime, and trying to solidify his position in Eastern Europe. So Berlin is a dangerous position always, particularly because of its geography, because we have to keep communications to an area which is 120 miles behind their lines so this always gives them a chance to tighten the grip on our windpipe there. But I would think he would proceed with some care, because I think he realizes it is the combination of a vital interest and one which has the chance of a direct encounter. So that I think that, as I say, Mr. Khrushchev's speech showed that he knows. And those who are attacking Mr. Khrushchev in the Communist camp, particularly the Chinese, as being too soft—I think Mr. Khrushchev realizes the care with which he must proceed now, as do we.

[20.] Mr. Herman: Would you explain, sir, why you said in your toast to Chancellor Adenauer that this was a turning point, a new era in history?

THE PRESIDENT. I think it is a climactic period. We have had a number of them. It is not *the*, but it is—after all, Cuba was the first time that the Soviet Union and the

United States directly faced each other with the prospect of the use of military forces being used by the United States and the Soviet Union, which could possibly have escalated into a nuclear struggle. That is an important fact. Secondly, the Chinese-Indian struggle, between these two enormous countries, the two largest countries in the world, when the Soviet has devoted so many years to building its policy of friendship with India, the fact that China then attacked them. And third, the relation between the Soviet Union and China, as a result of the Sino-Indian dispute, as a result of the United States dispute with the Soviet Union over Cuba, I would say that that makes this a very important period.

[21.] Mr. Vanocur: Sir, how do you as the leader of the Western alliance, of the strongest member nation, how do you get the European countries, which are becoming increasingly more independent, increasingly more prosperous, which is what you said you hoped they would become, how do you get them to follow your lead? Apparently Secretaries McNamara and Rusk have not come back with an altogether satisfactory report from the NATO meeting, the Europeans seem unwilling to build conventional forces. Do you have any great power to determine—

THE PRESIDENT. No, in the first place you can do your part. We are doing our part. We have—our troops in Western Europe are the best equipped, we have six divisions, which is about a fourth of all of the divisions on the Western front. They are the best equipped. They can fight tomorrow, which is not true of most of the other units. So we are doing our part there, and we are also providing the largest naval force in the world. We are also providing the nuclear force in the world, and we are also carrying out the major space program for the free world, as well as carrying the whole burden in South Viet-Nam. So the United States is more than doing its part. We hope Western Europe will make a greater effort on its own, both in developing conventional forces, and

in assistance to the underdeveloped world.

Now, we can't force them to do it. We can't say, "Well, if you won't do it, we are going to withdraw our forces and leave Europe naked." But I think the United States has done pretty well in carrying its burdens, and we hope that Western Europe, now that it is prosperous, will do its part. We put \$12 billion in Western Europe in 4 years, from '48 to '52. The amount of assistance we have given Latin America for the Alliance for Progress is a fraction of that.

So we have a right, it seems to me, as we have done and proven that we are not sunshine soldiers with respect to Europe itself, there isn't a country in Europe that is putting, of the countries that we are talking about, that is putting as many men and as large a proportion of its population and its gross national product into defense as we are.

[22.] Mr. Vanocur: Well, sir, do you reach a point where you have to say, "Fish or cut bait; I can't go to the American people and ask them to assume this burden if they know that you are going to do this?" For example, the Skybolt.

THE PRESIDENT. Well, look at the Skybolt. The United States has developed the Skybolt. We put in \$350 million into Skybolt. No other country has put anything into the actual manufacture of Skybolt. If we completed it, the British would have bought a hundred missiles, we would have bought a thousand. It would have cost us \$2.5 billion. We today pay 30 percent of the infrastructure costs of NATO, the supply lines to the depots in Europe. It costs us about \$3 billion in our balance of payments. The aid we give around the world is—you know, the American people are very critical, and the American press prints a lot of bad news, because bad news is news and good news is not news, so they get an impression always that the United States is not doing its part. When I just think of what we have done for 15 years, since '45, the countries we have sustained, the alliances of which we are the whole, the center, the willingness of the United States to accept burdens all around

the world, I think it is a fantastic story. We have one million Americans today serving outside the United States. There is no other country in history that has carried this kind of a burden. The other countries had forces serving outside of their own country, but for conquest. We have two divisions in South Korea, not to control South Korea, but to defend it. We have a lot of Americans in South Viet-Nam. Well, now, no other country in the world has ever done that since the beginning of the world—Greece, Rome, Napoleon, and all the rest always had conquest. We have a million men outside and they are trying to defend these countries. Now what we are saying is that rich Western Europe must do its part, and I hope it will.

Mr. Herman: Nothing that a President ever says is without effect, Mr. Kennedy. Aren't you sure that these words that you have just uttered will come back to you when the appropriations bill starts through the Congress, that you will hear yourself quoted?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I think the American people ought to know what they are doing, and I think Western Europe—Western Europe's success, after all, represents the greatest success of American foreign policy, since World War II, the rebuilding of Europe. It is just what we want. They are bound to have differences of opinion with us. But all we ask Western Europe to do is not look in and just become a rich, careful secluded group, but to play their role in this great world struggle, as we have done it. We are going to continue to do it in the United States, but we ought to recognize how much we have done, and not always be feeling—whenever I read a dispatch from Europe, it is usually rather critical, even in the Skybolt stories that come out are critical of the United States. My goodness, we have done a tremendous job in this country!

Mr. Herman: But can they play their role without developing their own nuclear weapons and their own nuclear deterrent, and isn't it against our policy to have this proliferation?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, we don't want six or seven separate nuclear powers in Europe diverting their funds to nuclear power, when the United States has got this tremendous arsenal. But if these countries want to do it, we are not stopping them from doing it. We're not opposing it. If the French decide they want to become a nuclear power themselves, that is their decision. The question is whether the United States should join in helping make France a nuclear power, then Italy, then West Germany, then Belgium. How does that produce security when you have ten, twenty, thirty nuclear powers who may fire their weapons off under different conditions? That isn't in our interest, or in my opinion in the interest of peace, or the interest of Western Europe. And it is awfully expensive. Why duplicate what we have already done, and are doing in Western Europe today, as long as our guarantees are good?

[23.] Mr. Vanocur: Mr. President, back before you were elected, your father used to have a favorite story he told reporters. He asked you once why do you want the job, and he cited the reasons why you shouldn't want it, and you apparently gave him an answer—I don't know whether it satisfied him, but apparently you satisfied yourself. Would you give him the same answer today after serving in this office for 2 years?

THE PRESIDENT. Oh, you mean that somebody is going to do it?

Mr. Vanocur: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT. Yes. I think that there are a lot of satisfactions to the Presidency, particularly, as I say, we are all concerned as citizens and as parents and all the rest, with all the problems we have been talking about tonight. They are all the problems which if I was not the President, I would be concerned about as a father or as a citizen. So at least you have an opportunity to do something about them. And if what you do is useful and successful, then of course that is a great satisfaction. When as a result of a decision of yours, failure comes or you are unsuccessful, then of course that is a great

setback. But I must say after being here for 2 years, and having the experience of the Presidency, and there is no experience you can get that can possibly prepare you adequately for the Presidency, I must say that I have a good deal of hope for the United States. Just because I think that this country, which as I say criticizes itself and is criticized around the world, 180 million people, for 17 years, really for more than that, for almost 20 years, have been the great means of defending first the world against the Nazi threat, and since then against the Communist threat, and if it were not for us,

the Communists would be dominant in the world today, and because of us, we are in a strong position. Now, I think that is a pretty good record for a country with 6 percent of the world's population, which is very reluctant to take on these burdens. I think we ought to be rather pleased with ourselves this Christmas.

NOTE: The interview was recorded on December 16 in the President's office at the White House. It was telecast on December 17 at 6:30 p.m. by the Columbia Broadcasting System and the American Broadcasting Company, and at 8:30 p.m. by the National Broadcasting Company. The program was also broadcast by the major radio networks.

552 Magazine Article "The Arts in America." *December 18, 1962*

ONE AFTERNOON in the fateful year 1940, the President of the United States had two callers. The first was Lord Lothian, the British Ambassador, who had just flown in from London to give Franklin D. Roosevelt an eyewitness account of the bombing of London. The second was Francis H. Taylor, museum director and authority on the history of art.

Taylor waited for 2 hours while the President and Lothian talked. When he finally entered, he found the President "white as a sheet." Yet the President, we are told, kept Taylor in his office that afternoon for another hour and a half. Turning from a grim preoccupation with the war, Franklin Roosevelt talked about the arts in American life. He spoke of plans for broadening the appreciation of art and looked forward to a day when "every schoolhouse would have contemporary American paintings hanging on its walls."

George Biddle, the distinguished American artist who records this meeting, adds on his own: "Roosevelt had little discrimination in his taste in painting and sculpture. [But] he had a more clear understanding of what art could mean in the life of a community—for the soul of a nation—than any man I have known."

In the year of 1941, Roosevelt himself recalled another President who also found time in the midst of great national trials to concern himself with artistic endeavors. It was in the third year of the Civil War, as Roosevelt told the story in a speech dedicating the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., and men and women had gathered to see the Capitol dome completed and the bronze goddess of liberty set upon the top. "It had been an expensive, a laborious business," Roosevelt said, "diverting labor and money from the prosecution of the war and certain critics . . . found much to criticize. There were new marble pillars in the Senate wing of the Capitol, there was a bronze door for the central portal and other such expenditures and embellishments. But the President of the United States, whose name was Lincoln, when he heard these criticisms, answered: 'If people see the Capitol going on, it is a sign that we intend this Union shall go on.'"

Both Roosevelt and Lincoln understood that the life of the arts, far from being an interruption, a distraction, in the life of a nation, is very close to the center of a nation's purpose—and is a test of the quality of a nation's civilization. That is why we should be glad today that the interest of the Ameri-

can people in the arts seems at a new high.

Looking at the American scene, I am impressed by its diversity and vitality—by the myriad ways in which Americans find enlightenment, exercise, entertainment, and fulfillment. Everyone, young and old, seems to be busy. Our roads and seashores are crowded; the great parks draw visitors in unprecedented numbers. Sports thrive, and even such formerly humdrum activities as buying groceries for the family take on a holiday aspect in the new shopping centers. In the midst of all this activity, it is only natural that people should be more active in pursuit of the arts.

The statistics are gratifying: books have become a billion-dollar business; more money is spent each year in going to concerts than to baseball games; our galleries and museums are crowded; community theaters and community symphony orchestras have spread across the land; there are an estimated 33 million Americans who play musical instruments. And all this expresses, I believe, something more than merely the avidity with which goods of all kinds are being acquired in our exuberant society. A need within contemporary civilization, a hunger for certain values and satisfactions, appears to be urging us all to explore and appreciate areas of life which, in the past, we have sometimes neglected in the United States.

Too often in the past, we have thought of the artist as an idler and dilettante and of the lover of arts as somehow sissy or effete. We have done both an injustice. The life of the artist is, in relation to his work, stern and lonely. He has labored hard, often amid deprivation, to perfect his skill. He has turned aside from quick success in order to strip his vision of everything secondary or cheapening. His working life is marked by intense application and intense discipline. As for the lover of arts, it is he who, by subjecting himself to the sometimes disturbing experience of art, sustains the artist—and seeks only the reward that his life will, in consequence, be the more fully lived.

Today, we recognize increasingly the es-

sentiality of artistic achievement. This is part, I think, of a nationwide movement toward excellence—a movement which had its start in the admiration of expertness and skill in our technical society, but which now demands quality in all realms of human achievement. It is part, too, of a feeling that art is the great unifying and humanizing experience. We know that science, for example, is indispensable—but we also know that science, if divorced from a knowledge of man and of man's ways, can stunt a civilization. And so the educated man—and very often the man who has had the best scientific education—reaches out for the experience which the arts alone provide. He wants to explore the side of life which expresses the emotions and embodies values and ideals of beauty.

Above all, we are coming to understand that the arts incarnate the creativity of a free society. We know that a totalitarian society can promote the arts in its own way—that it can arrange for splendid productions of opera and ballet, as it can arrange for the restoration of ancient and historic buildings. But art means more than the resuscitation of the past: it means the free and unconfined search for new ways of expressing the experience of the present and the vision of the future. When the creative impulse cannot flourish freely, when it cannot freely select its methods and objects, when it is deprived of spontaneity, then society severs the root of art.

Yet this fact surely imposes an obligation on those who acclaim the freedom of their own society—an obligation to accord the arts attention and respect and status, so that what freedom makes possible, a free society will make necessary.

I have called for a higher degree of physical fitness in our nation. It is only natural that I should call, as well, for the kind of intellectual and spiritual fitness which underlies the flowering of the arts.

A nation's government can expect to play only an indirect and marginal role in the arts. Government's essential job—the or-

ganization and administration of great affairs—is too gross and unwieldy for the management of individual genius. But this does not mean that government is not, or should not be, concerned with the arts. A free government is the reflection of a people's will and desire—and ultimately of their taste. It is also, at its best, a leading force, an example and teacher. I would like to see everything government does in the course of its activities marked by high quality. I would like to see the works of government represent the best our artists, designers and builders can achieve. I want to make sure that policies of government do not indirectly or unnecessarily put barriers in the way of the full expression of America's creative genius.

The arts in the United States are, like so many other of our activities, varied and decentralized to a high degree. Private benefactors, foundations, schools and colleges, business corporations, the local community, the city and the State combine in widely differing proportions to organize and support the institutions of culture. I would hope that in the years ahead, as our cultural life develops and takes on new forms, the Federal Government would be prepared to play its proper role in encouraging cultural activities throughout the Nation.

In the Nation's Capital, the Federal Government, of course, has special obligations. There is, first, the fact that the District of Columbia lies directly within Federal jurisdiction. Beyond this, there is the fact that, as the Capital of our Nation, Washington inevitably becomes to a degree a showcase of our culture. In other countries, capitals have been located in great cities with an historic identity and cultural life of their own. But Washington, it has been remarked, is a single-industry town, and that industry is politics and statecraft. Such an environment, some have said, provides barren soil for the arts. Yet, despite this, the community of Washington has done much to welcome and encourage cultural activity.

Still, our vision must look beyond the

pleasure of the community to the leadership of the nation. In this vision, the National Cultural Center will play a vital role. The Center, which Congress has chartered and for which it has given land, aims to be part of a broad effort to stimulate the performing arts. It was not conceived as a group of halls and theaters to benefit Washington audiences alone. Here, visitors and tourists will come throughout the year, bringing back to their communities a sense of what the performance of great works can mean in their lives—and a proud realization that their Nation's Capital is a focus of creative activities. In many other ways, the National Cultural Center will interact with the cultural life of communities across the country. The finest of our symphony orchestras will play here; local repertory theaters and opera and ballet groups, increasing in numbers and professional status, should find their appearance in the Nation's Capital a distinction eagerly sought. The Center will, I hope, become in the broadest sense an educational as well as a cultural institution, helping to stimulate the formation of similar groups in other cities.

Other countries have their national theater and opera, permanently situated in the capital and singled out for their government's special concern. Better fitted to the needs of the United States is the idea of the Cultural Center, a great stage hospitable to the best coming from this country and abroad, an institution encouraging the development of the performing arts in all their diversity of origin and variety of form. I earnestly hope that the backing of citizens across the country will make possible the fulfillment of these plans.

To work for the progress of the arts in America is exciting and fruitful because what we are dealing with touches virtually all the citizens.

There will always be of necessity, in any society, a mere handful of genuinely creative individuals, the men and women who shape in words or images the enduring work of art. Among us, even this group tends to be

enlarged. "I hear America singing," said Walt Whitman. He would certainly hear it singing with many voices if he were alive today.

Outside the group of active participants stands the great audience. Perhaps no country has ever had so many people so eager to share a delight in the arts. Individuals of all trades and professions, of all ages, in all parts of the country, wait for the curtain to rise—wait for the door to open to new enjoyments.

This wonderful equality in the cultural world is an old American phenomenon. De Tocqueville, in the 1830's, described how on the remotest frontier, in a wilderness that seemed "the asylum of all miseries," Americans preserved an interest in cultural and intellectual matters. "You penetrate paths scarcely cleared," said de Tocqueville; "you perceive, finally, a cleared field, a cabin . . . with a tiny window." You might think, he continues, that you have come at last to the home of an American peasant. But you would be wrong. "The man wears the same clothes as you; he speaks the language of the cities. On his rude table are books and newspapers."

The cabin with its tiny window has vanished. Yet we might expect to find its counterparts today in homes which would seem quite as remote from the arts. The suburban housewife harassed by the care of her children, the husband weary after the day's work, young people bent on a good time—these might not appear in a mood to enjoy intellectual or artistic pursuit. Still on the table lie paper-bound reprints of the best books of the ages. By the phonograph is a shelf of recordings of the classics of music. On the wall hang reproductions of the masterpieces of art.

To further the appreciation of culture among all the people, to increase respect for the creative individual, to widen participation by all the processes and fulfillments of art—this is one of the fascinating challenges of these days.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The article was printed in the December 18, 1962, issue of *Look* magazine as part of a special adaptation of "Creative America," a book scheduled to be released in October 1963. The article is printed herein through the courtesy of The Ridge Press, Inc., publisher of the book.

553 Exchange of Remarks With Prime Minister Macmillan Upon Arriving at Windsor Field in Nassau, the Bahamas. December 18, 1962

Prime Minister:

I want to express my appreciation for your warm words of welcome. As you say, this is the sixth meeting that we have had—Key West, twice in Washington, once in London, once in Bermuda, and now in the Bahamas. And I do think it fair to say that we really do much better in warmer climates, so I am delighted that we are here today.

I am not sure that the world is so much better off after our previous five meetings, but I feel that at least as President I have been better off, and have benefited greatly from the counsel and friendship which you have shown to me, Prime Minister, to my predecessor, your old friend General Eisen-

hower, and also to the American people who have a heavy claim laid on you from earliest birth.

I want to express our appreciation to the people of the Bahamas for their welcome. The world looks better today than it did yesterday, and I am sure it's due to our pleasure in being on this island in the sun.

We thank you all for your warm welcome.

NOTE: Prime Minister Macmillan's remarks of welcome follow:

Mr. President:

It is a very great privilege for me to be asked to welcome you most heartily to the Bahamas on your visit here today. We hope that you will enjoy your stay.

I would like to add perhaps that these forms of

meetings that I have had the privilege of having both with you, sir, and your predecessors, mark a most important, indeed vital part in the close association between our countries, who have been through so much together in the past, and who have such high hopes together for the future.

Since I became Prime Minister of the United Kingdom I have had the good fortune to have many meetings, both with you, sir, and your predecessor. Indeed, this is the 16th such meeting that I have had, and as I say, I believe they are of the greatest value.

But they are all the more agreeable when we are allowed to have them in surroundings such as we see here today, and we are very grateful to the Governor, to the administration, and to all the people of the island for their kindness, for their reception of us, for the good will that I am sure you feel, Mr. President, they have toward you and the country of which you are proud to be the head. I trust that the work that we shall do will be, more so because it will be held in such delightful surroundings, effective and fruitful. I welcome you, sir.

554 Joint Statement Following Discussions With Prime Minister Macmillan—The Nassau Agreement. *December 21, 1962*

THE PRESIDENT and the Prime Minister met in Nassau from December 18th to December 21st. They were accompanied by the Secretary of Defense, Mr. McNamara, and the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Ball, and by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, the Minister of Defense, Mr. Thorneycroft and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and Colonies, Mr. Sandys.

The President and the Prime Minister discussed a wide range of topics. They reviewed the state of East-West relations in the aftermath of the October crisis in Cuba, and joined in the hope that a satisfactory resolution of this crisis might open the way to the settlement of other problems outstanding between the West and the Soviet Union.

In particular, they reviewed the present state of the negotiations for a treaty ending nuclear tests, and reaffirmed their intent to seek agreement on this issue with the U.S.S.R., in the hope that this agreement would lead on to successful negotiations on wider issues of disarmament.

As regards Berlin, they reaffirmed their interest in arriving at a solid and enduring settlement which would insure that Berlin remains free and viable.

The Chinese Communist attack on India was discussed with special consideration being given to the way in which the two governments might assist the Government of India to counter this aggression. Defense problems of the subcontinent were reviewed. The Prime Minister and the President are

hopeful that the common interests of Pakistan and India in the security of the subcontinent would lead to a reconciliation of Indian-Pakistan differences. To this end, they expressed their gratification at the statesmanship shown by President Ayub and Prime Minister Nehru in agreeing to renew their efforts to resolve their differences at this crucial moment.

The two leaders discussed the current state of affairs in the Congo, and agreed to continue their efforts for an equitable integration of this troubled country. They expressed support for Mr. Spaak's proposal for a fair division of revenues and noted with concern the dangers of further discord in the Congo.

The Prime Minister informed the President of the present state of negotiations for U.K. membership in the Common Market. The President reaffirmed the interest of the United States in an early and successful outcome.

The President and the Prime Minister also discussed in considerable detail policy on advanced nuclear weapons systems and considered a variety of approaches. The result of this discussion is set out in the attached statement.

STATEMENT ON NUCLEAR DEFENSE SYSTEMS

1. The President and the Prime Minister reviewed the development program for the Skybolt missile. The President explained that it was no longer expected that this very

complex weapons system would be completed within the cost estimate or the time scale which were projected when the program was begun.

2. The President informed the Prime Minister that for this reason and because of the availability to the United States of alternative weapons systems, he had decided to cancel plans for the production of Skybolt for use by the United States. Nevertheless, recognizing the importance of the Skybolt program for the United Kingdom, and recalling that the purpose of the offer of Skybolt to the United Kingdom in 1960 had been to assist in improving and extending the effective life of the British V-bombers, the President expressed his readiness to continue the development of the missile as a joint enterprise between the United States and the United Kingdom, with each country bearing equal shares of the future cost of completing development, after which the United Kingdom would be able to place a production order to meet its requirements.

3. While recognizing the value of this offer, the Prime Minister decided, after full consideration, not to avail himself of it because of doubts that had been expressed about the prospects of success for this weapons system and because of uncertainty regarding date of completion and final cost of the program.

4. As a possible alternative the President suggested that the Royal Air Force might use the Hound Dog missile. The Prime Minister responded that in the light of the technical difficulties he was unable to accept this suggestion.

5. The Prime Minister then turned to the possibility of provision of the Polaris missile to the United Kingdom by the United States. After careful review, the President and the Prime Minister agreed that a decision on Polaris must be considered in the widest context both of the future defense of the Atlantic Alliance and of the safety of the whole Free World. They reached the conclusion that this issue created an opportunity for the development of new and closer

arrangements for the organization and control of strategic Western defense and that such arrangements in turn could make a major contribution to political cohesion among the nations of the Alliance.

6. The Prime Minister suggested and the President agreed, that for the immediate future a start could be made by subscribing to NATO some part of the forces already in existence. This could include allocations from United States Strategic Forces, from United Kingdom Bomber Command, and from tactical nuclear forces now held in Europe. Such forces would be assigned as part of a NATO nuclear force and targeted in accordance with NATO plans.

7. Returning to Polaris the President and the Prime Minister agreed that the purpose of their two governments with respect to the provision of the Polaris missiles must be the development of a multilateral NATO nuclear force in the closest consultation with other NATO allies. They will use their best endeavors to this end.

8. Accordingly, the President and the Prime Minister agreed that the U.S. will make available on a continuing basis Polaris missiles (less warheads) for British submarines. The U.S. will also study the feasibility of making available certain support facilities for such submarines. The U.K. Government will construct the submarines in which these weapons will be placed and they will also provide the nuclear warheads for the Polaris missiles. British forces developed under this plan will be assigned and targeted in the same way as the forces described in paragraph 6.

These forces, and at least equal U.S. forces, would be made available for inclusion in a NATO multilateral nuclear force. The Prime Minister made it clear that except where H.M.G. may decide that supreme national interests are at stake, these British forces will be used for the purposes of international defense of the Western Alliance in all circumstances.

9. The President and the Prime Minister are convinced that this new plan will

strengthen the nuclear defense of the Western Alliance. In strategic terms this defense is indivisible, and it is their conviction that in all ordinary circumstances of crisis or danger, it is this very unity which is the best protection of the West.

10. The President and the Prime Minister

agreed that in addition to having a nuclear shield it is important to have a non-nuclear sword. For this purpose they agreed on the importance of increasing the effectiveness of their conventional forces on a worldwide basis.

555 Proclamation 3511: Emancipation Proclamation Centennial. *December 28, 1962*

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation:

WHEREAS January 1, 1963, marks the centennial of the Proclamation in which President Abraham Lincoln declared all persons held as slaves in States or parts of States still in rebellion to be "then, thenceforward, and forever free"; and

WHEREAS the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation marked the beginning of the end of the iniquitous institution of slavery in the United States, and a great stride toward the fulfillment of the principle of the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness"; and

WHEREAS the Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution of the United States guaranteed to Negro citizens equal rights with all other citizens of the United States and have made possible great progress toward the enjoyment of those rights; and

WHEREAS the goal of equal rights for all our citizens is still unreached, and the securing of these rights is one of the great unfinished tasks of our democracy:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, JOHN F. KENNEDY, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim that the Emancipation Proclamation expresses our Nation's policy, founded on justice and morality, and that it is therefore fitting and proper to commemorate the centennial of the historic Emancipation Proclamation throughout the year 1963.

I call upon the Governors of the States, mayors of cities, and other public officials, as well as private persons, organizations, and groups, to observe the centennial by appropriate ceremonies.

I request the United States Commission on Civil Rights to plan and participate in appropriate commemorative activities recognizing the centennial of the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation; and I also request the Commission on Civil Rights and other Federal agencies to cooperate fully with State and local governments during 1963 in commemorating these events.

I call upon all citizens of the United States and all officials of the United States and of every State and local government to dedicate themselves to the completion of the task of assuring that every American, regardless of his race, religion, color, or national origin, enjoys all the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of [SEAL] the United States of America to be affixed this 28th day of December in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-two and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-sixth.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

By the President:

DEAN RUSK

Secretary of State

NOTE: The proclamation was released at Palm Beach, Fla.

556 Remarks in Miami at the Presentation of the Flag of the Cuban Invasion Brigade. *December 29, 1962*

Commander, Doctor:

I want to express my great appreciation to the brigade for making the United States the custodian of this flag. I can assure you that this flag will be returned to this brigade in a free Havana.

I wonder if Señor Miranda, who preserved this flag through the last 20 months, would come forward so we can meet him.

I wanted to know who I should give it back to.

I always had the impression—I hope the members of the brigade will sit down again—I always had the impression that the brigade was made up of mostly young men, but standing over there is a Cuban patriot 57, one 59, one 61. I wonder if those three could stand so that the people of the United States could realize that they represent the spirit of the Cuban revolution in its best sense.

All of you members of the brigade, and members of their families, are following an historic road, one which has been followed by other Cubans in other days, and, indeed, by other patriots of our hemisphere in other years—Juárez, San Martín, Bolívar, O'Higgins—all of whom fought for liberty, many of whom were defeated, many of whom went in exile, and all of whom came home.

Seventy years ago José Martí, the guiding spirit of the first Cuban struggle for independence, lived on these shores. At that time in 1889, the first International American Conference was held, and Cuba was not present. Then, as now, Cuba was the only state in the hemisphere still controlled by a foreign monarch. Then, as now, Cuba was excluded from the society of free nations. And then, as now, brave men in Florida and New York dedicated their lives and their energies to the freedom of their homeland.

The brigade comes from behind prison walls, but you leave behind you more than six million of your fellow countrymen who

are also in a very real sense in prison, for Cuba is today, as Martí described it many years ago, as beautiful as Greece, and stretched out in chains—a prison, moated by water.

On behalf of my Government and my country, I welcome you to the United States. I bring you my Nation's respect for your courage and for your cause. Our primary gratitude for your liberation must go to the heroic efforts of the Cuban Families Committee, Mr. Sánchez and others, and their able and skilled negotiator, Mr. James Donovan, and those many private American citizens who gave so richly of their time and their energies in order to save free men of Cuba from Castro's dungeons, and to reunite you with your families and friends.

Their efforts had a significance beyond the important desire to salvage individual human beings. For your small brigade is a tangible reaffirmation that the human desire for freedom and independence is essentially unconquerable. Your conduct and valor are proof that although Castro and his fellow dictators may rule nations, they do not rule people; that they may imprison bodies, but they do not imprison spirits; that they may destroy the exercise of liberty, but they cannot eliminate the determination to be free. And by helping to free you, the United States has been given the opportunity to demonstrate once again that all men who fight for freedom are our brothers, and shall be until your country and others are free.

The Cuban people were promised by the revolution political liberty, social justice, intellectual freedom, land for the *campesinos*, and an end to economic exploitation. They have received a police state, the elimination of the dignity of land ownership, the destruction of free speech and of free press, and the complete subjugation of individual human welfare to the service of the state and of foreign states.

Under the *Alianza para el Progreso*, we support for Cuba and for all the countries of this hemisphere the right of free elections and the free exercise of basic human freedoms. We support land reform and the right of every *campesino* to own the land he tills. We support the effort of every free nation to pursue programs of economic progress. We support the right of every free people to freely transform the economic and political institutions of society so that they may serve the welfare of all.

These are the principles of the *Alianza para el Progreso*. They are the principles we support for Cuba. These are the principles for which men have died and fought, and they are the principles for which you fought and for which some died in your brigade. And I believe these are the principles of the great majority of the Cuban people today. And I am confident that all over the island of Cuba, in the Government itself, in the Army, and in the militia, there are many who hold to this freedom faith, who have viewed with dismay the destruction of freedom on their island, and who are determined to restore that freedom so that the Cuban people may once more govern themselves.

I know that exile is a difficult life for any free man. But I am confident that you recognize that you hold a position of responsibility to the day when Cuba is once again free. To this end, it is important that you submerge momentary differences in a common united front; that the brigade, those who serve in the brigade, will work together to keep alive the spirit of the brigade so that some day the people of Cuba will have a free chance to make a free choice. So I think it incumbent upon all of you who are here today to work together, to submerge those differences which now may disturb you, to the united end that Cuba is free, and then make a free choice as to what kind of a government and what kind of a country you freely wish to build.

The brigade is the point of the spear, the arrow's head. I hope they and the members of their families will take every opportunity to educate your children, yourselves, in the many skills and disciplines which will be necessary when Cuba is once more free.

Finally, I can offer no better advice than that given by José Martí to his fellow exiles in 1895 when the hour of Cuban independence was then at hand. "Let the tenor of our words be," Martí said, "especially in public matters, not the useless clamor of fear's vengeance which does not enter our hearts, but the honest weariness of an oppressed people who hope through their emancipation from a government convicted of uselessness and malevolence for a government of their own, which is capable and worthy." "Let them see in us," Martí said, "constructive Americans and not empty bitterness."

Gentlemen of the brigade, I need not tell you how happy I am to welcome you here to the United States, and what a profound impression your conduct during some of the most difficult days and months that any free people have experienced—what a profound impression your conduct made upon not only the people of this country, but all the people of this hemisphere. Even in prison you served in the strongest possible way the cause of freedom, as you do today.

I can assure you that it is the strongest wish of the people of this country, as well as the people of this hemisphere, that Cuba shall one day be free again, and when it is, this brigade will deserve to march at the head of the free column.

NOTE: The President spoke from a platform erected near midfield in the Orange Bowl at Miami, Fla., following the presentation of the flag by Erneido Oliva, second in command of the 2506th Cuban Invasion Brigade. The President's opening words "Commander, Doctor" referred to José Pérez San Ramón, military commander of the invasion brigade, and José Miro Cardona, president of the Cuban Revolutionary Council. Later he referred to

Secundo Miranda, who during the invasion escaped with the brigade's flag and took refuge in an embassy in Havana; Alvaro Sánchez, Jr., chairman of the Cuban Families Committee; and James Donovan, a New York City attorney, who had negotiated with

the Cuban Government for the release of the Bay of Pigs prisoners.

Immediately after the President's remarks Mrs. Kennedy spoke briefly in Spanish. The text of her remarks was also released.

557 Partial Transcript of a Background Press Interview at Palm Beach. December 31, 1962

THE PRESIDENT [*in reply to a question concerning the pact of Nassau and the problems facing him in connection with it*]. Well, I think it would seem to me that if anybody bothered to read the pact in detail—we made several offers to the British. First, the British position on it has been, I know, somewhat critical. In the first place, we did offer the Skybolt. We offered a 50-50 split in finishing the Skybolt, even though we, ourselves, weren't going to buy any, and the British could have bought them. So I don't think it can be charged that the United States was in any way attempting to make a political decision rather than a technical one.

The fact is this administration put a lot of money into Skybolt. We increased the funds substantially after 1961 in an effort to finish it successfully. We speeded up the program. As I say, at Nassau we offered to go 50-50 in completing the research even though we were not going to buy it, so that the British would not lack its own deterrent if it chose to exercise that option. So that was one of the choices.

The other was, of course, the Hound Dog, which presented technical problems for the British, and the third was the Polaris. I think that the British selected the Polaris option, first, because of the technical problems connected with Skybolt and, secondly, because Polaris offers a hope of being an effective deterrent for a much longer period than Skybolt, through the seventies.

In addition, I do find it peculiar that these people who say that we are trying to phase out the manned bombers and have an over-reliance on missiles, when the Skybolt is the most complicated missile of them all—to

read that point of view, you would think that Skybolt was a gravity bomb rather than a missile which is going to fly itself from a movable base 1,000 miles. So Skybolt is the top of the art of missilery.

You are almost going around a full circle to use the Skybolt. What you are joining together is a weapon which time is dealing some blows to, which is the bomber, and you are joining the most sophisticated missile and putting them together.

It seemed to us with our other alternatives we were better off to put our money some place else. But in any case, I felt that the offer we made to the British was in keeping with both our technical and moral obligations to them, and I think that the arrangement we made was in the best interest of the United States, Britain, and the alliance, because the British will have their deterrent. It will be independent in moments of great national peril, which is really the only time you consider using nuclear weapons anyway. It will serve as a basis for a multinational force or multilateral force.

It may be that that will not develop. There are technical problems connected with it. . . .

Our whole policy has been against the diversion of resources towards independent national deterrents. We think it doesn't make strategic sense, and we think it really would cost the Europeans a great deal of money.

We have been putting in, as has been said before—we are spending perhaps \$15 billion this year for our nuclear deterrent, which is as much as the budget of all of Europe combined for all its forces. To begin to

have these national deterrents which will amount to a fraction of our deterrent really seems to me to be a waste of resources and to take resources away from the buildup of other forces which I think are more vitally needed.

So we have the problem of whether—on the other hand, there is the desire of Europe for a European deterrent or greater control over the deterrent. The question really would be whether a deterrent composed of a multinational force made up of the British, the Americans, and French elements, whether they would satisfy the desires of other Europeans to have a greater control over the use of nuclear weapons.

We have proposed to satisfy the others, the multilateral force, or multilateral elements of this force. This is a matter of concern, of course, to several other countries in Europe beside France. I think this is one of the great problems of the alliance in 1963, whether the alliance will begin to fragment into national deterrents which will cost great sums of money, and cause political and strategic imbalances, or whether it will be possible for us to work out some arrangements which will give Europe a greater degree and feeling of security.

There is always the argument in Europe that the United States might leave Europe, which is, of course, in my opinion, fallacious, because the United States can never leave Europe. We are too much bound together. If we left Europe, Europe would be more exposed to the Communists. It is just that until the United States is ready to give up its struggle, we are not going to leave Europe. So we are not going to leave Europe.

But, nevertheless, there are those who argue that we are going to leave Europe, or that this complete control over the nuclear weapons gives the United States too great a voice in the destiny of Europe. Therefore, we are attempting to lessen that feeling of overdependence by this multinational proposal and the root of it is the Nassau agreement, or the seed of it. Whether it is going

to flower or not, we ought to be able to tell in 1963. It will depend partly, as I say, on the political decisions, the technical decisions, of the French and ourselves.

This isn't just a French problem, but it is our own and the British, and also the response of the other members of NATO. In order to provide greater cohesion in the alliance, we don't want to have a situation develop which provides less cohesion.

I would say it will take a good many weeks, possibly months, to work this out. It isn't something that the French or anyone else can give an answer to of yes or no.

Q. Sir, can you foresee any situation in which that phrase "in the supreme national interest" might have any practical application, or why it was included in the pact?

THE PRESIDENT. Because I don't think the British wanted to put the kind of investment we are talking about into the development of Polaris, which would cost them a good deal of money, unless they felt there might come an occasion, conceivably, where the British would be alone and would need this force. They wanted to feel free to have it. It is difficult to conceive of such a situation. I suppose they might argue that Suez might have been isolated, although as a practical matter I don't think they were then, in the nuclear sense, but they might if they were threatened with a bombardment of their island. They might feel they wanted to have the capacity to respond, or at least say they had the capacity, and if there was an attack, to respond.

We hope the situation will not come where they are isolated that way again. But I think they are conscious of that history. That doesn't mean where they threatened to use nuclear weapons against Nasser, but where they were threatened with a nuclear attack by the Soviets, they might not have felt they had sufficient means to respond. This is when there was a division in the alliance. So I think that is probably in their minds.

Q. It being a political problem in Britain, Mr. President, that they have an independent nuclear deterrent, was that phrase kind of—

not a symbolic bow to that problem that they have at home?

THE PRESIDENT. It was not merely symbolic. It was a recognition. I think probably the interest of any nation, if they are going to put that much of an effort into it, every nation is conscious that there may be a moment when it is isolated and when its national interests are involved.

The British have had several of those experiences. They had them certainly at the beginning of the second war. So I think the concept of their having to be alone is rather a strong one in the British. Yet to operate in the case of Cuba, we had the support of the alliance. We might have had a situation where we didn't. I think we would probably want to feel that after due notice, we had some control over these weapons. . . .

Q. Mr. President, this may be overgeneralizing, or oversimplifying, but a few things in recent months, like Cuba, the job at Nassau, the mention of the Congo, have given me the impression that you are moving in asserting a more positive leadership for the United States in this alliance and in the world, having in mind what you said in the television interview about how we have been financing the thing all along. Are you conscious of such a deliberate effort to move into more positive assertions?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, I think we are more aware, probably, that we are going to incur at intervals people's displeasure. This is sort of a revolving cycle. At least I think the United States ought to be more aware

of it, and I think too often in the past we have defined our leadership as an attempt to be rather well regarded in all these countries. The fact is, you can't possibly carry out any policy without causing major frictions . . . The Congo is so difficult that no one can predict what the results will be, but at least we have been following a policy somewhat different from that of Great Britain, and somewhat different from other countries, in giving the United Nations more direct support. Obviously, there are elements in Europe which have opposed that policy. We have a similar problem in the case of India and Pakistan, where we believe that the defense of the subcontinent can only be assured by reconciliation between these countries, but obviously both of them get dissatisfied with us because either the negotiations don't proceed fast enough in the case of Pakistan, or India feels that the United States is attempting to put too much influence into a settlement.

So I think what we have to do is to be ready to accept a good deal more expressions of newspaper and governmental opposition to the United States in order to get something done than we have perhaps been willing to do in the past. I don't expect that the United States will be more beloved, but I would hope that we could get more done.

NOTE: The interview was held on December 31, 1962, in the living room of the President's vacation residence at Palm Beach, Fla. The partial transcript was released on January 10, 1963, in Washington.

Appendix A—White House Press Releases, 1962

NOTE: Includes releases covering matters with which the President was closely concerned, except announcements of Presidential personnel appointments and approvals of legislation with which there was no accompanying statement.

Releases relating to Proclamations and Executive orders have not been included. These documents are separately listed in Appendix B.

For list of Press and Radio Conferences, see subject index under "News conferences."

January

- 1 Announcement by the Fine Arts Committee for the White House concerning gifts and loans of furnishings
- 2 Report by the Attorney General on the fight against organized crime
- 3 White House announcement of the activation of two new Regular Army divisions
- 4 Exchange of messages with President Nazim al-Qudsi of the Syrian Arab Republic on the occasion of his inauguration
- 4 White House announcement of AID mission to the Dominican Republic
- 5 Message to Chancellor Adenauer on his 86th birthday
- 5 White House statement concerning report by the Vice President on the activities of the Space Council
- 6 White House announcement of mission to study foot and mouth disease and meat processing in Argentina
- 6 Remarks in Columbus at a birthday dinner for Governor DiSalle
- 7 White House announcement of agreement to barter agricultural commodities for beryllium
- 7 Statement by the President following a meeting with General Clay on the Berlin situation
- 8 Letter from the chairman of a panel to review Federal civilian pay systems
- 9 Remarks to the Vienna Choir Boys
- 10 White House statement concerning 1961 report on Food for Peace program
- 11 White House announcement concerning Federal aid for the Oroville Dam in California
- 11 Statement by the President on receiving report on automation by the Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy
- 11 White House statement making public a report on automation by the Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy

January

- 11 Annual message to the Congress on the State of the Union
- 13 Memorandum from Secretary Ribicoff on radiation protection activities of Federal agencies
- 15 White House statement concerning report of Board of Visitors to the Naval Academy
- 15 White House announcement of a new depreciation schedule for apparel manufacturing machinery and equipment
- 16 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on reorganization of the Department of the Army
- 16 White House announcement of second White House musical program for youth
- 16 Statement by the President at a meeting of the Business Ethics Advisory Council
- 17 White House statement making public the report on the White House Regional Conferences
- 17 Summary report by the Chairman of the President's Committee on Traffic Safety
- 17 Statement by the President in response to report of the Committee on Traffic Safety
- 17 Remarks upon signing orders relating to personnel management in the Federal Service
- 18 Annual Budget Message to the Congress, Fiscal Year 1963
- 19 Remarks at the conference opening the 1962 Savings Bond Campaign
- 20 White House announcement of forthcoming visit by President Goulart of Brazil
- 20 Address at the inaugural anniversary dinner
- 22 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting the Economic Report
- 22 Message to the Congress presenting the President's first Economic Report
- 22 White House announcement of request for supplemental appropriations for the Veterans Administration

Appendix A

January

- 22 Statement by the President concerning the Dominican Republic
- 22 Exchange of letters with Ronald Ngala following U.S. disaster assistance to Kenya
- 22 White House announcement of formation of Defense Study Group on Military Compensation
- 23 Remarks to the National Conference on Milk and Nutrition
- 23 Memorandum to Federal agencies on the Red Cross campaign
- 24 White House announcement of special telecast to raise funds for the National Cultural Center
- 24 White House announcement of additional members of the President's Committee on Youth Employment
- 25 Special message to the Congress reporting settlement of the 1961 maritime strike
- 25 Special message to the Congress on foreign trade policy
- 25 White House announcement of trip by Chester Bowles to the Middle East, Africa, and the Far East
- 30 White House announcement of a uniform, Government-wide, small business subcontracting program
- 30 White House announcement of reorganization plan to establish a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing
- 30 Special message to the Congress transmitting Reorganization Plan 1 of 1962
- 30 Special message to the Congress transmitting a bill for the purchase of United Nations bonds
- 31 Special message to the Congress on agriculture
- 31 Message to the Congress transmitting report "United States Aeronautics and Space Activities, 1961"
- 31 Report by the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission

February

- 1 Special message to the Congress on public welfare programs
- 1 Message to the Congress transmitting first annual report of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
- 1 Remarks of welcome to the members of the U.S. delegation upon their return from the Punta del Este conference
- 2 Letter accepting resignation of Frank B. Ellis as Director of Emergency Planning

February

- 2 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting bill to authorize U.S. loans to the International Monetary Fund
- 2 White House announcement of the forthcoming visit of the King of Saudi Arabia
- 2 White House statement concerning report of mission to study foot and mouth disease in Argentina
- 3 White House statement concerning the embargo on trade with Cuba
- 3 Statement by the President upon approving bill relating to distribution of General Motors shares
- 5 White House statement concerning importation of Israeli wheat flour for religious purposes
- 5 Message to the people of Viet-Nam on the occasion of their New Year celebration
- 5 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Adoula of the Republic of the Congo
- 6 Remarks at the presentation to the White House of President Wilson's typewriter
- 6 Special message to the Congress on education
- 6 White House announcement of appointments to the President's Committee on Traffic Safety
- 7 Remarks at the signing by leading employers of equal opportunity agreements
- 7 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting a communications satellite bill
- 7 White House announcement of requests for supplemental appropriations
- 7 White House announcement of requested increase in the 1963 budget for the Office of Territories
- 7 White House announcement of requested increase in the 1963 budget for the Patent Office
- 8 Joint statement with the British Government concerning nuclear tests
- 9 White House announcement of appointments to two commissions to deal with deferred issues in New York Harbor labor cases
- 9 White House announcement concerning the display of the Torah presented to the President in 1961
- 9 White House statement concerning tariffs on lead, zinc, clothes pins, stainless steel flatware, and safety pins
- 10 White House announcement of memorandum on conflicts of interest on the part of advisers and consultants to the Government

Appendix A

February

- 12 Joint message with Prime Minister Macmillan to Chairman Khrushchev on the forthcoming disarmament negotiations in Geneva
- 12 Remarks to the members of the President's Commission on the Status of Women
- 13 Remarks of welcome to King Saud of Saudi Arabia at Andrews Air Force Base
- 13 Joint statement following discussions with King Saud
- 13 Toasts of the President and King Saud
- 13 List of acquisitions by the Special Committee for White House Paintings
- 14 Remarks to the Policy Committee of the Communications Workers of America
- 14 White House statement making public a report by the advisory panel on Federal pay systems
- 14 Message to Chairman Khrushchev concerning the forthcoming disarmament negotiations in Geneva
- 14 Remarks at the presentation of an award to the National Association of Broadcasters
- 15 Letter authorizing Federal flood relief assistance to Idaho
- 15 White House statement concerning the forthcoming visit of President Goulart of Brazil
- 15 White House announcement of completion of depreciation revision for the textile industry
- 15 Announcement listing acquisitions by White House Committees on Fine Arts and Paintings
- 16 White House statement making public the text of the Long Term Cotton Textile Arrangement
- 16 Remarks to a group of visiting foreign educators
- 16 White House announcement of the forthcoming visit of the President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon
- 17 Message to President Kekkonen of Finland on the occasion of his reelection
- 18 Announcement concerning third White House musical program for youth
- 19 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting a proposed Standby Capital Improvements Act
- 19 Statement by the President upon meeting with Labor Minister Franco Montoro of Brazil
- 20 Special message to the Congress on Federal pay reform
- 20 Remarks following the orbital flight of Col. John H. Glenn, Jr.

February

- 20 Telephone conversation with Colonel Glenn aboard the the U.S.S. *Noa*
- 21 White House announcement of the forthcoming visit of the Prime Minister of Norway
- 21 White House announcement of the forthcoming visit of President Makarios of Cyprus
- 21 White House announcement of appointment of Dr. Rafael Pico as Special Representative of the President in the Dominican Republic
- 21 Remarks upon receiving a progress report on area redevelopment in southern Illinois
- 21 Reply to Chairman Khrushchev's message on the flight of Colonel Glenn
- 22 White House announcement of appointments to the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations
- 23 Remarks at Cape Canaveral upon presenting awards to Dr. Robert R. Gilruth and Col. John H. Glenn, Jr.
- 23 Citation accompanying the NASA Distinguished Service Medal presented to Col. John H. Glenn, Jr.
- 25 White House announcement of initial appointments to the President's Committee on the National Medal of Science
- 25 Message to Chairman Khrushchev concerning the forthcoming disarmament negotiations in Geneva
- 26 White House announcement of loans to Argentina under the Alliance for Progress program
- 26 Remarks on the 20th anniversary of the Voice of America
- 26 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting a bill to continue and expand the Peace Corps
- 27 White House announcement of the acquisition of a portrait of Alexander Hamilton
- 27 Special message to the Congress on national health needs
- 28 Statement by the President upon receiving report of the Presidential Railroad Commission
- 28 Summary fact sheet for the press concerning the Presidential Railroad Commission
- 28 Report of the Presidential Railroad Commission
- 28 Statement by the President recorded for the opening of the Red Cross campaign

March

- 1 Remarks at the 10th Annual Presidential Prayer Breakfast
- 1 Special message to the Congress on conservation

Appendix A

March

- 1 White House announcement of nominations to the General Advisory Committee of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
- 1 Remarks at the White House to members of the American Legion
- 2 White House announcement of additional appointments to the American Food for Peace Council
- 2 Radio and television address to the American people "Nuclear Testing and Disarmament"
- 5 White House announcement and text of report on foot and mouth disease in Argentina
- 5 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House proposing to amend the Small Business Act
- 6 Message to Chairman Khrushchev concerning the opening of the Geneva disarmament negotiations
- 6 White House announcement of appointment of Arthur H. Dean as Permanent Chairman of U.S. delegation to the Geneva disarmament conference
- 7 Veto of bill for the relief of Charles J. Utterback (Congressional Record, March 8, 1962, p. 3277)
- 7 Remarks at the 18th Annual Washington Conference of the Advertising Council
- 7 Special messages to the Congress on the trade agreements concluded at the Geneva tariff conference
- 9 Statement to the President by the public advisers to the U.S. delegation to the Geneva tariff conference
- 10 Excerpts from prepared text of address at dinner honoring Senator Smathers
- 10 Address in Miami Beach at a fundraising dinner in honor of Senator Smathers
- 12 Message to the people of Greece on the 15th anniversary of the Truman Doctrine
- 12 Message to the people of Turkey on the 15th anniversary of the Truman Doctrine
- 12 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on the unemployment compensation system
- 12 Remarks on accepting invitation to address a rally in support of medical care for the aged
- 12 Message to the American Association for the United Nations
- 13 Special message to the Congress on foreign aid
- 13 Statement by Senator Mansfield following a meeting with the President on the eve of the Geneva disarmament conference

March

- 13 White House announcement of request for supplemental appropriations for participation in New York World's Fair, 1964-65
- 13 White House announcement of the conversion of the Presidential yacht *Williamsburg* for oceanographic research
- 13 Remarks of welcome to President Ahidjo of the Cameroon at the Washington National Airport
- 13 Toasts of the President and President Ahidjo
- 13 Advance text of address on first anniversary of Alliance for Progress
- 13 Address on the first anniversary of the Alliance for Progress
- 14 Joint statement following discussions with President Ahidjo of the Cameroon
- 14 Joint statement following discussions with Deputy Prime Minister McEwen of Australia
- 14 Letter to Secretary Rusk on the opening of the Geneva disarmament conference
- 15 Statement by the President upon signing the Manpower Development and Training Act
- 15 Message to the Congress transmitting the 15th annual report on U.S. participation in the United Nations
- 15 Special message to the Congress on protecting the consumer interest
- 15 Statement by the President on protecting the consumer interest
- 16 Joint statement with the President of Mexico concerning the salinity of waters delivered under the 1944 treaty with Mexico
- 16 White House statement concerning order amending the Manual for Courts-Martial
- 17 Statement by the President on St. Patrick's Day
- 18 Message to Chairman Khrushchev proposing joint action in the exploration of outer space
- 18 Statement by the President on the French-Algerian cease-fire agreement
- 19 White House announcement of request for supplemental appropriations for storm relief
- 19 Letter to chairmen, Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Committees, concerning tariff decisions
- 19 Statement by the President upon signing order relating to the administration of the Ryukyu Islands
- 20 Letter to the Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, on the development of civilian nuclear power

Appendix A

March

- 20 Statement by the President upon approving amendments to the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act
- 20 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting a bill to stimulate construction of coal pipelines
- 20 Text of bill to encourage construction of coal pipelines
- 20 Remarks of welcome to President Olympio of Togo at the Washington National Airport
- 20 Toasts of the President and President Olympio
- 21 White House announcement of the appointment of a group to study the New Haven Railroad
- 21 Joint statement following discussions with President Olympio of Togo
- 21 Message to Governor General Gopallawa of Ceylon
- 22 Letter to the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee on the tax bill
- 22 Letter from the Chairman, Senate Committee on the National Stockpile, requesting declassification of information on stockpile materials
- 23 Address in Berkeley at the University of California
- 26 Remarks upon presenting a Congressional award to Robert Frost
- 26 Letter to the Chairmen, House and Senate Public Works Committees, proposing a capital improvements program for depressed areas
- 26 White House announcement of establishment of Citizens Advisory Council to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime
- 27 Statement by leading physicians endorsing Social Security financing of medical care
- 27 Remarks upon receiving a statement by a group of physicians on medical care for the aged
- 28 Remarks upon presenting "E" awards for exports promotion
- 28 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting a report on balance of payments
- 29 Statement by the President on nuclear test inspection
- 29 Remarks on the 20th anniversary of the Inter-American Defense Board
- 29 Special message to the Congress transmitting Reorganization Plan 2 of 1962
- 30 White House announcement of forthcoming visit of President Macapagal of the Philippines

March

- 30 Statement by the President upon appointing Byron White to the Supreme Court
- 31 Statement by the President on the need for extending the unemployment compensation program
- 31 Transcript of telephone messages to labor and management leaders following the steel settlement
- 31 White House announcement of a letter from western Governors pledging support of the Federal reclamation program

April

- 1 Message to the UNESCO meeting of Asian Ministers of Education in Tokyo
- 2 Memorandum establishing Committee on Corporate Pension Funds and Other Private Retirement and Welfare Programs
- 2 Memorandum establishing Committee on Federal Credit Programs
- 2 Memorandum establishing Committee on Financial Institutions
- 2 Statement by the President on the 50th anniversary of the International Joint Commission, U.S. and Canada
- 2 White House statement on the 1963 budget for the District of Columbia
- 2 White House statement on the 1963 budget for civil functions of the Corps of Engineers
- 2 White House announcement of request for additional funds for the Ryukyu Islands
- 2 White House statement on the 1963 budget for military functions of the Defense Department
- 2 White House announcement of establishment of Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the Interior Department
- 3 Remarks of welcome to President Goulart of Brazil at Andrews Air Force Base
- 3 Toasts of the President and President Goulart
- 3 Statement by the President on the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs
- 3 White House announcement of request for supplemental appropriations
- 4 Joint statement following discussions with President Goulart of Brazil
- 4 Remarks to representatives of State Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committees
- 4 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting bill to create a land conservation fund

Appendix A

April

- 5 Special message to the Congress on transportation
- 6 Statement by the President marking National Library Week
- 6 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting bill to broaden self-government in the Virgin Islands
- 9 Message to President Macapagal of the Philippines on Bataan Day
- 9 Remarks on the 50th anniversary of the Children's Bureau
- 9 Remarks upon proclaiming Voluntary Overseas Aid Week
- 9 White House statement concerning report on the Food for Peace program
- 9 Message to the Congress transmitting 15th semi-annual report under Public Law 480
- 10 Joint statement with the United Kingdom on nuclear testing
- 10 Message to Admiral Dennison on the 10th anniversary of the NATO naval headquarters at Norfolk
- 10 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on extension of temporary unemployment compensation
- 10 White House statement on water resources development projects in Alaska and the Columbia River Basin
- 11 Letter to Senator Eastland on pending legislation relating to drug marketing
- 11 Remarks of welcome to the Shah and the Empress of Iran at the Washington National Airport
- 11 Statement by the President on the release of National Guard and Reserve units
- 11 Toasts of the President and the Shah of Iran
- 11 Report by the Board of Inquiry on the West Coast maritime strike
- 12 Statement by the President on equal opportunity in housing
- 12 White House announcement of forthcoming visit by André Malraux, French Minister for Cultural Affairs
- 12 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting a report on employee training
- 12 Joint statement following discussions with the President of the European Economic Community
- 12 Statement by the President following a meeting with General Clay on the Berlin situation

April

- 13 Letter to President Goulart on the signing of an Alliance for Progress agreement with Brazil
- 13 Joint statement following discussions with the Shah of Iran
- 14 Remarks aboard the U.S.S. *Enterprise* after observing naval maneuvers
- 14 Remarks at the Marine Air Station, Cherry Point, N.C.
- 16 Veto of bill for the relief of Mrs. Chow Shui Ha (Congressional Record, April 16, 1962, p. 6120)
- 16 White House statement concerning the 1963 budget for the Interior Department
- 16 Remarks at the White House musical program for youth
- 16 White House announcement concerning Interior Department appropriations for power line construction
- 16 Statement by the President proposing arbitration of the Pan American World Airways labor dispute
- 17 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House concerning the Federal Reserve System
- 18 Statement by the President concerning the Pan American World Airways labor dispute
- 18 White House announcement of the forthcoming visit of the President of the Ivory Coast
- 18 White House statement making public the report of the President's Commission on Campaign Costs
- 18 White House summary of U.S. outline treaty on disarmament
- 19 Letter to the Secretary of Commerce and to the Housing and Home Finance Administrator concerning urban transportation
- 19 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on withholding of Federal employee organization dues
- 19 White House announcement concerning appropriations for the Bureau of Land Management
- 19 White House announcement concerning funds for the Delaware River Basin Commission and the U.S. Study Commission—Texas
- 20 Letter accepting resignation of Philip H. Coombs as Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs
- 20 White House announcement making public Science Advisory Committee report "Strengthening the Behavioral Sciences"
- 21 Remarks in Palm Beach upon opening by remote control the Seattle World's Fair

Appendix A

April

- 22 Transcript of interview with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt recorded for national educational television
- 27 Remarks of welcome to Prime Minister Macmillan at Andrews Air Force Base
- 27 Remarks at the White House Correspondents and News Photographers Associations dinner
- 28 Remarks to a group of descendants of Civil War Medal of Honor winners
- 28 Letter to Chairmen, Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Committees, concerning the tariff on straight pins
- 28 White House announcement of a dinner to honor Nobel Prize winners
- 29 Joint statement following discussions with Prime Minister Macmillan
- 29 Remarks at a dinner honoring Nobel Prize winners of the Western Hemisphere
- 30 Address before the United States Chamber of Commerce on its 50th anniversary
- 30 White House announcement of a forthcoming conference on conservation

May

- 1 Letter to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House on Federal research and development contracts
- 1 Statement by the President upon receiving a report on collective bargaining and industrial peace
- 1 Statement by the President on the Freedom Savings Bond Drive
- 1 Statement by the President on the first anniversary of the Area Redevelopment Act
- 1 White House announcement of the conveyance of Federal lands to the State of Hawaii
- 1 Statement by the President upon signing bill providing for educational television
- 1 White House statement concerning import quotas on tung oil and tung nuts
- 1 White House announcement of European visit by Press Secretary Pierre Salinger
- 2 Letter accepting resignation of Elvis J. Stahr, Jr., as Secretary of the Army
- 3 Letter to the President of the National Civil Service League concerning Federal pay reform
- 3 Toasts of the President and Chancellor Gorbach of Austria
- 3 Joint statement following discussions with Chancellor Gorbach
- 4 Statement by the President upon receiving the emergency board's report in a railroad labor dispute

May

- 4 Address in New Orleans at the opening of the new Dockside Terminal
- 4 Remarks in New Orleans at a civic reception
- 4 Remarks at Eglin Air Force Base, Fla., after witnessing a flying demonstration
- 7 Remarks to a group of Civil Air Patrol Cadets
- 8 Address in Atlantic City at the convention of the United Auto Workers
- 8 Message to the veterans association of Brazil on the anniversary of V-E Day
- 8 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House concerning standby authority to reduce income taxes
- 9 Remarks to members of the Commerce Committee for the Alliance for Progress
- 9 White House announcement of budget requests for the Federal Communications Commission and the District of Columbia
- 9 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Gerhardsen of Norway
- 10 Letter to Representative Rivers on the naming of the nuclear submarine *John C. Calhoun*
- 10 Remarks at a reception for foreign students on the White House lawn
- 10 White House announcement of budget request for the Department of Labor
- 10 Remarks on plans for a permanent scientific and industrial exposition in Washington
- 11 Announcement of a forthcoming ballet performance at the White House
- 11 Remarks upon presenting lifesaving awards to members of the School Safety Patrol
- 11 Joint statement following discussions with Prime Minister Gerhardsen of Norway
- 11 Toasts of the President and André Malraux, French Minister for Cultural Affairs
- 12 White House announcement of the third inter-American music festival
- 12 Remarks to groups interested in improving sales of agricultural products abroad
- 12 Address in Milwaukee at the Jefferson-Jackson dinner
- 13 Letter accepting resignation of Harris Wofford as Special Assistant to the President
- 13 Memorandum on report "The Competition for Quality" by the Federal Council for Science and Technology
- 14 Remarks at ceremonies honoring the Teacher of the Year

Appendix A

May

- 14 Remarks to visiting members of the Mexican Congress
- 14 Remarks by telephone to the Mayors' Conference at Miami Beach
- 15 Statement by the President on the postponement of a visit by the President of the Philippines
- 15 Statement by the President announcing the dispatch of additional U.S. forces to Thailand
- 15 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting a proposed Senior Citizens Act
- 15 White House announcement of order establishing the President's Council on Aging
- 15 Message to the Congress transmitting report on Federal disaster relief assistance
- 16 Remarks to members of the Committee for Economic Development
- 16 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on transfer of surplus Federal lands to State and local bodies
- 16 Memorandum on development of water resources
- 17 Letter to the Senior U.S. Adviser to the South Pacific Commission
- 17 Remarks to participants in the World Food Forum
- 17 Advance text of address before the Conference on Trade Policy
- 17 Address before the Conference on Trade Policy
- 19 White House announcement of increased relief food shipments to Brazil
- 19 Excerpts from prepared text of remarks in New York City at the dedication of the Penn Station South Urban Renewal Project
- 19 Remarks in New York City at the dedication of the Penn Station South Urban Renewal Project
- 19 Excerpts from prepared text of remarks in response to New York's birthday salute to the President
- 19 Remarks in response to New York's birthday salute to the President
- 20 Address at a New York rally in support of the President's program of medical care for the aged
- 20 White House announcement of the forthcoming visit of the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg
- 21 Remarks to members of the White House Conference on National Economic Issues
- 21 Message to the Congress transmitting the 43d report on lend-lease operations

May

- 21 Statement by the President on the arbitration of the Pan American Airways labor dispute
- 21 White House announcement of a budget request for the Atomic Energy Commission
- 22 Remarks to participants in the Campaign Conference for Democratic Women
- 22 Remarks of welcome to President and Mrs. Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast at the Washington National Airport
- 22 Toasts of the President and President Houphouet-Boigny
- 23 Remarks to State Directors of the Selective Service System
- 23 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House concerning research grants to colleges and universities
- 24 Remarks at the cornerstone laying ceremonies of the Rayburn House Office Building
- 24 Joint statement following discussions with the President of the Ivory Coast
- 24 White House announcement of budget requests for the Bureau of Reclamation
- 24 Telephone conversation with astronaut Scott Carpenter following his flight
- 25 Statement by the President upon signing bill revising tariff classifications
- 25 Letter to Secretary Goldberg upon receiving his report on the Federal Employee-Management Relations Program
- 25 Remarks to the White House Conference on Conservation
- 26 Remarks to members of the National Council of Senior Citizens
- 26 White House statement concerning the report of the President's Commission on Campaign Costs
- 27 Statement announcing appointments to White House arts committees and gifts of sculpture to the White House
- 28 Statement by the President upon receiving report of the White House Committee on Small Business
- 29 White House announcement of the forthcoming visit of President Chiari of Panama
- 29 Statement by the President announcing a forthcoming White House Conference on Narcotics
- 29 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting bills to carry out recommendations of the Commission on Campaign Costs

Appendix A

May

- 29 Special message to the Congress transmitting agreement with Belgium for cooperation on uses of atomic energy for mutual defense
- 29 Memorandum concerning agreement with Belgium for cooperation on uses of atomic energy for mutual defense
- 29 White House announcement of a mission to study Soviet treatment of mental retardation
- 31 White House announcement of Federal grants to combat juvenile delinquency in New York City
- 31 White House announcement of the release of contingency funds for rural electrification loans
- 31 Statement by the President concerning Federal aid to flood-damaged areas
- 31 Remarks upon receiving report of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime

June

- 1 Memorandum concerning improvements in Federal office space and the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue
- 5 Letter requesting Dr. Alan Waterman to continue as Director of the National Science Foundation
- 5 Letter to the President of the American Medical Association
- 5 Remarks of welcome to astronaut and Mrs. Scott Carpenter
- 5 Remarks of welcome to Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus, at the Washington National Airport
- 5 Toasts of the President and Archbishop Makarios
- 6 Advance text of remarks at West Point to the graduating class of the U.S. Military Academy
- 6 Remarks at West Point to the graduating class of the U.S. Military Academy
- 6 Joint statement following discussions with the President of the Republic of Cyprus
- 7 Remarks upon presenting the Dr. Thomas Dooley Medal to his mother
- 7 White House statement concerning a strike affecting Republic Aviation Corporation
- 7 Remarks to members of the Brookings Institution's Public Policy Conference for Business Executives
- 8 Remarks with the Attorney General upon presenting the Young American Medals
- 8 Remarks to a group of overseas mission directors of the Agency for International Development

June

- 9 Remarks at a dinner honoring Matthew McCloskey upon his appointment as Ambassador to Ireland
- 11 Advance text of commencement address at Yale University
- 11 Commencement address at Yale University
- 11 Statement by the President upon receiving a report on the west coast maritime labor dispute
- 12 Remarks of welcome to President Chiari of Panama at the Washington National Airport
- 12 Remarks upon presenting certificates to graduates of the Capitol Page School
- 12 Message to the Congress transmitting the final report on the Mutual Security Program
- 12 Toasts of the President and President Chiari of Panama
- 12 White House announcement concerning the budget of the Agency for International Development
- 13 Message to Chairman Khrushchev following the formation of a coalition government in Laos
- 13 Remarks upon signing bill for construction of the San Juan-Chama and Navajo projects
- 13 Telegram to Senator Johnston following his victory in the South Carolina primary
- 13 Statement by the President upon receiving report of the Railroad Marine Workers Commission
- 13 Joint statement following discussions with President Chiari of Panama
- 14 Remarks at a meeting with the headquarters staff of the Peace Corps
- 14 Statement by the President upon receiving report of the Missile Sites Labor Commission
- 14 White House statement on board report in the Republic Aviation Corporation strike
- 15 Letter to the Chairman, Commission on Civil Rights, on plans for observing the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation
- 15 Letter to the Attorney General directing him to petition for an injunction in the Republic Aviation Corporation strike
- 15 Joint statement following discussions with Deputy Prime Minister Marshall of New Zealand
- 17 Message to the President of the Republic of Cyprus on his departure from the United States
- 17 White House announcement of the summer intern program for college students
- 20 Remarks of welcome to participants in the summer intern program for college students

Appendix A

June

- 20 Joint statement following discussions with Prime Minister Menzies of Australia
- 21 Remarks of welcome to the graduating class of the Glen Lake, Mich., high school
- 21 White House announcement, proclamation, and memorandum to the Secretary of the Treasury relating to interim trade agreements
- 21 Statement by the President on the settlement of the Trans World Airlines labor dispute
- 21 White House announcement of the opening of the restored ground floor library
- 22 Remarks to student volunteers participating in Operation Crossroads Africa
- 22 Remarks to participants in the signing of equal opportunity agreements
- 23 Statement by the President on the dispute between the flight engineers and Eastern and Pan American Airlines
- 24 Letter to the Chairman of the Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces
- 24 Schedule for the President's visit to Mexico
- 25 Toasts of the President and President-elect Valencia of Colombia
- 25 White House announcement of requested supplemental appropriation for the International Monetary Fund
- 25 White House statement concerning an emergency food reserve program and Agriculture Department budget increases
- 26 Memorandum on the United Fund and Community Chest Campaigns
- 27 Remarks upon opening an exhibit of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's naval prints
- 28 White House announcement of requested budget increase for administration of the Ryukyu Islands
- 28 White House announcement of requested supplemental appropriation for the Office of Science and Technology
- 28 Statement by the President upon signing the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act
- 28 Remarks at the presentation to President and Mrs. Kennedy of copies of a new White House guide book
- 28 Remarks of Mrs. Kennedy and Senate leaders at the opening of the restored Treaty Room in the White House
- 28 White House announcement of the opening of the restored Treaty Room.
- 29 Advance text of remarks upon arrival at the airport in Mexico City

June

- 29 Remarks upon arrival at the airport in Mexico City
- 29 Address by the President at a luncheon given in his honor by President Lopez Mateos
- 29 Remarks at a civic ceremony at the Municipal Palace, Mexico City
- 30 Message to King Mwami Mwambutsa IV on the occasion of the independence of Burundi
- 30 Message to President Kayibanda on the occasion of the independence of Rwanda
- 30 Statement by the President on the signing of an agricultural agreement with Mexico
- 30 Remarks at the Unidad Independencia housing project in Mexico City
- 30 Remarks at an Independence Day celebration with the American community in Mexico City
- 30 Remarks at a luncheon given in honor of President Lopez Mateos
- 30 Joint statement following discussions with President Lopez Mateos
- 30 Remarks to the staff at the American Embassy in Mexico City

July

- 2 Letter accepting resignation of Carlisle P. Runge, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower
- 2 White House announcement of the gift of a mantelpiece for the State Dining Room
- 2 Remarks at the dedication of the restored mantelpiece in the State Dining Room of the White House
- 2 Excerpts from address at a meeting of the American Foreign Service Association
- 3 Independence Day message to President Macapagal of the Philippines
- 3 Remarks to members of a special seminar of the Foreign Service Institute
- 3 Statement by the President on the occasion of Algerian independence
- 4 Address at Independence Hall, Philadelphia
- 5 Letter accepting resignation of Harry J. Anslinger, Commissioner of Narcotics
- 5 White House announcement concerning the budget of the Atomic Energy Commission
- 6 Letter to David Rockefeller on the balance of payments question
- 6 White House statement following discussions with the Ambassador of the Dominican Republic

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July

- 6 Veto of bill concerning the District of Columbia Hospital Center (Congressional Record, July 6, 1962, p. 11911)
- 6 Statement by the President on the death of William Faulkner
- 8 Statement by the President concerning a cost reduction program in the Defense Department
- 9 Statement by the President in response to a report by the Council on Youth Fitness
- 10 Letter from the Commandant inviting the President to an evening parade at the Marine Barracks
- 11 Remarks to a group of American Field Service students
- 11 Message to the Congress transmitting the fifth semiannual report of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration
- 11 Statement by the President on the Telstar communications satellite
- 11 Statement by the President on receiving report of the Railway Lighter Captains Commission
- 12 Statement by the President on the new tax depreciation schedules
- 12 White House statement following discussions with the Ambassador of Thailand
- 12 Letter accepting resignation of James Tobin from the Council of Economic Advisers
- 12 Remarks at the evening parade following an inspection of the Marine Barracks
- 13 Letter accepting resignation of Abraham Ribicoff as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare
- 14 Letter to the Chairman, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, concerning use of byproduct steam from the Hanford nuclear reactor
- 15 Statement by the President on the resumption of the Geneva disarmament negotiations
- 16 White House announcement of report of Board of Visitors to the Military Academy
- 16 Article by the President: The Vigor We Need
- 16 White House announcement concerning the budget: Corps of Engineers and Bureau of Reclamation
- 17 Statement by the President on the defeat of the medical care bill
- 18 Letter accepting resignation of George McGovern as Director of the Food for Peace program
- 18 Remarks upon presenting the Collier Trophy to four X-15 pilots
- 18 White House announcement of establishment of the Consumers' Advisory Council

July

- 19 Letter accepting resignation of General Norstad as supreme commander of United States and allied forces in Europe
- 19 Remarks at a meeting with the Consumers' Advisory Council
- 20 Statement by the President upon signing bill accelerating the development of the Pacific Islands Trust Territory
- 21 Telegram to union and management officials concerning a threatened strike in the aerospace industry
- 22 White House announcement of Distinguished Federal Civilian Service Awards
- 23 Remarks of welcome to President Arosemena of Ecuador at the Washington National Airport
- 23 Toast of the President at a luncheon in honor of President Arosemena
- 23 Statement by the President on the signing of agreements to end the conflict in Laos
- 23 White House announcement concerning the budget of the Department of Commerce
- 23 White House announcement concerning the budget of the Canal Zone Government
- 24 Joint statement following discussions with the President of Ecuador
- 24 Memorandum on equal opportunity for women in the Federal service
- 24 White House statement on equal opportunity for women in the Federal service
- 25 Message to Governor Muñoz Marín on the 10th anniversary of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
- 25 Message to Grand Duchess Charlotte of Luxembourg inviting her to visit the United States
- 25 White House statement on the appointment of General Lemnitzer as Supreme Commander of Allied Forces
- 26 White House announcement concerning United Givers Fund campaign in the Washington area
- 26 White House announcement of U.S. delegates to the Independence Celebration of Jamaica
- 26 Statement by the President upon approving the public welfare amendments bill
- 26 White House announcement of an agreement for cooperative research in blast furnace technology
- 26 White House statement on a program of assistance to the lumber industry
- 27 Toasts of the President and Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos
- 30 Letters to the Secretaries of the Military Departments commending reservists on the eve of their release

Appendix A

July

- 31 Remarks to the Brazilian Ambassador and a group of Brazilian students
- 31 Remarks at the swearing in of Anthony J. Celebrezze as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare
- 31 Joint statement following discussions with Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prime Minister of Laos
- 31 White House announcement concerning the budget of the Defense Department

August

- 1 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting report of the U.S. Study Commission-Texas
- 1 Remarks upon signing the Foreign Assistance Act
- 1 Letter accepting resignation of James M. Gavin as Ambassador to France
- 1 Statement by the President on the Philippines war damage bill
- 2 White House announcement of resignation of Mrs. John N. Pearce as White House Curator
- 2 Remarks to a group of Alaskan Indian and Eskimo electronics trainees
- 2 Statement by the President on the food stamp program
- 2 Message to the Congress transmitting 16th annual report on U.S. participation in the United Nations
- 3 Letter to the chairmen of the Senate and House Appropriations Committees on civil defense
- 5 Letter to the Chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, on the need for safer drugs
- 6 White House invitation list for the fourth musical program for youth
- 6 Remarks at the White House concert by the National High School Symphony Orchestra
- 6 White House announcement of the President's forthcoming visit to the Coast Guard training barque *Eagle*
- 6 White House announcement of a forthcoming Conference on Narcotics and Drug Abuse
- 6 White House statement concerning the budget for the AID foreign investment guarantee program
- 7 Remarks upon presenting the President's Awards for Distinguished Federal Civilian Service
- 7 Report by Secretary Hodges, Chairman of the Cabinet Textile Advisory Committee
- 8 Remarks to students from Latin America and the Caribbean attending the Institute for Free Trade Union Development

August

- 8 White House announcement of a forthcoming visit by Vice President and Mrs. Johnson to Italy, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, and Iran
- 9 Remarks to a group of Peace Corps trainees
- 10 Remarks in Brunswick, Maine, at the Navy Summer Festival
- 10 Article by the President: The Strength and Style of Our Navy Tradition
- 11 White House announcement of U.S. representative at the Vancouver International Festival
- 13 Statement by the President upon signing the Work Hours Standards Act
- 13 White House announcement of request for supplemental appropriations
- 13 Radio and television report to the American people on the state of the national economy
- 14 Remarks to a representative beneficiary of the Federal vocational rehabilitation program
- 14 Statement by the President on the Freedom Savings Bond Drive
- 14 Memorandum on the voluntary payroll savings plan
- 15 Remarks aboard the Coast Guard training barque *Eagle*
- 15 Remarks to representatives of American Indian tribes
- 15 White House announcement of the forthcoming visit of the Crown Prince of Libya
- 16 Remarks upon signing bill authorizing the Fryingpan-Arkansas project
- 16 Statement by the President upon signing bill authorizing the Mann Creek Federal Reclamation Project, Idaho
- 16 White House statement concerning the Inter-agency Textile Administrative Committee
- 16 White House announcement of the creation of the Health Resources Advisory Committee
- 16 White House announcement concerning the Political Officer, U.S. mission to the European office of the U.N.
- 17 Message to President Sukarno on the 17th anniversary of Indonesian independence
- 17 White House announcement of request for supplemental appropriations for the Department of State
- 17 White House announcement of request for supplemental appropriations for the Department of the Interior
- 17 Excerpts from prepared text of remarks at the dedication of the Oahe Dam, Pierre, S. Dak.

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August

- 17 Remarks at the dedication of the Oahe Dam, Pierre, S. Dak.
- 17 Excerpts from prepared text of remarks in Pueblo, Colo., following approval of the Fryingpan-Arkansas project
- 17 Remarks in Pueblo, Colo., following approval of the Fryingpan-Arkansas project
- 18 Excerpts from prepared text of remarks in Los Banos, Calif., at the ground-breaking ceremonies for the San Luis Dam
- 18 Remarks in Los Banos, Calif., at the ground-breaking ceremonies for the San Luis Dam
- 18 Remarks at the air terminal in Fresno, Calif., after inspecting western conservation projects
- 20 Message to the Congress transmitting the 16th semiannual report under Public Law 480
- 21 White House statement concerning the inter-departmental committees on Federal credit programs and financial institutions
- 21 Letter accepting resignation of Frank A. Southard, U.S. Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund
- 22 Message from the President of the Republic of Rwanda
- 22 Remarks to Vice President Johnson on his departure for southern Europe and the Near East
- 23 Remarks to a group of Fulbright exchange teachers from abroad
- 23 Statement by the President upon signing order removing restrictions on entry into Guam and the Pacific Islands Trust Territory
- 23 White House statement on removal of entry controls in Guam and the Pacific Islands Trust Territory
- 23 Address by telephone to the convention of the American Veterans of World War II
- 23 Letter to Robert Troutman, Jr., upon receiving report "Plans for Progress—One Year's Accomplishments" of the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
- 23 Letter to Secretary Goldberg in response to his report on the Mexican farm labor program
- 23 Letter accepting resignation of Dr. Robert Turner, Assistant Director of the Bureau of the Budget
- 24 White House announcement of forthcoming inspection trips by General Maxwell Taylor
- 24 Remarks by telephone to the Midwestern Democratic Conference at French Lick, Ind.
- 25 Veto of bill for the relief of Barbara, Edward, and Robert Trousil (Congressional Record, August 27, 1962, p. 16636)

August

- 26 Letter to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt on receiving report by the Commission on the Status of Women
- 26 Letter accepting resignation of Dorothy McCullough Lee, Chairman, Subversive Activities Control Board
- 27 Joint statement with Prime Minister Macmillan on nuclear testing
- 27 White House statement concerning tariffs on flax, hemp, and ramie toweling, and on watch movements
- 28 White House announcement of forthcoming visit by General Maxwell Taylor to Asia and to U.S. military commands in the Pacific
- 28 Farewell remarks to participants in the summer intern program for college students
- 28 Remarks to members of the Executive Committee of American Heritage Foundation
- 28 White House announcement of U.S. Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly
- 29 Remarks to a group of Junior Red Cross representatives from abroad
- 29 Letter to Justice Frankfurter upon his retirement from the Supreme Court
- 30 Announcement by the President of his appointment of Willard Wirtz as Secretary of Labor
- 30 White House biographic sketch of Secretary Wirtz
- 30 Remarks to a group of Peace Corps volunteers
- 31 Remarks upon signing the Communications Satellite Act
- 31 Remarks at the swearing in of new members of the Atomic Energy Commission

September

- 1 Letter to Senate and House minority leaders on U.S. information activities relating to Berlin
- 3 Statement by the President announcing an international conference on "Human Skills in the Decade of Development"
- 3 Statement by the President: Labor Day, 1962
- 4 Labor Day message to the youth of the Nation
- 4 Remarks to the members of the Schola Cantorum of the University of Arkansas
- 5 Remarks upon signing bill placing the Frederick Douglass home in the National Capital Park system
- 5 Remarks to participants in the Experiment in International Living program
- 6 Message to the Shah following an earthquake in Iran

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September

- 6 White House announcement of requested supplemental appropriations for the executive branch and District of Columbia
- 6 Statement by the President on the differential in cotton costs between domestic and foreign textile producers
- 7 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House transmitting bill authorizing mobilization of the Ready Reserve
- 7 Statement by the President upon signing bill to increase veterans' disability compensation
- 10 Message to the conference of African chiefs of state meeting at Libreville, Republic of Gabon
- 11 Statement by the President upon receiving report on the labor dispute in the aerospace industry
- 11 Remarks to the staff at the NASA Launch Operations Center, Cape Canaveral
- 11 Remarks to allied students at the Army Guided Missile School, Huntsville, Ala.
- 11 Remarks on arrival at the International Airport in Houston
- 12 Advance text of address at Rice University in Houston on the Nation's space effort
- 12 Address at Rice University in Houston on the Nation's space effort
- 12 Remarks at the NASA Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston
- 12 Remarks in St. Louis to employees of the McDonnell Aircraft Corporation
- 13 Telegram to officials of the Boeing Company and the International Association of Machinists concerning a threatened strike
- 13 Remarks upon signing bill to establish the Point Reyes National Seashore, Calif.
- 14 Statement by the President: The Jewish High Holy Days
- 14 Remarks upon signing the Public Works Acceleration Act
- 14 White House announcement of budget request for public works acceleration
- 14 White House statement making public a progress report on narcotic and drug abuse
- 14 Statement by the President on the passage by the House of Representatives of the U.N. bond purchase bill
- 14 Statement by the President on the passage by the House of Representatives of a bill providing for the Hanford reactor
- 14 Remarks in Newport at the Australian Ambassador's dinner for the America's Cup crews

September

- 14 White House announcement of forthcoming address by the President to business magazine editors and publishers
- 15 Remarks aboard the destroyer *Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr.*, off Newport
- 17 Remarks with President David McDonald recorded for the United Steelworkers Convention at Miami Beach
- 17 Telegram to management and labor leaders concerned in the Chicago and Northwestern Railway strike
- 18 Message to the editor on the 40th anniversary of Foreign Affairs
- 19 Joint statement following discussions with President Kayibanda of the Republic of Rwanda
- 19 Statement by the President on foreign aid
- 19 Statement by the President announcing an agreement in the aerospace industry labor dispute
- 19 Announcement of the opening of the White House school
- 20 Remarks upon signing bill to establish the Delaware River and Bay Authority
- 20 Advance text of remarks to the Board of Governors of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund
- 20 Remarks to the Board of Governors of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund
- 20 Veto of bill for the relief of the estate of Louis J. Simpson (Congressional Record, September 20, 1962, p. 19014)
- 20 Letter to Secretary Goldberg upon his resignation to accept appointment to the Supreme Court
- 20 Remarks on arrival at the Harrisburg-York State Airport, Harrisburg, Pa.
- 20 Remarks in Harrisburg at a Democratic State Finance Committee dinner
- 21 White House announcement of U.S. delegation to the Uganda independence celebration at Kampala
- 21 White House announcement of budget requests for the State and Interior Departments and the Corps of Engineers
- 21 Remarks by telephone to a dinner meeting of the Ohio State Democratic Convention in Columbus
- 21 Remarks recorded for an Oklahoma City gathering in honor of Representative Carl Albert
- 21 Remarks televised to the National Convention of the Air Force Association meeting in Las Vegas, Nev.

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September

- 22 Remarks recorded for the ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial on the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation
- 23 Broadcast remarks on trade and foreign aid
- 23 Remarks recorded for a dinner in Cleveland honoring Secretary Celebrezze
- 24 Remarks of welcome to President Ayub Khan of Pakistan at Quonset Point, R.I.
- 24 Joint statement following an informal meeting in Newport with President Ayub Khan
- 24 Letter to President Ayub Khan on problems of agricultural productivity in Pakistan
- 25 Remarks at the swearing in of Willard Wirtz as Secretary of Labor
- 25 Remarks to members of the Ballet Folklorico of Mexico
- 25 White House statement on a program to barter agricultural commodities for strategic materials
- 25 Remarks upon accepting a painting of the Battle of Bunker Hill
- 26 Remarks upon signing the Atomic Energy Commission authorization bill
- 26 Remarks upon signing a resolution providing for a medal to commemorate Sam Rayburn
- 27 Advance text of remarks to the White House Conference on Narcotic and Drug Abuse
- 27 Remarks to the White House Conference on Narcotic and Drug Abuse
- 27 Statement by the President to members of the new National Advisory Committee on Manpower Development and Training
- 27 Remarks upon signing the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962
- 27 Advance text of remarks at the Wheeling Stadium, Wheeling, W. Va.
- 27 Remarks at the Wheeling Stadium, Wheeling, W. Va.
- 27 Exchange of telegrams between the Director, Office of Emergency Planning, and Governor Barnett of Mississippi, concerning a sunken chlorine barge
- 27 White House announcement of simplified visa procedures to encourage foreign travel to the United States
- 27 Message to Prime Minister Muhirwa on the forthcoming celebration of the independence of Burundi
- 27 Message to the Congress transmitting the 6th semiannual report of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration

September

- 28 Remarks at the presentation of the Distinguished Service Medal to Gen. George H. Decker
- 28 Remarks upon signing bill providing for the Padre Island National Seashore
- 28 White House statement following the President's meeting with members of the Gandhi Peace Foundation of India
- 28 White House announcement of requested amendment in the budget for the Coast and Geodetic Survey
- 28 White House announcement of request for supplemental appropriations to implement the Trade Expansion Act
- 28 White House announcement of request for supplemental appropriations for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare
- 28 White House announcement of request for supplemental appropriations for the National Park Service
- 28 Statement by the President on the signing of the International Coffee Agreement
- 28 Statement by the President: National Science Youth Month
- 28 Statement by the President on the settlement of the strike between the railroad telegraphers and the Chicago and Northwestern Railway
- 29 White House announcement of the federalization of Mississippi National Guard units
- 30 Joint statement following discussions with the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom
- 30 White House announcement making public the report of the President's Committee To Appraise Employment and Unemployment Statistics
- 30 Telegram calling on Governor Barnett to obey Federal court orders for the admission of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi
- 30 Radio and television report to the Nation on the situation at the University of Mississippi

October

- 1 Statement by the President upon creating a board of inquiry in the longshoremen's strike
- 1 Remarks upon presenting the Distinguished Service Medal to Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer
- 1 Remarks at the swearing in of Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
- 1 White House announcement of request for supplemental appropriations for the Departments of Agriculture and Interior
- 2 White House announcement of request for supplemental appropriations for the General Services Administration

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October

- 2 Remarks upon signing the United Nations loan bill
- 2 Remarks upon signing bill amending the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act
- 3 Statement by the President on the flight of astronaut Walter Schirra
- 3 Telephone conversation with astronaut Walter Schirra following his flight
- 3 White House announcement concerning the forthcoming International Conference on Human Resources
- 4 White House announcement concerning the Communications Satellite Corporation
- 4 White House announcement of U.S. representatives at Nigerian International Trade Fair ceremonies
- 4 Letter from the Chairman and Vice Chairman, Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy, presenting report "Policies Designed to Ensure That American Products are Competitive"
- 4 Statement by the President on the longshoremen's strike
- 4 Letter to the Attorney General directing him to petition for an injunction in the longshoremen's strike
- 4 White House announcement extending the deadline for the board report in the aerospace labor dispute
- 5 Joint statement following discussions with Crown Prince Faysal of Saudi Arabia
- 5 Message to Pope John XXIII on the occasion of the opening of the Second Vatican Council
- 5 Remarks upon arrival at Greater Cincinnati Airport, Erlanger, Ky.
- 5 Remarks at Fountain Square in Cincinnati
- 5 Remarks upon arrival at Metropolitan Airport, Detroit
- 5 Statement by the President upon signing bill relating to suits against Government officials
- 6 Reply to Chairman Khrushchev's message on the flight of Commander Schirra
- 6 Remarks at a Democratic rally in Detroit
- 6 Remarks at the Municipal Mall in Flint, Mich.
- 6 Remarks at the airport in Muskegon, Mich.
- 6 Advance text of remarks at the Hippodrome Arena in St. Paul, Minn.
- 6 Remarks at the Hippodrome Arena in St. Paul, Minn.

October

- 7 Remarks by telephone to a Democratic rally at St. Cloud, Minn.
- 8 Message to Prime Minister Obote on the occasion of the independence of Uganda
- 10 Remarks upon signing the drug reform bill
- 10 Remarks to a group of United States Attorneys
- 10 Remarks of welcome to President Sekou Toure of Guinea at the Washington National Airport
- 10 Telegram to the Governor of Mississippi tendering Federal assistance in removing a sunken chlorine barge
- 10 Advance text of remarks in Baltimore at the Fifth Regiment Armory
- 10 Remarks in Baltimore at the Fifth Regiment Armory
- 11 Remarks upon signing the Postal Service and Federal Employees Salary Act of 1962
- 11 Memorandum on manpower controls and utilization in the Executive Branch
- 11 Remarks upon signing the Trade Expansion Act
- 12 Remarks at a Columbus Day celebration in Newark, N.J.
- 12 Remarks at a rally in Aliquippa, Pa.
- 12 Advance text of remarks at Fitzgerald Field House, University of Pittsburgh
- 12 Remarks at Fitzgerald Field House, University of Pittsburgh
- 13 Remarks at City Hall, McKeesport, Pa.
- 13 Remarks at a rally in Monessen, Pa.
- 13 Remarks at the Court House, Washington, Pa.
- 13 Exchange of telegrams between the Director, Office of Emergency Planning, and Governor Hatfield concerning storm relief assistance to Oregon
- 13 Advance text of remarks at the Indianapolis Airport
- 13 Remarks at the Indianapolis Airport
- 13 Remarks upon arrival at Standiford Airport, Louisville, Ky.
- 13 Advance text of remarks at the State Fairgrounds in Louisville
- 13 Remarks at the State Fairgrounds in Louisville
- 14 Transcript of interview with William Lawrence recorded for the program "Politics-'62"
- 14 Remarks at the Municipal Airport, Niagara Falls, N.Y.

Appendix A

October

- 14 Advance text of remarks at the Pulaski Day parade, Buffalo, N.Y.
- 14 Remarks at the Pulaski Day parade, Buffalo, N.Y.
- 15 Letter to Senator Pell concerning interurban transportation between eastern seaboard cities
- 15 Message to the Director of NASA commending Commander Schirra and the Mercury team
- 15 Remarks of welcome to Prime Minister Ben Bella of Algeria on the South Lawn at the White House
- 15 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Ben Bella
- 15 Joint statement following discussions with Prime Minister Ben Bella
- 15 White House announcement concerning the forthcoming state dinner in honor of the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg
- 16 White House statement and text of report of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation
- 16 Toasts of the President and Crown Prince Hasan of Libya
- 16 Letters to the Director, Office of Emergency Planning, and to Governor Hatfield, on storm relief assistance to Oregon
- 16 Statement by the President upon signing the Revenue Act
- 16 White House statement concerning tariff on certain coin purses
- 17 Veto of bill for relief of Rickert and Laan, Inc. (Congressional Record, October 25, 1962, p. A7906)
- 17 Statement by the President upon signing bill modifying the anti-Communist oath requirement for student loans
- 17 Statement by the President upon signing bill authorizing a National Institute of Child Health and Human Development
- 17 Joint statement following discussions with the Crown Prince of Libya
- 17 Remarks at the Bridgeport Municipal Airport, Stratford, Conn.
- 17 Remarks on the New Haven Green
- 17 Remarks on the Green in Waterbury, Conn.
- 18 Remarks on presenting the Harmon Trophies
- 18 Letter to the Incorporators of the Communications Satellite Corporation
- 18 White House statement concerning the Foreign Correspondents Center in New York

October

- 18 White House announcement of forthcoming visit by the Prime Minister of Uganda
- 19 Message to the Prime Minister of Canada on international trade
- 19 Statement by the President upon signing bill relating to the World Food Congress
- 19 Memorandum of disapproval of bill concerning indecent publications in the District of Columbia (Congressional Record, October 25, 1962, p. A7906)
- 19 Veto of bill for the relief of Catalina Properties, Inc. (Congressional Record, October 25, 1962, p. A7907)
- 19 Remarks in the Public Square, Cleveland, Ohio
- 19 Advance text of remarks at the State Fairgrounds, Springfield, Ill.
- 19 Remarks at the State Fairgrounds, Springfield, Ill.
- 19 Remarks in Chicago to Democratic precinct workers
- 19 Remarks at a dinner of the Democratic Party of Cook County
- 20 Telegram to Governor Rosellini concerning storm relief assistance to Washington
- 20 Remarks prepared for delivery at St. Louis, Mo.
- 22 Memorandum of disapproval of bill to amend the tariff classification of lightweight bicycles (Congressional Record, October 25, 1962, p. A7907)
- 22 Advance text of radio and television report to the American people on the Soviet arms buildup in Cuba
- 22 Radio and television report to the American people on the Soviet arms buildup in Cuba
- 23 Memorandum of disapproval of bill for the relief of Richard C. Collins (Congressional Record, October 25, 1962, p. A7907)
- 23 Memorandum of disapproval of bill for the relief of Mrs. Helenita K. Stephenson (Congressional Record, October 25, 1962, p. A7907)
- 24 White House memorandum on publication of information considered vital to national security
- 24 Letter to Secretary Hodges allocating funds for the acceleration of public works
- 24 Message to the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg requesting postponement of her visit
- 25 Message from the Grand Duchess of Luxembourg
- 25 Message to the Acting Secretary General of the United Nations

Appendix A

October

- 26 White House statement on the Soviet missile sites in Cuba
- 26 Message to President Goulart requesting postponement of a scheduled visit to Brazil
- 27 White House statement on Soviet proposals relating to international security
- 27 Message to Chairman Khrushchev calling for removal of Soviet missiles from Cuba
- 28 Message in reply to a broadcast by Chairman Khrushchev on the Cuban crisis
- 28 Statement by the President following the Soviet decision to withdraw missiles from Cuba
- 29 Message to the emergency conference on Pacific Northwest timber damage
- 30 Remarks to students and members of the faculty of the Brazilian Escola Superior de Guerra
- 31 Remarks at the graduation exercises of the FBI National Academy
- 31 Letter accepting resignation of John M. Leddy, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International Affairs and U.S. Executive Director of the World Bank
- 31 White House announcement of the fifth in the series of youth concerts

November

- 1 White House statement making public a report of the National Capital Transportation Agency
- 1 Statement commending Judge Philip C. Jessup, member of the International Court of Justice
- 1 Remarks at the signing of a contract to aid electrification of underdeveloped countries
- 1 Message to the President of the Inter-Parliamentary Council
- 2 White House memorandum on voting leave for Federal employees
- 2 Radio and television remarks on the dismantling of Soviet missile bases in Cuba
- 3 Statement by the President urging citizens to vote on election day
- 4 Statement by the President on the conclusion of atmospheric nuclear tests in the Pacific
- 6 White House statement concerning a labor dispute in the aerospace industry
- 7 Statement by the President on the death of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
- 14 Remarks of welcome at the White House to Chancellor Adenauer of Germany
- 14 Toasts of the President and Chancellor Adenauer

November

- 14 Statement by the President on Mrs. Roosevelt's services as chairman of the President's Commission on the Status of Women
- 14 White House announcement of appointments to a committee to study means of carrying on activities and interests of Mrs. Roosevelt
- 15 Joint statement following discussions with Chancellor Adenauer
- 15 Remarks at the signing of a joint statement on fair employment practices
- 15 Remarks of welcome to the poster child of the National Association of Retarded Children
- 15 White House announcement of a meeting of the Joint U.S.-Japan Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs
- 15 Statement by the President on announcing the appointment of Christian Herter as Special U.S. Representative for Trade Negotiations
- 17 Message to Chancellor Adenauer following his visit
- 17 Remarks at the dedication of the Dulles International Airport, Chantilly, Va.
- 18 White House announcement of appointment of a study committee for a national service corps
- 19 Remarks to members of the First Inter-American Symposium
- 20 White House announcement of an Atomic Energy Commission report on civilian nuclear power
- 20 Statement by the President on receiving a report by the Chamber of Commerce Committee for Improving the Federal Budget
- 20 Message to Mrs. Niels Bohr upon the death of her husband
- 20 Statement by the President upon signing order providing for equal opportunity in housing
- 20 White House announcement of proclamation adding public lands to the Craters of the Moon National Monument, Idaho
- 21 Letter from the Chairman of the President's Commission on the Airlines Controversy
- 21 Remarks with the Secretary of Labor at the signing of contracts between Trans World Airlines and the pilots and flight engineers unions
- 21 Thanksgiving Day message to the men and women of the Armed Forces
- 21 Letter accepting resignation of Howard C. Petersen, Special Assistant to the President for Trade Policy
- 22 Statement by the President announcing accelerated payment of National Service Life Insurance dividends

Appendix A

November

- 22 White House announcement of Presidential pardons and commutations of sentences
- 26 Statement by the President on the reconvening of the Geneva disarmament conference
- 26 Remarks at Fort Stewart, Ga., to members of the First Armored Division
- 26 Remarks at Homestead Air Force Base, Fla., upon presenting unit awards
- 26 Remarks in Key West upon presenting citations to units at the Boca Chica Naval Air Station
- 27 Remarks of welcome at the White House to the Prime Minister of the Somali Republic
- 27 Toasts of the President and Prime Minister Abdiracid
- 27 Remarks to a group of scientists on the 20th anniversary of Dr. Enrico Fermi's nuclear experiment
- 27 Memorandum on the Year 2000 Plan for the National Capital region
- 28 White House announcement of appointments of David E. Bell as Administrator, AID, and of Kermit Gordon as Budget Director
- 28 Joint statement following discussions with the Prime Minister of the Somali Republic
- 28 Announcement by the Fine Arts Committee for the White House concerning gifts and acquisitions of furnishings
- 29 Remarks at a closed-circuit television broadcast on behalf of the National Cultural Center
- 30 Message to President Alessandri of Chile inviting him to visit the United States
- 30 Remarks of welcome at the White House to President Villeda of Honduras
- 30 Joint statement following discussions with President Villeda

December

- 3 Letter to the Attorney General directing him to petition for an injunction in the strike at the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation
- 3 Remarks upon presenting the Enrico Fermi award to Dr. Edward Teller
- 3 Remarks at a luncheon in honor of a Japanese trade delegation
- 4 Remarks concerning the part played by radio stations in the Cuban crisis
- 6 Remarks to recipients of the Rockefeller Public Service Awards
- 6 Remarks at the First International Awards dinner of the Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., Foundation

December

- 7 Remarks in Omaha upon presenting a special flight safety plaque to the Strategic Air Command
- 7 Remarks upon arrival at Santa Fe
- 7 Remarks at the high school football stadium, Los Alamos, N. Mex.
- 7 Remarks upon arrival at the Kirtland Air Force Base in Albuquerque
- 8 Message to President Nyerere upon the establishment of the Republic of Tanganyika
- 9 Letter to the Co-Chairmen, Foundation on Automation and Employment
- 9 White House statement concerning gift of Thomas Jefferson portrait to White House
- 10 Remarks at the swearing in of Francis Keppel as Commissioner of Education
- 10 Remarks at the swearing in of Christian Herter as Special Representative for Trade Negotiations
- 10 White House announcement of the formation of the Committee to Strengthen the Security of the Free World
- 10 White House statement concerning gift of five Indian portraits to White House
- 11 Remarks of welcome at the White House to President Alessandri of Chile
- 11 Toasts of the President and President Alessandri
- 11 White House announcement of report on transportation in the Washington-Boston Corridor
- 11 White House announcement of retirement of Commissioner T. A. M. Craven of the Federal Communications Commission
- 12 Joint statement following discussions with the President of Chile
- 12 Filmed message to the Chicago convention and exposition of the National Association of Home Builders
- 13 Statement by the President on the report of the President's Science Advisory Committee, "Meeting Manpower Needs in Science and Technology"
- 14 Remarks at the ground-breaking ceremonies for the U.S. pavilion, New York World's Fair
- 14 Advance text of address at the Economic Club of New York
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- 17 White House statement making public the report of the President's Advisory Panel on a National Academy of Foreign Affairs
- 17 Remarks at the Pageant of Peace ceremonies
- 17 Television and radio interview: "After Two Years—a Conversation With the President"
- 18 Magazine article "The Arts in America"
- 18 Exchange of remarks with Prime Minister Macmillan upon arriving at Windsor Field in Nassau, the Bahamas

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- 21 Joint statement following discussions with Prime Minister Macmillan
- 24 Statement by the President concerning the appointment of Dr. Stafford L. Warren as Special Assistant in the field of mental retardation
- 29 Remarks in Miami at the presentation of the flag of the Cuban invasion brigade
- 31 White House announcement concerning award of National Medal of Science to Dr. Theodore von Karman
- 31 Partial transcript of a background press interview at Palm Beach

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3450	Feb. 26	National Defense Transportation Day, 1962	1955
3451	Feb. 26	National Farm Safety Week, 1962	2027
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PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS OTHER THAN PROCLAMATIONS
AND EXECUTIVE ORDERS

<i>Date</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>27 F.R. page</i>
Feb. 9	Memorandum: Advisers and consultants to Government, policies respecting conflict of interests	1341
Mar. 16	Letter: Interagency Textile Administrative Committee, authority of Secretary of Treasury	2677
June 1	Memorandum: Commendation medal, award to members of foreign armed forces . . .	5387
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Aug. 1	Memorandum: Foreign Assistance Act of 1961; nonmilitary procurement outside U.S. .	7603
Nov. 27	Memorandum: National Capital Region, planning and development	11753

Appendix C—Presidential Reports to the Congress, 1962

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Published</i>	<i>Sent to the Congress</i>	<i>Date of White House release</i>
Housing and Home Finance Agency:			
14th Annual	H. Doc. 297	Jan. 15 (S)	. . . .
15th Annual		Aug. 1	. . . .
Civil Service Commission	H. Doc. 263	Jan. 15	. . . .
Mineral Reserves Report of the Secretary of the Interior:			
Sixth Semiannual		Jan. 16	. . . .
Seventh Semiannual		Mar. 1	. . . .
Eighth Semiannual		Oct. 3	. . . .
Economic Report	H. Doc. 278	Jan. 20 (Clerk of House; Secy. of Senate)	Jan. 22
International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair		Jan. 25	. . . .
National Science Foundation.	H. Doc. 315	Jan. 25	. . . .
Aeronautics and Space Activities	H. Doc. 324	Jan. 31	. . . .
United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	H. Doc. 326	Feb. 1 (H) Feb. 2 (S)	Feb. 1
Commission on International Rules of Judicial Procedure		Mar. 5	. . . .
Commodity Credit Corporation		Mar. 8	. . . .
United Nations Participation:			
Fifteenth Annual	H. Doc. 202	Mar. 15	Mar. 15
Sixteenth Annual	H. Doc. 501	Aug. 2	Aug. 2
Public Health Service Report of the Surgeon General	H. Doc. 375	Apr. 2	. . . .
Public Law 480 (83rd Congress):			
Fifteenth Semiannual	H. Doc. 385	Apr. 9	. . . .
Sixteenth Semiannual	H. Doc. 526	Aug. 20	. . . .
Railroad Retirement Board	H. Doc. 277	Apr. 11	. . . .
St. Lawrence Seaway Corporation	H. Doc. 404	May 14	. . . .
Expenditures and Allocations to States for Disaster Relief	H. Doc. 405	May 15	May 15
Lend-Lease Operations	H. Doc. 420	May 22	. . . .
Mutual Security Program (Final).	H. Doc. 432	June 12	. . . .
National Aeronautics and Space Administration:			
Fifth Semiannual	H. Doc. 463	July 11	. . . .
Sixth Semiannual	H. Doc. 588	Sept. 27	. . . .
Alien Property		July 17	. . . .
Peace Corps		July 30	. . . .
National Capital Housing Authority		Aug. 7	. . . .
Weather Modification	H. Doc. 534	Aug. 27	. . . .
International Atomic Energy Agency	H. Doc. 538	Sept. 6	. . . .

Appendix D—Rules Governing This Publication

[Reprinted from the Federal Register, vol. 24, p. 2354, dated March 26, 1959]

TITLE 1—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Chapter I—Administrative Committee of the Federal Register

PART 32—PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

PUBLICATION AND FORMAT

- Sec.
32.1 Publication required.
32.2 Coverage of prior years.
32.3 Format, indexes, ancillaries.

SCOPE

- 32.10 Basic criteria.
32.11 Sources.

FREE DISTRIBUTION

- 32.15 Members of Congress.
32.16 The Supreme Court.
32.17 Executive agencies.

PAID DISTRIBUTION

- 32.20 Agency requisitions.
32.21 Extra copies.
32.22 Sale to public.

AUTHORITY: §§ 32.1 to 32.22 issued under sec. 6, 49 Stat. 501, as amended; 44 U.S.C. 306.

PUBLICATION AND FORMAT

§ 32.1 *Publication required.* There shall be published forthwith at the end of each calendar year, beginning with the year 1957, a special edition of the FEDERAL REGISTER designated "Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States." Each volume shall cover one calendar year and shall be identified further by the name of the President and the year covered.

§ 32.2 *Coverage of prior years.* After conferring with the National Historical Publications Commission with respect to the need therefor, the Adminis-

trative Committee may from time to time authorize the publication of similar volumes covering specified calendar years prior to 1957.

§ 32.3 *Format, indexes, ancillaries.* Each annual volume, divided into books whenever appropriate, shall be separately published in the binding and style deemed by the Administrative Committee to be suitable to the dignity of the office of President of the United States. Each volume shall be appropriately indexed and shall contain appropriate ancillary information respecting significant Presidential documents not published in full text.

SCOPE

§ 32.10 *Basic criteria.* The basic text of the volumes shall consist of oral utterances by the President or of writings subscribed by him. All materials selected for inclusion under these criteria must also be in the public domain by virtue of White House press release or otherwise.

§ 32.11 *Sources.* (a) The basic text of the volumes shall be selected from the official text of: (1) Communications to the Congress, (2) public addresses, (3) transcripts of press conferences, (4) public letters, (5) messages to heads of state, (6) statements released on miscellaneous subjects, and (7) formal executive documents promulgated in accordance with law.

(b) Ancillary text, notes, and tables shall be derived from official sources only.

FREE DISTRIBUTION

§ 32.15 *Members of Congress.* Each Member of Congress, during his term of office, shall be entitled to one copy of each annual volume published during such term; *Provided*, That authorization for furnishing such copies shall be submitted in writing to the Director and signed by the authorizing Member. [As amended effective Dec. 30, 1960, 25 F.R. 14009]

Appendix D

§ 32.16 *The Supreme Court.* The Supreme Court of the United States shall be entitled to twelve copies of the annual volumes.

§ 32.17 *Executive agencies.* The head of each department and the head of each independent agency in the executive branch of the Government shall be entitled to one copy of each annual volume upon application therefor in writing to the Director.

PAID DISTRIBUTION

§ 32.20 *Agency requisitions.* Each Federal agency shall be entitled to obtain at cost copies of the annual volumes for official use upon the timely submission to the Government Printing Office of a printing and binding requisition (Standard Form No. 1).

§ 32.21 *Extra copies.* All requests for extra copies of the annual volumes shall be addressed to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Extra copies shall be paid for by the agency or official requesting them.

§ 32.22 *Sale to public.* The annual volumes shall be placed on sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents at prices determined by him

under the general direction of the Administrative Committee.

* * * *

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE FEDERAL REGISTER,

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RAYMOND BLATTENBERGER,
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Attorney General, Member.*

Approved March 20, 1959.

WILLIAM P. ROGERS,
Attorney General.

FRANKLIN FLOETE,
Administrator of General Services.

[F.R. Doc. 59-2517; Filed, Mar. 25, 1959;
8:45 a.m.]

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